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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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ESSAYS ON KASMIRI GRAMMAR.

BY THE LATE KARL FREDERICH BURKHARDT.

Translated and edited, with notes and additions,

by Geo. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph. D., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 270.)

Additional Note by the Translator.

FURTHER studies, during the four years that have elapsed since Dr. Burkhard's Essays began to appear in an English dress in these pages, have enabled me to ascertain the ground principles of the changes of consonants and vowels which form so prominent and so puzzling a feature of Kâśmîrî grammar. The following rules should be taken as superseding those given in § 15 on pp. 342 and 343 in Vol. XXIV. for 1895.

15. (1) The vowels *i* (*î*), *e* (*ê*) are frequently confused. One is often written for the other. *I* is often pronounced as *e*, and *ê* as *î*. So also there is a similar confusion between *u*, *û*, *o*, and *ô*.

(2) Just as in English a final *e* is often not pronounced, but modifies the pronunciation of a vowel in the preceding syllable, as in the words 'tub' and 'tube,' so, in Kâśmîrî, the vowels *i*, *û*, and *u*, when at the end of a word are usually not pronounced, but modify the pronunciation of the preceding syllable. Moreover, just as in Italian a *g* is pronounced hard before *a*, but soft before *i*, so in Kâśmîrî a following palatal vowel affects the pronunciation of a preceding consonant.

The three final vowels above alluded to are called '*mâtrâ*-vowels' by Hindû grammarians. They are always indicated when writing Kâśmîrî in the Dêva-nâgarî character, diacritical marks being sometimes added to warn the reader that they are not pronounced in the ordinary way. When writing in the Persian character, an *i-mâtrâ* is represented by *zêr*, but *û-mâtrâ* and *u-mâtrâ* are hardly ever indicated at all. The reason of this is that *i-mâtrâ* not only affects a preceding vowel but is also itself slightly pronounced, while *û-mâtrâ* and *u-mâtrâ* only affect the preceding vowel and are not themselves pronounced. A final *i* is not always an *i-mâtrâ*, but is sometimes fully pronounced. In such cases it does not affect the pronunciation of a preceding vowel, and, in the Persian character, is written with a *hê*. Thus, هَستِ *hasti*, elephants, but هستہ سیت *hasti-sût*, with an elephant. In transcribing Kâśmîrî words into the Roman character *mâtrâ*-vowels are conveniently represented by small letters above the line. As *û-mâtrâ* and *u-mâtrâ* are not written in the Persian character, they are not indicated in the transcription in Dr. Burkhard's Essays, but for the sake of clearness they will be indicated in the transcription in the following notes. It may be explained that all nominatives singular of masculine substantives and

adjectives of the second declension end in *u-mâtrâ*, and that the nominatives plural of the same end in *i-mâtrâ*. The nominative singular of all nouns and feminine adjectives of the third declension ends in *û-mâtrâ*. The same rule is followed by the aorist tense of verbs, the masc. sing. ending in *u-mâtrâ*, the masc. plur. in *i-mâtrâ*, and the fem. sing. in *û-mâtrâ*. A very few feminine nouns, such as *pûth*^{i}, a book, end in *i-mâtrâ*, and a very few masculine nouns of the first declension, such as *hônz*^{û}, a boatman, end in *û-mâtrâ*. The changes which vowels undergo before *mâtrâ*-vowels are known as epenthetic changes, and are as follows :—

The vowel *a* before *u-mâtrâ* becomes *o*, pronounced something like the first *o* in 'promote.' Before *û-mâtrâ* it becomes *ạ*, pronounced like a German *ü*; and before *i-mâtrâ* it becomes *ạ*, pronounced something like the short sound of the *i* in 'bite.' Thus, base *hast-*, an elephant; nom. sing. هسٗت *host*^{u}, nom plur. هسِت *hạst*^{i}. Base *zaṭh-*, a rag; nom. sing. زٕٹھ *zạṭh*^{û}. Root پَک *pak*, go; aorist پۄک *pok*^{u}, he went; پٕچ *pạch*^{û}, she went; پٔکۍ *pạk*^{i}, they, masc., went.

The vowel *â* before *u-mâtrâ*, and also before a non-final *u*[1] becomes *ô*. Before *û-mâtrâ* it becomes *ô*; and before *i-mâtrâ* and before *i*, when it is not final, it also becomes *ô*. Thus, base *tsâng-*, a lamp; nom. sing. چۆنگ *tsông*^{u}, nom. plur. چآنگ *tsông*^{i}. An original *ṭhâkur*, an image, has become ٹھۆکُر *ṭhôkur*. Base *ṭâṭh-*, beloved; nom. sing. masc. ٹوٹھ *ṭôṭh*^{u}; nom. sing. fem. ٹآٹھ *ṭôṭh*^{û}; nom. plur. masc. ٹآٹھ *ṭôṭh*^{i}. Base *mâl-*, a father; nom. sing. مول *môl*^{u}; acc. sing. مآلس *môlis*, but abl. مالہ *mâli*, because the fully pronounced *i* is final. Root *trâv*, forsake; aorist masc. sing. تروو *trôv*^{u}, plur. ترآو *trôv*^{i}, fem. sing. ترآو *trôv*^{û}.

The vowels *i* and *e* become *yu* before *u-mâtrâ*, and remain unchanged before the other *mâtrâ*-vowels. Thus, base *nechiv-*, a boy; nom. sing. نیچیوٗ *nechyuv*^{u}, but nom. plur. نیچِو *nechiv*^{i}. Root *liv*, plaster; aorist sing. masc. لیوٗ *lyuv*^{u}, fem. لِو *liv*^{û}, plur. masc. لِو *liv*^{i}. Root *hek*, be able; aorist sing. masc. هیوٗک *hyuk*^{u}, fem. هیچ *hech*^{û}, plur. masc. هیک *hek*^{i}.

The vowels *î* and *ê* become *yû* before *u-mâtrâ*, but *î* does not change before the other *mâtrâ*-vowels. Before the other *mâtrâ*-vowels and before *i* which is not final, *ê* becomes *î*. Thus, base *nîl-*, blue; nom. sing. masc. نیوٗل *nyûl*^{u}, fem. نیج *nîj*^{û}, nom. plur. masc. نیل *nîl*^{i}. Base *tsên-*, a pillar; nom. sing. چیوٗن *tsyûn*^{u}, acc. sg., چینس *tsînis*; abl. چینہ *tsêni*; nom. plur. چین *tsîn*^{i}. Root *chîr*, squeeze; aorist sing. masc. چیوٗر *chyûr*^{u}, fem. چیر *chîr*^{û}, plur. masc. چیر *chîr*^{i}. Root *phêr*, turn; aorist sing. masc. پھیوٗر *phyûr*^{u}, fem. پھیر *phîr*^{û}, masc. plur. پھیر *phîr*^{i}. Sometimes *î* becomes *ụ* before *û-mâtrâ*. Thus, base *kît-*, how many? nom. sing. کیوٗت masc. *kyût*^{u}, fem. کُچ *kụts*^{û}.

The vowels *u* and *û* never change before any *mâtrâ*-vowel. Neither does the vowel *o*. Thus, root *wuchh*, see; aorist sing. masc. وُچھ *wuchh*^{u}, fem. وُچھ *wuchh*^{û}, masc. plur. وُچھ *wuchh*^{i}; *bûz*, parch; بوٗز *bûz*^{u}, بوٗز *bûz*^{û}, بوٗز *bûz*^{i}; *woth*, rise; وۄتھ *woth*^{u}, وۄتھ *wotsh*^{û}, وۄتھ *woth*^{i}.

[1] This change does not take place in infinitives like مارُن *mârun*, to beat.

The vowel *ô* becomes *û* before all *mâtrâ*-vowels. Thus, base *pôth-*, a book; nom. sing. پۆتھ *pûthi*. Base *hôn-*, a dog; nom. sing. هُون *hûnu*, nom. plur. هُون *hûni*. Base *kôr-*, a girl; nom. sing. کُور *kûrû*. Root *bôz*, hear; aorist sing. masc. بُوز *bûzu*, fem. بُوز *bûzü*, plur. masc. بُوز *bûzi*. The letter *ô*, also becomes *û*, before an *i* or *u* which is not final. Thus, acc. sing. هُونس *hûnis*, but abl. هونہ *hôni*. It however remains unchanged in the case of infinitives like بۆزن *bôzun*, to hear.

It will be observed that nowhere have I quoted above any examples of feminines plural. The reason is that these always end in either *e* or *a*, neither of which ever affects a preceding vowel. Thus, the aorist fem. plur. of *pak* is پَچہ *pache;* of *trâv* is ترٛاوہ *trâve;* of *liv* is لوِہ *live;* of *chîr* is چیرہ *chîre;* of *phêr* is پھیرہ *phêre;* of *wuchh* is وُچھہ *wuchhe;* of *bûz* is بُزہ *bûza;* of *woth* is وُژھہ *wotsha;* of *bôz* is بۆزہ *bôza*.

3. Consonants also change before certain vowels, and, conversely, after *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, and *s*, e is usually changed to *a* and *y* is elided. Compare § 90. The following are the consonantal changes. They do not occur in the case of non-listed verbs as explained in § 137 (*a*).

The consonant *ḍ* becomes *j* before *i*, *e* and *y*, but not before *mâtrâ*-vowels. Thus, بوڈ *boḍu*, great, fem. بڈ *baḍû*, dat. sing. fem. بجہ *baji*, nom. plur. fem. بجہ *baje*. Root *ganḍ*, bind, aorist fem. sing. گنڈ *ganḍû*, plur. گنجہ *ganje;* Plup. II. گنجیوو *ganjyôv*.

The letter *ṭ* in similar cases becomes *ch*. Thus موٹ *moṭu*, fat; موچیر *mochyar*, fatness. پٹ *paṭû*, a tablet, dat. sing. پچہ *pachi*, nom. plur. پچہ *pache*. Root *tsaṭ*, cut; aorist fem. sing. چٹ *tsaṭû*, plur. چچہ *tsache;* Plup. II. چچیوو *tsachyôv*.

The letter *ṭh* under the same circumstances becomes *chh*. Base *kâṭh-*, a stalk; nom. sing. fem. کاٹھ *kôṭhû;* dat. sing. کاچھہ *kâchhi*, nom. plur. کاچھہ *kâchhe*. Base *drânṭh-*, hard, درانچھیر *drânchhyar*, hardness. دیوٹھ *dyûṭhu*, he was seen; fem. sing. دیٹھ *dûṭhû*, plur. دیچھہ *dêchhe;* Plup. II. دیچھیوو *dêchhyov*.

Note that in none of these three instances, does the change occur in the case of masculine nouns or adjectives of the second declension. Thus, the masc. abl. sing. of بوڈ *boḍu* is بڈہ *baḍi*, not بجہ *baji*, and its masc. dat. plur. is بڈن *baḍen*, not بجن *bajen*.

The letters *g* and *l* become *j* before *û-mâtrâ*, *e*, and *y*, but not before *i* or *i-mâtrâ*. Thus, root *dag*, pound; aorist masc. sing. دوگ *dogu*, plur. دگ *dagi;* fem. sing. دج *dajû*, plur. دجہ *daje* Base *wâl-*, a ring; fem. nom. وآج *wôjû*. Root *pâl*, protect; aorist masc. sing. پول *pôlu*, plur. پآل *pôli;* fem. sing. پآج *pôju*, plur. پاجہ *pâje;* Plup. II. پاجیوو *pâjyôv*.

Under the same circumstances, the letters *k* and *kh* become *ch* and *chh* respectively. Thus, بٹک *batuku*, a duck, nom. fem. بٹچ *batachû*. Root *thak*, be weary; aorist masc. sing. تھک

thokᵘ, plur. تھک *thaki*; fem. sing. تھچ *thachû*, plur. تھچہ *thache*; Plup. II. تھچیوو *thachyôv*. Base *hokh-*, dry, ہچھیر *hochhyar*, dryness, fem. sing. ہچھ *hochhû*, dry, plur. ہچھہ *hochhe*. Root *lêkh*, write; aorist fem. sing. لیچھ *lêchhû*, plur. لیچھہ *lêchhe*; Plup. II. لیچھیوو *lêchhyôv*.

Under the same circumstances the letter *t* becomes *ts*, *th* becomes *tsh*, *d* becomes *z*, and *n* becomes *ñ*; and when the vowel that follows is *e*, that vowel becomes *a*, or, when final, *ạ*. So also a following *y* is elided. Thus, base *rât-*, night; nom. plur. رآچ *rôtsû*. Base *tat-*, hot; تچر *tatsar*, for *tatsyar*, heat. Root *kat*, spin; aorist fem. sing. کچ *kạtsû*, plur. کچہ *katsạ*; Plup. II. کچوو *katsôv*. کتھ *koth*, a hank; nom. plur. کچھ *kotshû*. Root *woth*, arise; aorist fem. sing. وچھ *wotshû*, plur. وچھہ *wotshạ*; Plup. II. وچھوو *wotshôv*. گرند *grand*, a counting, nom. plur. گرنز *grạnzû*. Root *lad*, build; aorist fem. sing. لز *lạzû*, plur. لزہ *lazạ*, Plup. II. لزوو *lazôv*. Base *thad-*, high, تھزر *thazar*, height. Base *yîran-*, an anvil, nom. plur. ییرن *yîrạñû*. Base *tan-*, thin; تنیر *tañar*, thinness. Root *ran*, cook; aorist fem. sing. رن *rạñû*, plur. رنیہ *rañạ*; Plup. II. رنیوو *rañôv*.

Under the same circumstances, *h* becomes *sh*. Base *hih-*, like; ہشیر *hishyar*, likeness; fem. sing. ہش *hishû*, like.

Note as before that none of these changes occur in the declension of masculine nouns of the second declension.

4. The soft aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *ḍh*, and *bh* have completely disappeared. Even when pandits write them they are not pronounced. The corresponding unaspirated letters are substituted for for them. Thus گر *guru*, a horse, for *ghuru*, Prakrit *ghôḍô*, Sanskrit *ghôṭakaḥ*; بوی *bôyᵘ*, a brother, for Hindî *bhâî*. The soft aspirate *jh* has become softened to *z*, e. g., بوزن *bôzun*, to bear, Sanskrit *budhya-tê*, Pr. *bujjha-i*.

As in other Indo-Aryan Vernaculars the cerebral *ṇ* has almost completely disappeared, and *n* is substituted for it. Thus, کن *kon*, the ear, Pr. *kaṇṇô*, Skr. *karṇaḥ*.

HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI DYNASTY.

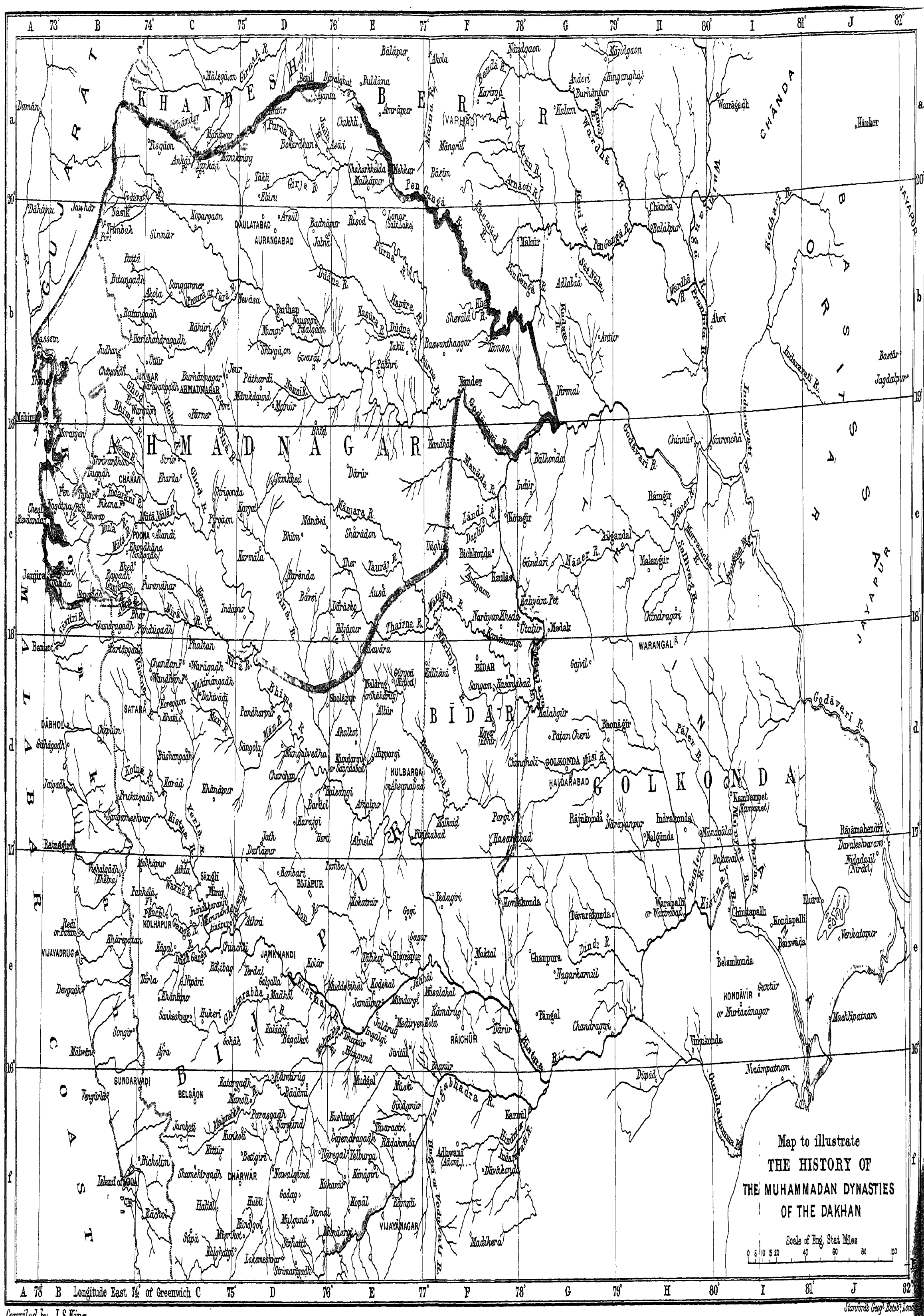
BY MAJOR J. S. KING, M. R. A. S.

(*Continued from p.* 323.)

Index to the Map.

Note. — The letters after the names correspond with those in the borders of the map, and indicate the square in which the name will be found. In this map the compiler has endeavoured to represent the **Dakhan as it was in A. D. 1565, shortly after the battle of Tâlîkoṭ.**

Adhwânî (Adoni)	Ff	'Ainâpur	Ce
'Adlâbâd	Gb	Ajanta	Da
Afẓalpur	Ed	Âjrâ	Ce
Aḥmadnagar	Cb	Akalkot	Ed
Ailgandal (Yelgandal)	Hc	Âkerî	Ib


Map to illustrate
THE HISTORY OF
THE MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES
OF THE DAKHAN
Scale of Eng. Stat. Miles
Compiled by J. S. King
Stanford's Geog! Estab! London
A 73° B Longitude East 74° of Greenwich C 75° D 76° E 77° F 78° G 79° H 80° I 81° J 82°
KHANDESH
BERAR
(VARHAD)
CHANDA
GUJARAT
AHMADNAGAR
BIDAR
GOLKONDA
BIJAPUR
MALABAR COAST
ORISSA
JAYAPUR
TELINGANA
DAULATABAD
AURANGABAD
AHMADNAGAR
JUNNAR
POONA
CHAKAN
SATARA
KOLHAPUR
BIJAPUR
JAMKHANDI
KULBARGA
BIDAR
WARANGAL
GOLKONDA
HAIDARABAD
RAICHUR
BELGAON
DHARWAR
VIJAYANAGAR
SUNDARVADI
VIJAYADRUG
DABHOL
KONDAVIR
Island of GOA
Nasik
Sholapur
Masulipatam
Rajamahendri
Kistna R.
Godavari R.
Bhima R.
Tungabhadra R.
Wardha R.
Pen Ganga R.

Akola	Fa
Âlandî	Cc
Allûr	Ed
Almela	Ed
Amrâpur	Ea
Anagâ,oṇ	Fc
Andorî	Ga
Ankâ,î	Ca
Antûr	Da
Antûr	Gb
Arsûl	Db
Asâ,î (Assaye)	Da
Âshtâ	Ce
Athnî	De
Aurangâbâd	Db
Ausâ	Ec
Bâdâmî (ancient Vatâpîpuri)	Df
Bâgalkot	De
Baizvâḍâ	Ie
Balâlpur	Hb
Bâlkoṇḍa	Gc
Bânkot	Bd
Bardol	Dd
Bârsî	Dc
Bâsîm	Fa
Bassein (Wasâ,î)	Ab
Bastâr	Jb
Baswanthaggar	Fb
Bâtaval	Ie
Belamkoṇḍa	Ie
Belgâ,oṇ	Cf
Bethalvâḍî	Da
Beṭîgiri (Beṭgere)	Df
Bhanûr	Ff
Bhîḍ	Db
Bhonâgîr	Gd
Bhor	Bc
Bhorap	Bc
Bhûm	Dc
Bichkoṇḍa	Fc
Bicholim	Cf
Bîdar	Fd
Bijâpur	De
Bitangaḍh	Bb
Bokardhan	Da
Buldânâ	Ea
Burhânâbâd (or Burhânnagar)	Cb
Burhânpur	Ga
Bûshangaḍh	Cd
Châkan	Bc
Chândâ	Hb
Chandan[74]	Cd
Chândor	Ca
Chandrâgaḍh	Bc
Chandrâgirî	Ge
Charchan	Dd
Châvandh	Bb
Chéûl (Chaul)	Ac
Chikhlî	Ea
Chinchlî	Ce
Chincholî	Fd
Chindragirî	Hc
Chinnûr	Hc
Chintapallî	Ie
Chiplûn	Bd
Dâbhol	Bd
Daflâpur	De
Daglûr	Fc
Dâhânu	Ab
Dahivâḍî	Cd
Damal	Df
Dâmân	Aa
Danda-Râjpurî	Bc
Dârâsko	Ec
Dârûr	Ec
Dârûr	Fe
Daulatabad (or Devagiri)	Db
Dâvâkoṇḍa	Ff
Dâvaleshvaram	Je
Dâvalghât	Ea
Devarakoṇḍa	Ge
Devgaḍh	Be
Dhanûr	Ee
Dhârwâr	Df
Dûpâd	Hf
Elûru (Ellora)	Da
Elûru	Je
Fîrûzâbâd	Ed
Gaḍag	Df
Gajendragaḍh	Ef
Gajvîl	Gd
Galgalla	De
Gândarî	Gc
Ganjautî	Ed
Ghanpura	Gc
Givarâ,î	Db
Goa	Bf
Gogî	Ee
Gokâk	Ce
Golkoṇḍa	Gd

[74] In the historical MSS. Chandan and Wandhan are always mentioned together, as if they were one place.

Gûhâgaḍh	Bd
Gunjotî (Kinjotî)	Ed
Guntûr	Ie
Ḥaidarâbâd	Gd
Haliâl	Cf
Ḥasanâbâd	Fd
Ḥasanâbâḍ	Fd
Harîchandragaḍh	Bb
Hinganghât	Ga
Hippargî	Ed
Hortî	Dd
Hublî	Df
Hukerî	Ce
Hungund	Ee
Iṇchalkaranjî	Ce
Indâpur	Dc
Indrakoṇḍa	Hd
Indûr	Gc
Ingalgî (properly Iṅgaḷigi)	Ee
Jagdalpur	Jb
Jaigaḍh	Bd
Jaldrug	Ee
Jâlihâl	Ee
Jâlnâ	Db
Jamâlpur	Ee
Jambotî	Cf
Jamkhandi	De
Jâmkheḍ	Dc
Janjîra	Bc
Jath	Dd
Jawhâr	Bb
Jeûr	Cb
Judhan	Bb
Junnar	Bb
Kâgal	Ce
Kalâdgî	De
Kalam	Ga
Kalburgâ	Ed
Kalghatkî	Df
Kaliyânî Peṭ	Gc
Kalabgûr	Gd
Kalyâṇ[75]	Bb
Kalyânî	Fd
Kamâmungî	Fc
Kambampeṭ (Kamâmet)	Id
Kamplî	Ef
Kânâkgirî	Ef
Kanbarî	De
Kandhâr	Fc
Kânker	Ja
Karhâḍ (Karâḍ)	Cd
Karajgî	Dd
Kariṇja	Fa
Karjat	Dc
Karmâlâ	Dc
Karnûl	Gf
Katargaḍh	Df
Kaulâs	Fc
Khânâpur	Cd
Khânâpur	Ce
Khardâ	Cc
Khârepâṭaṇ	Be
Khaṭâ,o	Cd
Kheḍ	Bc
Khelnâ (see Vishâlgaḍh).	
Khondâṇâ (Siṇhgaḍh)	Bc
Kittûr	Cf
Koḍekal	Ee
Kokatnûr	Ee
Kolâr	De
Kolhâpur	Ce
Koṇḍapallî	Ie
Koṇḍâvîr (or Murtaẓânagar)	Ie
Kopâl	Ef
Kopargâ,oṇ	Cb
Koregâ,oṇ	Cd
Kotâgîr	Fc
Kovalakoṇḍa	Fe
Koyer (Kohîr)	Fd
Kukkanûr	Ef
Kulbargâ (see Kalburgâ).	
Kundgol	Df
Kurandvâḍ	Ce
Kurtholî	Df
Kushtagî	Ef
Lahâgaḍh (see Luhgaḍh).	
Laksmeshvar	Df
Lavârâ	Ed
Lonâr (Salt Lake)	Eb
Luhgaḍh (properly Lohogaḍh)	Bc
Machlipatnam	Je
Madhol	De
Madîkehra	Ff
Mahim	Ab
Mahimângaḍh	Cd
Mâhûr	Fb
Maktal	Fe
Malangûr	Hc
Mâlegâ,oṇ	Ca
Malkâpur	Ea

[75] Omitted in map. Lat. 19° 14′ N. Long. 73° 10′ E.

Mâlkheḍ	Fd
Mâlwân	Be
Mândgâ,oṇ	Ga
Mândwâ	De
Mândwar	Ca
Mangalveḍhâ	Dd
Mângrûl	Fa
Mânikdaund	Db
Mânikpûnj	Ca
Manolî	Df
Manûr	Db
Médak	Gc
Mediryen Kota	Ee
Mehkâr	Ea
Miraj	Ce
Misrîkot	Df
Moranjan...	Bc
Muddebihâl	Ee
Mudgal	Ef
Mulgund...	Df
Mûnagâlâ...	Hd
Mundargî (or Saiyidâbâd)	Ed
Mundargî...	Ee
Mundargî...	Df
Mungî	Db
Musalakal	Fe
Muskî	Ef
Nagarkarnûl	Ge
Nâgotnâ	Bc
Naldrug (or Shâhdrug)	Ed
Nalgundâ...	Hd
Nândér (Nândair)	Fb
Nândgâ,oṇ	Fa
Nârâyangaḍh	Cb
Nârâyankheḍâ	Fc
Nârâyanpur	Gd
Nâregal	Df
Nargund	Df
Nâsik	Bb
Nangâ,oṇ	Db
Navalgund (Navilugunda)	Df
Nevâsâ	Cb
Nidada,ûl (Nirdol)	Je
Nikonâ	Bc
Nipânî	Ce
Nizâmpatnam	If
Paiṭhaṇ[76]	Db
Pâlî	Bc
Pandharpur	Dd
Pândûgaḍh	Bc
Pângal	Ge
Panhâlâ	Ce
Parasgaḍh	Df
Parendâ	Dc
Pargî	Fd
Pârnér	Cb
Partâpgaḍh	Bd
Patan (see Rédî).	
Pâthardî	Db
Patan Cherû	Gd
Pâthrî	Eb
Pattâ	Bb
Phaltan	Cc
Pîpalgâ,oṇ	Db
Pîrgâ,oṇ	Bc
Poona	Cc
Prachitgaḍh	Bd
Purandhar	Cc
Râchol	Cf
Râdakoṇḍâ	Ef
Râhûrî	Cb
Râ,îbâg	Ce
Râ,îchûr	Fe
Râjâmahendrî (Râjâmundrî)	Jd
Râjgaḍh	Bc
Râjpurî	Bc
Râjûkoṇḍâ	Gd
Râmdrug	Df
Râmdrug	Fe
Râmgîr	Hc
Ratangaḍh	Bb
Ratnâgirî	Bd
Râygaḍh	Bc
Rédî (or Paṭan)	Be
Revdaṇda...	Ac
Risod	Eb
Sagar	Ee
Saiyidâbâd (see Mundargî).	
Sangam	Fd
Sangameshvar	Bd
Sangamnér	Cb
Sângalî	Ce
Sângola	Dd
Sankeshvar	Ce
Sâtârâ	Cd
Shâhdrug (see Naldrug).	
Shakarkhelda	Ea
Shamshîrgaḍh	Cf
Sharâdon...	Ec
Shevâlâ	Fb

[76] Also known as Mungî Paiṭhaṇ and Brahmapuri Prathisthana.

Shevgâ,oṇ	Db	Terdal	De
Sholâpur	Dd	Thânâ	Bb
Shorâpur	Ee	Ther	Ee
Shrîgoṇḍa	Cc	Tîsgâ,oṇ	Ca
Shrîvardhan	Bc	Toljâpur	Ee
Sindanûr	Ef	Trimbak	Bb
Siṇhgaḍh (see Kondhânâ).		Tung	Be
Sinnâr	Cb	Udghîr	Fc
Siṇroncha...	Ic	Ûtalûr	Ge
Sirhatti	Df	Uttûr	Cb
Sirûr	Cc	Vengûrlâ	Bf
Sivitâl	Ee	Venkatapur	Je
Songîr (Sonkehr)	Be	Vijayâdrug	Be
Shrîmantgaḍh	Df	Vijayânagar	Ef
Sundarvâḍî	Cf	Vinukoṇḍa	He
Sûpâ	Cf	Vishâlgaḍh (Khelnâ)	Be
Tâklî	Da	Warâgaḍh	Cd
Taklî	Eb	Warangal (Worangal)	Hd
Tâmbâ	Ee	Warâpallî (or Wazîrâbâd)	He
Tâmsâ	Fb	Wargâ,oṇ...	Bb
Tankâ,î	Ca	Yedagiri	Fe
Târlâ	Ce	Yelburgâ	Ef
Târaragiri	Ef		

ON THE INDIAN EPICS.[1]

BY M. NARAYANA SASTRI, M.A.

THE object of this article is to offer some criticisms of Prof. Weber's History of Indian Literature, especially of the portion dealing with the subject of the great Indian Epics. He bases his argument for fixing an earlier date for the *Mahâbhârata* than for the *Râmâyaṇa* on the following grounds: —

(i.) That the *Râmâyaṇa* is an allegory, and has therefore no historical foundation deserving of the name.

(ii.) That it indicates the colonisation of Southern India by the Aryans; and that this event could not have taken place before the settlement of the Aryans in Upper India which is the theme of the *Mahâbhârata.*

We now propose to test the learned Professor's conclusions, though at the outset we must admit that we have no historical data on which to base our arguments. And we may as well say at once that in our view of the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata the former is of a remoter antiquity than the latter. We shall now give below the various grounds on which this conclusion has been arrived at.

(1) Both the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* abound in exaggerations. Now there is nothing extraordinary in exaggerations which are to a certain extent permissible even in ordinary conversation. Thus, we call a man of brilliant intellectual powers, an intellectual giant, a very strong man a Hercules, a very wise man a Socrates or a Solomon, and so on. We are therefore naturally prepared to come across exaggerated accounts of the events related in epic poetry. But even then the fanciful exaggerations indulged in by Vâlmîki in his immortal epic, the *Râmâyaṇa*, are such as a modern is not prepared for. Râvaṇa, for instance,

[1] [I print this article as an interesting result of the attitude of orthodox Hindus towards their great Epics, and not by way of endorsing the views or the arguments contained in it.—ED.]

had ten heads and twenty arms. His form resembled a mountain. He was so strong that he could disturb the seas and uproot mountain-tops. He defeated Kubêra, and carried off his aërial car Pushpaka. Being as tall as a mountain-summit he obstructed the rising of the sun and the moon with his arms. He was a terror to the three worlds. He conquered Indra, the Gandharvas, Yakshas and others. He was so powerful that even the sun and the wind obeyed him. The sea was calm in his presence (*Bâlakâṇḍa, sarga* 15). And there is a detailed description of his wonderful exploits in *sargas* 14 to 34 of the *Uttarakâṇḍa*. And this mighty Râvaṇa was squeezed in his arm-pit by Vâli, a monkey-chieftain who carried him to the four seas, in the waters of which he (Vâli) performed his evening worship (*Uttarakâṇḍa, sarga* 34).

Râvaṇa set in motion the mountain Kailâsa, the abode of Śiva, which so greatly provoked the deity that he pressed the mountain with his toe. Thereupon Râvaṇa's arms were crushed beneath the weight of Śiva's toe, and he kept on roaring for thousands of years. And hence the name Râvaṇa (*U. K., sarga* 16). Kumbhakarṇa was Râvaṇa's brother, of gigantic proportions, looking like a mountain with his form towering to the skies. He was roused by ten thousand elephants (*Y. K., sarga* 61) marching across his body. The demons were unable to withstand the force of his breath (*Y. K., sarga* 60). He swallowed monkeys who issued from his belly through his nostrils and ears (*Y. K., sarga* 67).

Indrajit was, as his name signifies, the conqueror of Indra. He could by his psychic powers make himself invisible (*Y. K., sargas* 44 and 45). Râma cut off 101 times the heads of Râvaṇa, which grew again whenever cut off. Kabandha was a headless demon with arms a *yôjana* (= 8 miles) in length, having his mouth in the belly (*A. K., sarga* 71). Hanumat, the minister of Sugrîva, was a monkey. He was well-versed in the *Vêdas* and in all grammars (*K. K., sarga* 3). His wonderful flight across the ocean and the extraordinary exploits achieved by him in Laṅkâ are described in the *Sundarakâṇḍa*. *Sargas* 73 and 74 of *Yuddhakâṇḍa* describe the hypnotic trance of Râma and Lakshmaṇa brought on by Indrajit; the flight of Hanumat to the Himâlayas to fetch medicinal herbs known as *mṛitasañjîvini* and *viśalyakaraṇi* and his speedy return to the battle-field with the uprooted medicinal mountain. The monkey army of Râma is said to have constructed a bridge connecting India and Ceylon by throwing into the sea rocks, seas and mountains (*Y. K., sarga* 22). While only a boy Râma killed Tâḍakâ who was endowed with the strength of a thousand elephants (*Bâlakâṇḍa, sargas* 25 and 26). While a youth he vanquished Paraśurâma, a world-renowned warrior who rid the earth of Kshatriyas twenty-one times (*B. K., sarga* 76). Sîtâ, the wife of Râma, was born of no woman, but was found by king Janaka while he was ploughing the field for sacrificial purposes.

From the above it will be seen that the whole story of the *Râmâyaṇa* rests upon a series of wild hyperboles and astounding improbabilities. All the characters who figure in the epic are endowed with a form and strength which are never found in mortals. All the scenes of the *Râmâyaṇa* are painted in exaggerated colours. Almost all the incidents, such as Râma's birth, the origin of Sîtâ, Râma's boyhood and adventures, Sîtâ's display of her extraordinary strength in playfully handling the bow of Śiva, Râma's destroying 14,000 Râkshasas in the Janasthâna, the appearance of Mârîcha in the form of a golden deer, Râvaṇa's appearance before Sîtâ in the form of a *sannyâsin*, his throwing off his disguise, his carrying off Sîtâ in an aërial car, his encounter with a vulture named Jaṭâyu, the formation of Râma's friendship with Sugrîva, a monkey chieftain, Hanumat's flight to Laṅkâ and return therefrom with the news of the existence of Sîtâ, Râma's march to Laṅkâ with a mighty army composed of monkeys who could use rocks, trees and mountains as missiles, the construction of a causeway by the monkeys across the channel between India and Ceylon, their encounter with demons 'who when they please can either sex assume or both,' the destruction of Râvaṇa by extraordinary means, and Râma's return to Ayôdhyâ in an aërial car, are to a certain extent, merely the product of the poet's brain. The reader of the *Râmâyaṇa* is at all times made to feel that the actors are not moving in a mundane sphere.

But on turning to the *Mahâbhârata* we find that, full of exaggerations as it is, it very often gives pictures of real life. Thus, to our mind, there is nothing extraordinary in Yudhishṭhira's losing his kingdom by playing at dice, his exile with his brothers and Draupadî, their living disguised at the court of king Virâṭa during the thirteenth year of their exile, their open declaration of war, the operations of their warfare and the destruction of Duryôdhana's army. Moreover, the *Mahâbhârata* deals with men and not with monkeys and demons as does the *Râmâyaṇa*. And though the Pâṇḍavas and the Kauravas are often described as endowed with a strength and energy almost superhuman and as performing wondrous exploits worthy of the gods themselves, we find so much in their nature, their actions and movements and their modes of thought that is common to humanity that we cannot help feeling that, after all, they are men. We can very well conceive how among mankind disputes might arise between two parties, how these disputes might end in war, how assistance might be rendered to both the parties by their respective allies, how the operations of war might be conducted on a very grand scale, how heroes might distinguish themselves on the field of battle by their brilliant warlike achievements, and how one party might win the day. But the idea of a human hero attempting to wage war against a mighty demon with the aid of a host of monkeys is so very unnatural that we are compelled to arrive at the conclusion that the Râmâyaṇa must have been composed at a time when the Aryans were a most simple and credulous nation. They were, in fact, so simple and imaginative that they could believe in the possibility of anything and everything. But at the time of the Mahâbhârata the people became more practical and less simple and credulous, and hence the inference is that the Râmâyaṇa is more ancient than the Mahâbhârata.

(2) In the 10th *sarga* of the *Bâlakâṇḍa*, a sage named Ṛishyaśṛiṅga is introduced, whose habits and mode of life were very peculiar. He led so solitary a life in the wilderness that he did not know what the world was like. He had never seen in his life a man or a woman. King Lômapâda, the ruler of Aṅga, in whose territory people began to suffer from want of rain, bethought himself of the curious plan of sending to the sage some courtezans with instructions to use their utmost influence towards making him quit the forest and accompany them to his capital. He accordingly put the plan into execution. The sage was brought to him, and as soon as he set foot on the king's territory, rain began to pour down in great torrents. This sage was born of a hind and had a horn on his head and hence his name. King Daśaratha at the instigation of his learned counsellor Sumantra invited the sage to be present on the occasion of the performance of his *aśvamêdha* sacrifice. Does not the introduction of such a mythical personage into the Râmâyaṇa point to its very high antiquity?

(3) *Sargas* 26 to 30 of the *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa* describe a conversation between Râma and Sîtâ: how Râma advises Sîtâ to stay at Ayôdhyâ while according to an oath he went to the forest and led the life of a hermit for a term of fourteen years, how Sîtâ refuses to listen to the advice and is bent upon accompanying him wherever he might go, and how Râma at last yields to her arguments and praises her for her incomparable virtue.

Sarga 9 of the *Âraṇyakâṇḍa* contains the advice of Sîtâ to Râma, not to make himself an enemy to the Râkshâsas without due provocation. *Sargas* 47 and 48 of the same *kâṇḍa* describe the conversation between Sîtâ and Râvaṇa while she was on the point of being forcibly carried off by him to Laṅkâ. *Sargas* 20 to 22 of the *Sundarakâṇḍa* describe the conversation between Râvaṇa and Sîtâ when the former visits her with lustful feelings. *Sarga* 26 of the same *kâṇḍa* contains her lamentations. *Sargas* 117 and 118 of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* describe how Râma refuses to acknowledge her as his wife, how she tries to convince him of her chastity, and how at last she makes up her mind to ascend the funeral pyre. *Sarga* 48 of the *Uttarakâṇḍa* contains Sîtâ's gentle message to Râma on her hearing from Lakshmaṇa that she was banished to the forest by Râma.

Adhyâya 12 of the *Vaṇa Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* contains **Draupadî's** lamentations before Kṛishṇa. She throws herself on the mercy of Kṛishṇa while she very severely takes the Pâṇḍavas to task for their being mere passive eye-witnesses of the disgrace she was subjected to by the Kauravas, who dragged her by the hair into the midst of a mighty assembly. *Adhyâyas* 27 to 32 of the same *Parvan* describe a conversation between Draupadî and Yudhishṭhira; how she exhorts him to avenge her wrongs on Duryôdhana, how she expatiates on the evils of forgiveness carried too far, how Yudhishṭhira in reply points out the evil consequences of anger, how he maintains his theory that forgiveness is never lost, how Draupadî is inclined to question the wisdom of Providence in making the weak to suffer and the innocent to be oppressed by the strong and the wicked, how Yudhishṭhira checks her atheism, and inculcates the moral that virtue is its own reward, and how at last Draupadî censures the conduct of those who leave everything to chance without exerting themselves in the least. In *adhyâyas* 231 and 232 of the same *Parvan* we find that Satyabhâmâ comes to Draupadî and asks her how it is that, while her five husbands are so very kind towards her and are so ready to carry out her slightest wishes, she (Satyabhâmâ) was not able to win the affections of her husband. Draupadî replies to this in her own dignified tone. First she scorns the idea of enslaving a husband by having recourse to the influence of drugs, and then lectures on the duties of a wife, and relates how she herself waits upon her husbands, how she generally conducts herself, how a wife should regulate her conduct in the presence of her husband as well as, in his absence, in the presence of her husband's relations, and how she should worship the Brâhmaṇs, and so on.

A perusal of the above *sargas* and *adhyâyas* of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* will clearly indicate that Draupadî is far superior to Sîtâ, both in point of intellect and in point of practical wisdom. From the *Râmâyaṇa* we learn that Sîtâ was highly virtuous and that she was well-versed in the code of morals relating to the duties of a wife towards her husband, that she was gentle and simple, that her message to Râma, when she was banished by him to the forest on the ground of her having been suspected by the people of Ayôdhyâ of unchastity towards her husband, was kind and well-meant. Sîtâ was then placed in a most unenviable position and yet she did not in the least reproach Râma. On the contrary she advises him to rule the kingdom wisely and well. We thus find her to be the gentlest of her sex, of a calm and resigned spirit, and readily yielding to the decree of fate. Turning to Draupadî, we find that she was as virtuous as Sîtâ and of a loftier intellect. She was capable of giving advice to any person in matters social, political, moral and religious. Her advice to Satyabhâmâ and Yudhishṭhira was fraught with wisdom and truth, and might well serve as a code of laws for the conduct of men and women in the present day. Sîtâ could very well advise her husband to take her to the forest along with him, but she could not, like Draupadî, read lectures to him on the evils of leaving everything to the chapter of accidents. The arguments which Draupadî brings forward in support of her theory that man should always exert himself in this world if he wishes to attain success and eminence are simply irresistible.

In Sîtâ we fail to find that pride, that confidence in self, that courage, that intellect and that resolve not to tamely submit to the decree of fate, which so eminently characterise Draupadî. When Yudhishṭhira had staked even his wife Draupadî and lost her in gambling, the wicked Duryôdhana, inspired with passion for her, sent a messenger named Prâtikâmin with orders to bring her immediately to his abode. The messenger went to Draupadî, informed her of all that had taken place, and asked her to accompany him to the abode of Dhṛitarâshṭra as ordered by Duryôdhana. She was thunderstruck on hearing this news, but gathered sufficient presence of mind to ask him very pertinently whether her husband had first staked himself or her. If he had staked and lost himself first and then staked her, then the question naturally arises whether, being a slave himself, he was in a position to exercise any authority over his wife. Would this question have suggested itself to any ordinary mind? Again, her eloquent and stirring appeal to the assembly of kings when she was threatened with disgrace by Duḥśâsana and her arguments against the validity of the play at dice show that she was indeed

a highly intellectual princess and had sufficient wisdom, courage and presence of mind to address an august assembly.

It is clear then from the above that while **Sîtâ belongs to an age of ignorance and simplicity, Draupadî belongs to an age of wisdom and refinement, and that the age of the Râmâyaṇa is therefore anterior to the Mahâbhârata.**

(3) In *adhyâya* 147 of the *Âdi Parvan* we find the following incident related :—

Duryôdhana and his counsellors Karṇa and Śakuni formed a plan for the destruction of the Pâṇḍavas. The plan was this : They engaged the services of **a Mlêchchha**, named Purôchana, who was a clever architect, and instructed him to build at Vâraṇâvata a palace out of combustible substances such as lac, hemp, resin, straw, bamboos, etc. When the palace was erected they ingeniously induced the Pâṇḍavas to pay a visit to Vâraṇâvata, where a festival of Paśupati or Śiva was to take place at the time, and they gave instructions to Purôchana to receive them kindly at Vâraṇâvata and to take them to the newly erected palace. He was to set fire to it on some night after assuring himself that the Pâṇḍavas were sleeping inside in all confidence. This plan became known to Vidura, uncle of the Pâṇḍavas, the qualities of whose head and heart were excellent, and who, throughout the *Mahâbhârata*, played the part of an admirable preacher on morals. Vidura, then, seeing the danger which threatened the Pâṇḍavas made up his mind to reveal the plot to Yudhishṭhira and to put him on his guard. With this object in view he accompanied Yudhishṭhira on his way to Vâraṇâvata and opened a conversation with him in the Mlêchchha tongue in order that it might not be understood by all the others. Yudhishṭhira, of course, understood him and took care to see the catastrophe averted. From this incident we learn that **at the time of the Mahâbhârata,** the influence of the Mlêchchhas was spreading slowly over the country and that their language was known at least to a few of the royal household. Now **what could this Mlêchchha tongue have been ?** Assuredly, it could not have been the spoken language of Hindustan, for, if it had been, all would have understood Vidura's conversation with Yudhishṭhira and thus the object of the former would have been frustrated. It could not have been the language spoken by the non-Aryan tribes of India for the reason that that was too insignificant to attract the notice of kings; nor could it have been a language known to all the royal household, since Yudhishṭhira's brothers were unable to catch the significance of Vidura's expressions. It will thus be seen that it was neither the language of royalty nor that of the people. **It must therefore have been the language of a nation of foreigners who, we should suppose, had made their influence felt by the kings of Hindustan.**

In the Râmâyaṇa, however, we find no trace of the existence of such an influence. In fact **we fail to discover that any character, whether principal or subordinate, had a knowledge of the Mlêchchha tongue.** We come across only two passages in the *Râmâyaṇa* in which allusion is made to the Mlêchchhas. One of these passages describes how the Cow of Plenty belonging to Vasishṭha created hoards of various tribes such as Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Mlêchchhas for the purpose of attacking Viśvâmitra who tried to carry her off by force (*sargas* 54 and 55 of *Bâlakâṇḍa*). Even here the poet does not deal with them as real characters, but represents them as having sprung from the Cow of Plenty in a miraculous way. The other passage referred to is to be found in *sarga* 3 of the *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa*, where the kings of the north, the south, the east and the west and the Mlêchchha kings are represented as paying homage to king Daśaratha. We thus see that in the whole of the *Râmâyaṇa*, we find only two allusions made to Mlêchchhas and only one to Yavanas, Śakas and others.

In the war-portion of the *Râmâyaṇa* we find no allusion made to them. But in the war-portion of the *Mahâbhârata* we find several allusions made to them as follows: — (*a*) In *adhyâya* 26 of the *Drôṇa Parvan*, Bhîma is said to have slain a Mlêchchha king of the Aṅgas. (*b*) In *adhyâya* 93 of the same *Parvan*, the Yavanas, the Śakas and the Paradas are said to

have fought against Arjuna. (c) In *adhyâya* 119 of the same *Parvan*, the Yavanas are said to have been defeated by Sâtyaki. (d) In *adhyâya* 122 of the same *Parvan*, a Mlêchchha force headed by Duḥśâsana fights against Sâtyaki. (e) In *adhyâya* 81 of the *Karṇa Parvan*, Arjuna is said to have been attacked by the Mlêchchhas with an army of elephants. (f) In *adhyâya* 20 of the *Śalya Parvan*, a Mlêchchha king, Salva, is said to have proceeded against the Pâṇḍavas and to have been slain by Sâtyaki.

It will be evident from the above that at the time of the Râmâyaṇa the Aryans had less to do with the Mlêchchhas and the Yavanas than at the time of the Mahâbhârata and that the Râmâyaṇa therefore belongs to an earlier age.

(4) As regards **the modes of warfare** which were in vogue at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* and of the *Mahâbhârata*. In proof of the greater advance made by the people in the science of archery at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* than at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*, we may recite the different ways in which Râma and Arjuna were subjected to a trial of skill in archery at the time of their winning the hands of Sîtâ and Draupadî respectively. King Janaka of Mithilâ announced his intention of giving his daughter in marriage to him who could string the bow of Siva, which was in his possession. Râma, as we all know, not only strung the bow, but also broke it to pieces. King Drupada, however, assigned no such easy task to the man who sought the hand of Draupadî in marriage. King Drupada expressed his desire of bestowing the hand of his daughter on him who could by means of an enormous bow shoot five arrows simultaneously through a revolving ring into a target beyond. Arjuna was the only hero who achieved the exploit.

Again, in the *Râmâyaṇa* the construction of the **army** was simple. In *sarga* 4 of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* we find Râma disposing his army as follows. Gavya and Gavâksha march forth in front of the army, Ṛishabha protects the right wing, Gandha and Gandhamâdana the left, Râma and Lakshmaṇa move in the centre, Jâmbavat, Sushêṇa and another monkey bring up the rear. *Sarga* 3 of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* gives an account of the fortifications of Laṅkâ and other details from which we learn that Râvaṇa maintained an army composed of horsemen and elephants, that Laṅkâ could be approached by four gates, at each of which was stationed a host of Râkshasas, provided with arms, stones and machines and iron weapons capable of killing one hundred persons at a time (*śataghnis*). In *sargas* 43 and 44 of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* the Râkshasas are said to have used all sorts of weapons, such as swords, maces, darts and arrows. They were mounted on cars; they blew conches and beat drums. But the monkeys fighting on the side of Râma used trees and mountains as their weapons. They had no cars; nor did they blow conches. They could not boast of horses or elephants. Râma and Lakshmaṇa were the only characters who discharged arrows. The cars of some of the Râkshasa chiefs, such as Râvaṇa, Indrajit, Atikâya and others, had also standards attached to them. Râma and Lakshmaṇa, having no cars to mount upon, were borne on the shoulders of Hanumat and Aṅgada while engaged in battle. It was only when Râma and Râvaṇa were engaged in combat that Indra, seeing that Râma did not enjoy equal advantages with Râvaṇa, sent him his own car with Mâtali as charioteer.

In the *Mahâbhârata*, however, we find that the Pâṇḍavas and Kauravas fought on equal terms, both the parties being provided with cars, horses and elephants, both using bows and arrows and all sorts of other weapons. Yudhishṭhira, Bhîma and Arjuna had conches bearing distinctive appellations, that of Yudhishṭhira being called *Anantavijaya*, that of Bhîshma being called *Pauṇḍra*, and that of Arjuna being known as *Dêvadatta*. Kṛishṇa also had a conch named *Pâñchajanya*. Each car warrior had a particular standard attached to his car. See *adhyâya* 17 of the *Bhîshma Parvan* and *adhyâya* 105 of the *Drôṇa Parvan*, the latter of which is devoted to the description of the standards of the car warriors assailing Arjuna. **But what forms the distinctive feature of the Mahâbhârata war is the disposition of the army into arrays** known in Sanskṛit as *vyûhas*. On each occasion the army is arranged in a particular array calculated to give it the greatest advantage over the enemy. A small force may by this arrangement be made to appear as if it were a very large one.

We here enumerate some of the arrays referred to in the *Bhîshma* and the *Drôṇa Parvans*: —

(*a*) The Sûchimukha array (*Bhîshma Parvan, adhyâya* 19).

(*b*) The Krauñchâruṇa array (*B. P., adhyâya* 50).

(*c*) The Garuḍa array (*B. P., adhyâya* 56).

(*d*) The half moon (*B. P., adhyâya* 56).

(*e*) and (*f*) The Mâkara and the Śyêna (*B. P., adhyâya* 69).

(*g*) and (*h*) The Maṇḍala and the Vajra (*B. P., adhyâya* 82).

(*i*) The Śṛiṅgataka (*B. P., adhyâya* 88).

(*j*) The Sarvatôbhadra (*B. P., adhyâya* 100).

(*k*) The circular array (*Drôṇa Parvan, adhyâya* 33).

In *adhyâya* 26 of the *Drôna Parvan*, a mode of attacking the elephants, known as Añjalikavâdha, is alluded to.

Any one who reads the war-portions of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* must be impressed with the idea that, though the tactics of war had been highly developed at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*, it had attained a still higher degree of development at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Bhîshma Parvan, Drôṇa Parvan, Karṇa Parvan*, and *Śalya Parvan*, though now and then indulging in exaggerations, generally present us with such vivid pictures of the operations of the war conducted at the time that we are obliged to admit them to be based on a scientific and approved method. There is less of arrangement and method and more of exaggerations and improbabilities in the *Râmâyaṇa* than in the *Mahâbhârata*. The combats between the Kaurava and the Pâṇḍava warriors are described by the poet with greater minuteness of detail, with greater display of the knowledgé of the science of warfare and with more artistic skill than the fight between the monkeys and the Râkshasas is described in the *Râmâyaṇa*. The appearance of the warrior in the field of battle, his supervision of the army, his being recognized by the enemy by means of the figure marking his standard, the enemy's consequent preparations for war, the cautious arrangement of the troops, the loud roars of the combatants, their engaging in battle in right earnest, the discharge of their weapons, the combat ceasing as soon as one combatant falls insensible from the attacks of the other, **all these and a thousand other details invariably repeated in every combat stamp the Mahâbhârata as decidedly more modern than the Râmâyaṇa.**

(5) With regard to **the number of kingdoms** flourishing at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* respectively. In the *Râmâyaṇa* the names of a few kings are mentioned In *sarga* 13 of the *Bâlakâṇḍa*, Vasishṭha issues instructions to Sumantra, the charioteer of Daśaratha, to invite all the kings of India to be present at the sacrifice to be performed by Daśaratha for obtaining progeny. Particular reference is here made to (1) Janaka, king of Vidêha, (2) the king of Kâśî or Benares, (3) Yudhâjit, king of Kêkaya, (4) king of Kôsala, (5) Lômapâda, king of Aṅga, (6) the king of Magadha, (7) the king of Sindhu, (8) the king of Sauvîra, (9) the king of Saurâshṭra. There are two other passages in the *Râmâyaṇa* where references are made to kings in general. One of these occurs in *sarga* 66 of the *Balâkâṇḍa* where king Janaka states to Viśvâmitra that many kings seeking the hand of Sîtâ in marriage came to his court and tried their strength on the bow of Śiva, but he does not name even a single king. The other passage is to be found in *sarga* 3 of the *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa* where king Daśaratha is described as being surrounded by the kings of the east, the west, the south, and the north together with the Mlêchchha kings and others, but no particulars are there given about the kingdoms ruled by them. This is rather a meagre account of the kingdoms flourishing in India. It is not easy for us to conceive why the poet, who devotes page after page to the

description of even trivial incidents, should be so very reserved on this point, and should content himself with mentioning only about half a dozen kings in particular, unless we look for its explanation in the fact that there were only a few kingdoms then flourishing in India. The South-Indian kingdoms referred to by the poet in general terms were either not in existence or were not known to the poet. The former supposition seems more probable, seeing that the poet who displays so much knowledge of the kingdoms of Âryâvarta and of Laṅkâ in the remote south and who devotes nearly two-thirds of his epic to the description of Râma's adventures in Southern India could not have been in such total ignorance of the kingdoms there existing. In fact, we fail to come across even a single passage in the whole of the *Râmâyaṇa* which will lead us to suppose that Southern India was then divided into kingdoms which were ruled by their respective kings much in the same way as Northern India then was. There are on the contrary many passages to show that the whole of Southern India was infested by savages headed by monsters, such as Virâdha, Kabandha, Dundubhi, Khara, Dûshaṇa and Triśiras, all of whom acknowledged the sway of Râvaṇa and took pleasure in disturbing the rites and penances performed by the Aryans and in swallowing all the oblations offered by them to the gods. They exercised as it were a check on the advance of the Aryans into the South. We also find that there were other tribes who, though generally deserving to be classed as barbarians, were well disposed towards the Aryans. **We thus find no trace of the existence of civilised rulers in Southern India at the time of the Râmâyaṇa.**

Let us turn to the *Mahâbhârata* and see how many kings are spoken of in that epic. In *adhyâya* 188 of the *Âdi Parvan*, more than 100 princes are mentioned as Draupadî's suitors. In this list of princes, who for the most part belong to Northern India, is included the name of king Pâṇḍya (see *adhyâya* 189) who, as we all know, was a prince of Southern India.

In *adhyâya* 34 of the *Sabhâ Parvan*, wherein are mentioned the various kings assembled to witness the performance of the *râjasûya* sacrifice by king Yudhishṭhira, we find, among others, the following kings spoken of: — (1) Kuru kings, Dhritarâshṭra, Duryôdhana and others, (2) Subala, king of Gândhâra (the modern Kandahar), (3) Śalya, king of Madra, (4) Jayadratha, king of Sindhu, (5) Bhagadatta, ruler of Prâgjyôtisha with the Mlêchchha tribes, (6) Vâsudêva, king of the Pauṇḍras, (7 and 8) kings of Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, (9) the king of Malwa, (10) the king of the Ândhrakas, (11) the king of the Drâviḍas, (12) the king the Siṁhalas, (13) the king of Kâśmîra, (14) the Valhika (Balkh) kings, and (15) Mâvella, who seems to be the king of the Karṇâṭas.

In *adhyâya* 4 of the *Sabhâ Parvan*, the following kings among others are said to have waited on king Yudhishṭhira: — (1) Kamatha, king of Kambôja, (2) king of the Madrakas, (3) Pulinda, king of the Virâṭas, (4 and 5) kings of Aṅga and Vaṅga, (6) king of the Yavanas, (7) Srutayudha, king of Kaliṅga, (8) Jayasêna, king of Magadha, etc.

In *adhyâya* 9 of the *Bhîshma Parvan*, we find a very exhaustive **geographical sketch** given of the Bhâratavarsha now known as India. It gives the names of the principal mountains, of all the rivers and all the provinces of India, with the names of the several tribes peopling this vast continent, and as the provinces of India are named after the tribes who inhabit them, one name serves the double purpose of being the name of the province as well as that of the people. Any attempt to repeat the names of all these provinces here would unnecessarily swell these pages. We shall therefore mention the more important only. (1) Kuru (the region near Delhi), (2) Pâñchâla, (3) Kaliṅga (the Northern Circars), (4) Matsya or Virâṭa, (5) Kâśikôsala, (6) Sindhu (the country of the Upper Indus), (7) Utkala (Orissa), (8) Kâśî or Benares, (9) Kunti, (10) Avanti (Malwa), (11) Vidarbha (Berar), (12) Kêrala (Canara), (13) Vidêha (North Behar), (14) Magadha (South Behar), (15) Malaya (Malabar), (16) Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal), (17) Aṅga (Bhâgalpur), (18) Valhika (Balkh), (19) Saurâshṭra (Gujarât), (20) Kêkaya (region bordering on Sindhudêśa), (21) Ândhra (Teliṅgâna), (22) Drâviḍa (the

tract on the Coromandel between the Gôdâvarî and the Kâvêri), (23) Karṇâṭaka (Mysore), (24) Chôḷa (the whole of the Tamil country with Kâñchî or Conjeveram as its capital), (25) Trigarta (the tract between the Sutlej and the Sarasvatî), (26) Kambôja (the country adjoining the Hindu Kush mountains), (27) Kâśmîra (the province of Kashmir), and Chêdi (the modern Bundelkund).

It will thus be seen that at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* there were hundreds of king doms flourishing in India in the place of the few which were in existence at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*. In the lists above given we find allusions made to the kingdoms of Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya, Kêrala, Teliṅgâna, Karṇâṭaka, Malaya and Drâviḍa, etc. Thus from the absence of any allusion in the *Râmâyaṇa* to any of the kingdoms of Southern India, from the positive assertion that the whole south was occupied by barbarians, and from the various statements made in the *Mahâbhârata* in regard to the existence of several kingdoms in the south, we are led to infer that Southern India, which at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* was a mere wilderness, was subjected to the influence of the Aryan civilization at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*, and in consequence gave birth to many kingdoms. And this inference therefore **confirms our view that the Râmâyaṇa is more ancient than the Mahâbhârata.**

(6) From the latter part of the *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa* and the *Âraṇyakâṇḍa* of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Vana Parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata*, we get an indication as to whether at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* or of the *Mahâbhârata* the country contained the largest number of **forest tracts.**

When Râma set out from Ayôdhyâ to pass the fourteen years of his exile in the forest he was accompanied by Sîtâ and Lakshmaṇa. After having passed the outskirts of Kôsala he came to Śṛiṅgabêrapura, on the banks of the Ganges, which was the residence of Guha, the king of a tribe of hunters and an intimate friend of Râma (*sarga* 50 of the *Âraṇyakâṇḍa*).

Having crossed the river Ganges by means of a boat procured by Guha Rama approached the sacred Prayâga, the modern Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnâ, a place to which even to-day millions of people flock from all parts of India at all times of the year and more especially at the time of the Makara-saṁkramaṇa, the passage of the sun into the sign Capricornus.

[The Hindus have always taken delight in following the courses of great rivers, whether upwards from wide estuaries, where for many a mile the strong fresh current battles with the sea-waves, or down from the mountain-cradles, where the young waters steal from green flowery slopes or shadowy hollows, or burst in fuller volume from blue ice-clefts or low-browed rocky caverns. From such birth-places start the pleasant pastoral streams immortalised in verse and the great historic rivers that have beheld the secrets of the past and borne the pomp and wealth of the world. The influence of Western civilization may continue to spread all over India, the Universities may set their stamp annually on Masters of Arts by the hundred and on Bachelors by the thousand, societies may spring in thousands in all parts of India for the purpose of dispelling the so-called darkness of superstition and ignorance from the minds of the people, reformers may go on lecturing to millions of people on the evils of yielding to superstition and on the advisability of breaking through the trammels of prejudice and of setting the *Vêdas* and the *Śâstras* at defiance, —— and still the common people, who have not drunk deep of the fountain of Western knowledge and who therefore pay the highest reverence to the *śrutis* and the *smṛitis* and are prepared to obey to the letter all the injunctions laid down therein, will and must continue to observe all the time-honoured customs brought into being by their ancestors. Englishmen may boast of having effected a thorough change in the thoughts and actions of the people of India; but we are rather inclined to think that this change of thought and action has extended indeed to a very small portion of the Indian community, and even here there are many who, in spite of the liberal education which they have received at the hands of Englishmen, cling to their ancient forms and ceremonies with a tenacity which neither

lapse of time nor the spread of foreign influence can wholly efface.[2] Fortunately for the sons of India the words of such mighty men as Śaṁkarâchârya and Vidyâraṇya, exhorting them not to forsake their own religion and philosophy, the like of which are not to be found in all the religious systems and philosophies of the world put together, are still ringing in their ears. And whenever these words fail to exercise their full influence on the minds of the people, there are not wanting in the fag end of this century of denationalisation, men who could by the influence of their teaching and example open the eyes of millions of India's erring sons to a sense of the deep obligation they owe to their ancestors who have bequeathed to them a most valuable legacy in the form of the *Upanishads* the beauty and sublimity of which are now being so well appreciated, strange to say, not in India, but in Europe and America. To such men we owe our life-long gratitude.]

Râma was welcomed at Prayâga by Bhâradvâja who advised him to spend the years of his exile at Chitrakûṭa at a distance of 10 *krôśas* or 20 miles from Prayâga. Here Râma was welcomed by Vâlmîki (*Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa, sarga* 56), who made arrangements for his permanent residence. From the description given of Prayâga and Chitrakûṭa we find that they were the abodes of ascetics, practising penance without fear of being disturbed by the people. Râma's residence at Chitrakûṭa was marked by many events, such as Bharata's visit, Râma's learning the news of his father's death, Bharata's requesting Râma to return to Ayôdhyâ, Râma's firm refusal to comply with Bharata's request, Jâbâli's remarks tending to atheism, Râma's reply thereto, Vasishṭha's remarks thereon, and Bharata's return to Ayôdhyâ. The ascetics found themselves persecuted by the Râkshasas at Chitrakûṭa, and left the place. Râma also followed their example and went to Atri's residence. The *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa* closes with an advice given by Atri to Râma to be cautious in his movements in the forest, which was infested by the Râkshasas, to whom all ascetics who happened to be unclean fell an easy prey. Râma now regularly commenced his entry into the forest, and all his subsequent achievements, together with the abduction of Sîtâ by Râvaṇa are described in the *Âraṇyakâṇḍa*. The very name *Âraṇyakâṇḍa* indicates that the incidents related therein took place in the forest. They are too well known to require comment here. It will thus be seen that, on leaving Ayôdhyâ, Râma proceeded in a south-western direction till he reached Prayâga and Chitrakûṭa, and thence proceeded westwards to the hermitage of Agastya near the Vindhya Mountains. Thence he directed his steps towards Pañchavaṭî, the modern Nâsik, near which is Janasthâna. It was here that Sîtâ was carried off by Râvaṇa. Quitting Pañchavaṭî Râma proceeded by slow marches to Kishkindhâ, the modern Humpi in the district of Bellary and thence finally went to Laṅkâ or Ceylon. The whole country lying to the west and south of Ayôdhyâ was a wilderness. From the *Bâlakâṇḍa* it will be seen that the country to the east of Ayôdhyâ with the exception of the kingdoms of Aṅga (Bhâgalpur), Vidêha, the capital of which, Mithilâ, corresponds probably to the modern Janakpur in Nepal, also abounded in forest tracts.

Let us now turn to the *Mahâbhârata*. In this epic only three forests are spoken of, *viz*., the Kâmyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatî, the Dvaita Vana and the Naimishâraṇya. And we find that the Pâṇḍavas, afraid of being recognised by Duryôdhana in the thirteenth year of their exile, were obliged to assume various disguises. This simply tells us that the forests then existing were not very extensive, and that a man who took refuge in them was always apprehensive of detection. In the *Râmâyaṇa*, on the other hand, we find that Râma entered the forests of the south, making himself sure that the people of Ayôdhyâ would not reach him there. But it may be argued that in the *Mahâbhârata* the wanderings of the Pâṇḍavas during the period of their exile were confined to Northern India; to this we reply that the greater part of Northern India also was, as has been seen above, only a wilderness at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*. And Southern India, which was described in the *Râmâyaṇa* as an extensive forest fit to be the abode of wild beasts and demons, is represented in the

[2] [Is not this article itself a most interesting proof of the very small effect that Western learning and investigation have had upon the "educated" Natives of India? And does not this *excursus* show how, while adopting the manner, the educated Native is still a complete stranger to the substance of European thought? — ED.]

Mahâbhârata as having been in a highly civilised state, as will be seen from the fact of several kingdoms being referred to therein as belonging to Southern India. **From this we may safely conclude that the Râmâyaṇa is of a higher antiquity than the Mahâbhârata.**

(7) **In the Mahâbhârata are to be found repeated allusions to the story of the Râmâyaṇa as follows :** — (*a*) In *adhyâya* 85 of the *Vana Parvan*, in which is given a description of the various *tîrthas* or sacred places of pilgrimage which should be visited by any-one desirous of acquiring religious merit, allusion is made to Sṛiṅgabêrapura as the place visited by Râma, the son of Daśaratha in days of yore. (*b*) In *adhyâya* 99 of the same *Parvan* is described the contest between Râma and Paraśurâma. The details of the conflict as given here differ a little from those given in the *Râmâyaṇa*. For instance, in the *Vana Parvan*, Paraśurâma is said to have proceeded to Ayôdhyâ to test the skill of Râma out of curiosity, whereas in the *Râmâyaṇa* he is said to have met Râma while the latter was returning from Mithilâ to Ayôdhyâ soon after his marriage. And Paraśurâma went to him not out of mere curiosity, but out of anger at his (Râma's) having broken the bow of Śiva on the occasion of his marriage. (*c*) In *adhyâyas* 273 to 290, the whole story of the *Râmâyaṇa* is given in an abstract, which agrees in most details with the *Râmâyaṇa*. The winning of Sîtâ by Râma is passed over in silence. But we can account for this and other omissions by supposing that the story as given n the *Mahâbhârata* is only an epitome of the *Râmâyaṇa*. There are also some slight variations, but these do not affect the general tenor of the plot. (*d*) Portions of the *Râmâyaṇa* are alluded to in *adhyâya* 149 of the *Vana Parvan*, in the *Drôṇa Parvan*, *Śânti Parvan* and *Harivaṁśa Parvan*.

This very clearly indicates that the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* was current at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*. But the story of the latter epic was not current at the time of the former, as will be seen from the total absence of any allusion in the *Râmâyaṇa* to the war in Kurukshêtras as well as from the fact that the epic makes no mention of the name of even a single character who figures in the *Mahâbhârata*. **These facts conclusively prove the priority of the Râmâyaṇa to the Mahâbhârata.**

(8) In the *Bâlakâṇḍa*, *sarga* 4, we find that Vâlmîki was desirous of presenting his work to the public; and that, seeing no other means of accomplishing his object he had recourse to the very ancient practice of handing down works to posterity by means of oral communication. He accordingly made Kuśa and Lava, the sons of Râma, recite the whole of his composition. But in the case of the *Mahâbhârata*, it was not so. In the first *adhyâya* of the *Âdi Parvan* we find that as Vyâsa went on reciting his composition, Gaṇêśa closely followed him writing down what he recited. **We may therefore safely conclude that the whole of the Mahâbhârata was reduced to writing when it was first presented to the world.** Professor Weber asserts (*Indian Literature*, p. 194) : — "It is not known on what grounds that the *Mahâbhârata* was originally handed down orally like the *Râmâyaṇa*, and was only subsequently fixed in writing." We have to conclude from this either that the learned Professor did not read the first *adhyâya* of the *Mahâbhârata*, or, what is more probable, that, having read it, he was not satisfied as to the truth of the statement made therein. But to us, there is nothing incredible in the statement, seeing that a peculiar system of shorthand might have been in existence at the time of the composition of the *Mahâbhârata*, and the shorthand writer of this epic was so clever in his craft that he offered to undertake the task on condition that Vyâsa should keep his (the writer's) pen always busy. To this Vyâsa agreed, but he in turn stipulated that Gaṇêśa should not blindly write to his dictation but should try to understand the meaning of what he wrote. Thus with the avowed object of puzzling the writer Vyâsa introduced some knotty verses here and there in the *Mahâbh irata* and when Gaṇêśa paused to catch their full significance, Vyâsa took advantage of this interval and got ready a thousand verses for dictation. And hence this verse : — 'अष्टौ श्लोकसहस्राणि ह्यष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च। अहं वेद्मि शुको वेत्ति संजयो वेत्ति वा न वा ॥

These 8,800 verses still form a puzzle to all learned men. Prof. Weber (*Indian Literature*, pp. 187 and 188) states that the whole of the *Mahâbhârata* could not have been composed by a

single writer, and that even at the war-portion of the *Mahâbhârata* many generations must have laboured before the text attained to a settled shape. Sir Monier Williams (*Indian Wisdom*, Lect. XIII. p. 371) states that the compilation of the *Mahâbhârata* must have proceeded for centuries. We are quite at a loss to know on what grounds they have made these assumptions. If they think it too lengthy and of too complicated a character to be composed by a single author they are mistaken. To Shakspeare is ascribed the authorship of three dozen plays and of some minor poems, all of which taken together consist of more than 100,000 lines, which heis said to have written in his busy life of an actor. And if Shakspeare, with all the inevitable cares and anxieties of an actor's life, should have found time to write nearly 40 plays, why could not Vyâsa, who was a sage living mainly on wild fruits and roots, free from all cares and anxieties, living 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,' and afford to devote his whole time to his work, be able to compose 200,000 lines or a little more ? Sir Walter Scott, who lived in the first quarter of this century, is known to the educated world as a great peet, novelist, biographer and historian. He composed nearly 40,000 lines of poetry, and wrote the Waverley novels which occupy more than 4,000 closely printed pages octavo. He is also the author of a book entitled *The Tales of a Grandfather*, which is the *History of Scotland* from the beginning of the eleventh century to the middle of the eighteenth, abounding in narratives from the Scottish chronicles. It occupies nearly 500 pages of the description given above. He has also written the life of Napoleon in four volumes demi-octavo, each consisting of about 250 closely printed pages. He has written besides these several other works. Now, taking these works as a whole, we find that they have greatly outstripped the *Mahâbhârata* in length. A still more brilliant instance of this wonderful capacity for writing is to be found in Vidyâraṇya who flourished 500 years ago on the banks of the Tungabhadra in a village called Pampa. He was the minister of king Bukka of Vijayanagara. For a full detail of his works the reader is referred to the *Indian Antiquary*, pp. 248 and 249 of September 1898. When we thus think of the complex character of his works and their immensity **it becomes impossible for us to deny that Vyâsa was the real author of the Mahâbhârata.**

The style of the Mahâbhârata is the same throughout. It is grand, puzzling and deeply significant. And if variations in style occur here and there, it is because the style is made to suit the requirements of the plot. Thus, in the description of battles, the style would be suggestive of the sentiments of heroism, wrath, disgust ; in the description of love scenes, it would be suggestive of the sentiment of love ; in the deseription of scenes exciting pity or sympathy, it would be suggestive of the sentiment of pathos. In other respects it remains the same throughout. **Thus from the fact that at the time of the Râmâyaṇa the art of writing was not invented by the Aryans, but was invented by them later on at the time of the Mahâbhârata, we infer the priority of the Râmâyaṇa.**

(9) At page 186 of the *History of Indian Literature* Prof. Weber says that the names Kuru, Pâñchâlas, Arjuna and Janamêjaya, which occur in the *Mahâbhârata*, occur also in the *Yajur Vêda*, and urges this fact as proving the high antiquity of the epic. We are, however, of opinion that these names occurring in the *Yajur Vêda* have simply been transferred to the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata* by Vyâsa for reasons best known to himself, and that the fact of the names referred to occurring in the *Mahâbhârata* will in no way help Sanskrit scholars towards fixing the date of the epic. **It may be stated, however, that the Yajur Vêda, was composed after the Mahâbhârata, and that the names occurring in the latter were imported into the former.** We say in reply that the name Râma also occurs in the *Ṛig Vêda, Maṇḍala X., anuvâka I., sûkta* 3, which runs as follows :—

भद्रो भद्रया स चमा न आगात्स्वसारं जारो अभ्यैति पश्चात् । सुप्रकेतैर्द्युभिरग्निर्वितिष्ठन्रुशद्भिर्वर्णैरभिराममस्थात्[3] ॥.

[3] Vidyâraṇya or Sayaṇâchârya does not give the same interpretation to the *sûkta* as was given in one of the *Brâhmaṇas*; but this can be explained by the fact that he wrote his commentaries with a view to explain the aim and object of the *Ṛig Vêda*, which was to praise the gods Agni and others. He did not, therefore, explain the suggested sense of the *sûkta*, but contented himself with the expressed sense. In the *Nirukta* the *sûkta* is pointed out as one containing a remote allusion to the story of the *Râmâyaṇa*.

भद्र is explained to mean रामभद्र. भद्रया is said to refer to Sîtâ and जार to Râvaṇa. Can we, therefore, conclude from this that the *Râmâyaṇa* should be regarded as belonging to an earlier period than the *Ṛig Vêda?* This conclusion everyone knows to be absurd, inasmuch as the hymns of the *Ṛig Vêda* are admitted by all scholars to be the earliest written record in the history of the world. **The Sanskṛit scholars of India, however, explain this apparent contradiction by holding that the Vêdas, being the breath of the Supreme, might treat of events past as well as future.** In support of their opinion that the *Vêdas* are the breath of the Supreme, they quote the verse with which Vidyâraṇya begins his commentary on the *Vêdas*, which is as follows: —

यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥

Here Vidyâraṇya identifies his preceptor Vidyâtîrtha with Mahêśvara, the Supreme Being.

(10) The racy and elegant style of the Râmâyaṇa is an evidence of its high antiquity. The style of the *Mahâbhârata,* though elegant, is somewhat laboured, and shows that the epic is the production of a later age than the *Râmâyaṇa.* In the whole of the *Râmâyaṇa* there are to be found very few verses which are difficult of comprehension, while in the *Mahâbhârata* such verses are numbered by the thousand. There are, in fact, nearly 9,000 verses in the latter epic whose full significance it is impossible even for *paṇḍits* to catch.

(11) The plot of the *Râmâyaṇa* is simple. The poet has always in view the progress of the plot. And though there occur now and then various episodes in the *Bâlakâṇḍa,* such as the story of Gaṅgâ (*sargas* 35 to 44), the story of Sagara and his 60,000 sons (*sargas* 38 to 40), the story of Indra's cutting the fœtus in the womb of Diti into seven parts (*sarga* 46), the story of Vâmana (*sarga* 29), the story of the *samudramathana* or churning of the sea (*sarga* 45), the story of Gautama and Ahalyâ (*sarga* 48), the story of Viśvamitra's own descent (*sargas* 32 to 34), the story of Triśaṅku (*sargas* 57 to 60), the story of Śunaḥśêpha (*sarga* 62), and the story of the fight between Vasishṭha and Viśvâmitra (*sargas* 53 to 55), —— the reader never loses sight of the incident. The unity of the plot is carefully preserved throughout the epic. But in the *Mahâbhârata* the whole of the *Śânti* and *Anuśâsana Parvans,* which are among the longest of the *Parvans,* are in no way connected with the main story. They consist of a series of lectures on almost all subjects that come within the range of human thought, on law, politics and morals and on the duties of kings, of the four castes and of the four-fold divisions of life. They are full of philosophical discussions on the mind, the *yôga* and the *adhyâtma,* and contain plenty of information on cosmogony, physiology, on the divisions of time, on the durations of the four *yugas,* etc. The *Vana Parvan,* which may very aptly be compared to a forest in its vast expanse, is mostly devoted to the description of various legends of old. The exploits of Paraśurâma (*adhyâyas* 116 to 118), the stories of Nala (*adhyâyas* 62 to 79) and Râma (*adhyâyas* 273 to 290), the story of Sagara and his 60,000 sons (*adhyâya* 107), the story of Bhagîratha's penances for bringing down the celestial Gaṅgâ (*adhyâya* 108), the celebrated controversy between Asṭhavakra and Vandin at the court of king Janaka (*adhyâya* 134), the story of Mârkaṇḍêya (*adhyâyas* 187 and 188), the story of Sâvitri and Satyavân (*adhyâya* 292 to 298), all these and many others of a like nature find a place in the *Vana Parvan.* In *adhyâyas* 82 to 95 we find descriptions given of various places of pilgrimage, such as Pushkara (*adhyâya* 82), Kurukshêtra (*adhyâya* 83), Prayâga (*adhyâya* 85), Bhadratuṅga (*adhyâya* 82) and Brahmasâra (*adhyâya* 95).

In the *Bhîshma Parvan,* the *Jambûkhâṇḍa Nirmâṇa Parvan* (*adhyâyas* 1 to 10) and the *Bhagavadgîtâ Parvan* (*adhyâyas* 13 to 42) are in no way connected with the main story. In the other *Parvans* also are to be found many stories quite unconnected with the plot of the *Mahâbhârata,* such as the story of Âstîka (*adhyâyas* 13 to 58) in the *Âdi Parvan* and the stories of Śibi, Râma, Bhagîratha, Dilîpa, Manthala, Yayâti, Ambarîsha, Rantidêva, Bharata, Pṛithu and Paraśurâma in *adhyâyas* 57 to 69 of the *Drôṇa Parvan. Adhyâyas* 2 to 7 of the *Strî Parvan* contain the excellent advice given by Vidura to Dhṛitarâshṭra when the latter was overwhelmed with grief at the destruction of his whole army including his son. They contain Vidura's high philosophy, his lectures

on the transitoriness of things mundane, his admirable simile in which the world is compared to a wilderness with strange minuteness, his observations on the vanity of human wishes, and his explanation of the ways and means by which a man may free himself from the ties of the world. Besides there are additions of another sort, such as the adventures of Arjuna (*Vana Parvan, adhyâyas* 37 to 47), his encounter with Śiva and his going to Indralôka, Bhîshma's journey for celestial lotuses, his encounter with Hanumat, etc. (*V. P., adhyâyas* 145 to 154), the abduction of Draupadî by Jayadratha (*V. P., adhyâyas* 265 to 270), Bhima's encounter with Bakâsura and the destruction of the latter (*adhyâyas* 159 to 166, *Âdi Parvan*), and many others rather impossible to mention here. The multiplicity of the subjects treated of in the *Mahâbhârata* and the vast knowledge displayed by the poet in matters religious, secular, moral, political, etc., show that since the age of the *Râmâyaṇa* the people were making rapid progress in the cultivation of the arts and the sciences, rules were being multiplied for governing kingdoms, the duties of the four castes, and the four divisions of life were being clearly set down, so that at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* all the arts and sciences were reduced to a system and all laws and regulations for the well-being of society codified. The *Mahâbhârata*, in fact, indicates a settled state of society, while from the *Râmâyaṇa* we learn that the greater part of India was not subdued by the Aryans and that they themselves were not so far advanced in civilisation as we find them to have been at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*. If, besides, we bear in mind that the thoughts and actions of the ancients were simple as opposed to those of the moderns which are of a complex character, and that while **the plot of the Râmâyaṇa is simple that of the Mahâbhârata is complex, we will clearly see that the former belongs to an earlier age than the latter.**

(12) **The age of the Râmâyaṇa was an age of purity.** It can be very properly called the golden age of India. We find that Râma was a model son and husband, Sîtâ a model wife, Bharata a model brother, Sugrîva a model friend, and Hanumat a model minister. The poet himself has given expression to the same idea in the following famous verse: —

न सर्वे भ्रातरस्तात भवन्ति भरतोपमाः ।
मद्विधा वा पितुः पुत्रास्सुहृदो वा भवद्विधाः ॥

15, *sarga* 18, *Yuddhakâṇḍa*.

There was no corruption in those days. Men's minds were pure. No man thought of robbing his neighbour of his wealth and possessions. If Sîtâ was abducted by Râvaṇa, it was because Râvaṇa was a demon and a non-Aryan. Vices were attributed to Râkshasas on the ground that they were non-Aryan tribes. But the Aryans as a community were honest, devoted to their elders, and truth-speaking. They would not, even at the risk of their lives, stoop to commit an unrighteous action. Queen Kaikêyî was the only exception to the rule, and she, too, is said to have acted cruelly towards Râma not of her own accord, but at the instance of an evil-minded woman, Manthara. Turning now to the characters of the *Mahâbhârata* we find that the Aryans were no longer pure-minded, and that they partly yielded to the evil influences of corruption and demoralisation. Duryôdhana and his brothers, who played a very prominent part in the *Mahâbhârata*, are said to have harboured in their minds thoughts of the worst description in regard to their cousins, the Pâṇḍavas. And not content with this they thought to do away with the latter by having recourse to plans and expedients which Satan himself would have paused before putting into execution. They did not hesitate to poison the Pâṇḍavas, to set fire to the house of lac at Vâraṇâvata in which the Pâṇḍavas were induced to sleep at night-time. And when they were baffled in both these undertakings they devised the plan of inducing Yudhishṭhira to play with them at dice, and in this they succeeded so well that Yudhishṭhira staked and lost all his possessions, his wife, his brothers, and himself. And then they attempted to disgrace Draupadî in the midst of an assembly of kings and in the presence of her husbands in a manner revolting to human nature. If we now recall to mind the reply of Lakshmaṇa to Râma, fraught with wisdom, morality and truth, when the latter enquired of him whether he could recognise any of Sîtâ's jewels among those shown to him (Râma) by Sugrîva, we shall find that, while

Lakshmaṇa was a pattern of virtue, Duryôdhana was a pattern of vice. The noble reply of Lakshmaṇa is in the form of a verse and is given below : —

नाहं जानामि केयूरे नाहं जानामि कुंडले ।
नूपुरे त्वभिजानामि नित्यं पादाब्जवन्दनात् ॥

No. 22, *sarga* 6 of the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*.

Again, the war of the *Mahâbhârata*, it must be borne in mind, was not conducted on strictly honorable principles. Almost all the heroes, who fought on the side of Duryôdhana and whom it was not possible to overcome by fair means, were overthrown in battle by the Pâṇḍavas by means of some artifice or other. Drôṇâchârya, for example, was overpowered by Dhṛishṭadyumna only after he renounced his weapons, and this he did only when he heard from the lips of Yudhishṭhira that his son Aśvatthâman was dead. This was, indeed, a glaring falsehood, and to save himself from the effects of having uttered it Yudhishṭhira was made to add at the end of his speech the word 'elephant' in a low tone that it might not be heard by Drôṇa, while in fact it was only an elephant bearing the name of Aśvatthâman that was killed in battle. Similarly, Bhîshma was overpowered by Śikhaṇḍin's placing himself in his front in the field of battle, the former having made a vow that he would not use any of his weapons in Śikhaṇḍin's presence. Karṇa was slain in battle, having been previously deprived of his ear-rings by Indra. Jayadratha was slain in an unguarded moment by Arjuna, by means of an illusion created by Kṛishṇa, who caused the battle-field to be temporarily overspread with darkness. Duryôdhana had his thighs broken by Bhîma, which was not deemed a fair mode of attack.

The Pâṇḍavas, though wise and just, were of a fierce and vindictive spirit ; they wreaked on the Kauravas a vengeance which was commensurate with the wrongs they had sustained at their hands. Bhîma drank Duḥśâsana's blood in the battle-field in fulfilment of his vow. Aśvatthâman destroyed in cold blood the whole army of the Pâṇḍavas. But in the war-portion of the *Râmâyaṇa* we do not find such horrors depicted, nor do we find any tricks played. Indrajit is, indeed, said to have unfairly attacked Râma and Lakshmaṇa, by making his person invisible, but this was due to his demoniac nature.

Yudhishṭhira was not so greatly respected by his brothers as Râma. Draupadî was the common bond of union among the Pâṇḍavas. Though Bhîma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadêva were deeply attached to Yudhishṭhira they very often grew rebellious and turbulent. Passages are not wanting in the *Mahâbhârata* to shew that they severely criticised the conduct of Yudhishṭhira, and would even have thrown off their allegiance to him had not Kṛishṇa's interference and the fact of their having a common wife, Draupadî, served to keep them together. And we have already seen that Draupadî also takes Yudhishṭhira to task for his folly. In the *Râmâyaṇa* all the three brothers of Râma adore him as a deity. His word is their law. Lakshmaṇa's accompanying Râma to the woods and his serving Râma and Sîtâ so faithfully not for a few days or months but for years together was entirely due to that brotherly affection which we now look for in vain. **All the above facts, therefore, conclusively point out that, while the age of the Râmâyaṇa was an age of purity, that of the Mahâbhârata was one of corruption and scepticism, and that the former must therefore have preceded the latter.**

(13) In the last portion of the *Yuddhakâṇḍa* (*sargas* 118 to 120) we find that Râma suspects Sîtâ of unchastity because of her long residence in Râvaṇa's palace. He, therefore, tells her that she is free to go wherever she likes, and to marry whomsoever she may choose. Sîtâ, who is very gentle and deeply attached to her lord, is overwhelmed with sorrow on hearing these unpleasant words uttered by Râma, and makes up her mind to ascend the funeral pyre that she might put an end to her miserable existence. She accordingly carries out her resolve, when all the gods, *e. g.*, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubêra, Mahâdêva, and Brahmâ, appear on the scene and explain to Râma his own antecedents. They tell him that he is Vishṇu incarnate and that Sîtâ, his wife, is an *avatâra* of Lakshmî. The god Agni now makes his appearance with Sîtâ on his lap, and bears testimony to her spotless virtue. Râma is now satisfied as to his wife's chastity, and in explanation of his strange conduct towards

Sîtâ states that he allowed her to undergo this ordeal, not because he doubted her attachment to himself, but because he wanted to impress on the minds of the people the idea that, though she lived in Râvaṇa's palace for nearly a year, she did not in the slightest degree encourage his advances, but remained entirely devoted to her husband in thought, word and deed.

We have referred to this incident of the *Râmâyaṇa* simply to point out that at the time of the composition of the epic, the practise of testing a person's innocence or guilt by divine **ordeals** (दैवप्रमाण) was in existence. Let us now turn to the *Mahâbhârata* and invite the reader's attention to the following incident related in the *Draupadîharaṇa Parvan* (*adhyâyas* 262 to 271 of the *Vana Parvan*).

King Jayadratha of Sindhu was proceeding to the kingdom of Salva with a view to matrimony. On his way he had to pass through the Kâmyaka forest in which the Pâṇḍavas with their wife Draupadî were passing their exile. While passing through it he happened to see Draupadî, who was in the full bloom of her beauty. Seized with an ardent desire to possess her, he made enquiries as to who she was, etc., etc., and was informed that she was no other than Draupadî, and that her husbands had gone out on a hunting excursion. He then tried to induce her by gentle words to accompany him and to make him happy by becoming his partner in life ; but, finding that she scorned the idea, he carried her off by force. A little while after, the Pâṇḍavas returned to their forest abode, and, not finding Draupadî they began to search for her in all directions. They soon came by the track of Jayadratha's army and found to their utter astonishment and indignation Draupadî seated in the car of Jayadratha. Then there ensued a terrible fight between the Pâṇḍavas and the followers of Jayadratha in which the latter were worsted. Jayadratha in the interim fled from the battle-field. Bhîma and Arjuna pursued him. They seized him, and Bhîma, after administering to him several blows which more than once rendered him insensible and after subjecting him to further insults, brought him bound before Yudhishṭhira, who had already returned to the forest abode with Draupadî. Jayadratha was then, with Yudhishṭhira's permission, let go deeply disgraced and humiliated. Here dose then we find that Draupadî was not subjected to any ordeal such as is mentioned in the *Râmâyaṇa*. Nor do we find her undergoing any ordeal after she was insulted by Duhśâsana in the presence of a public assembly (*Sabhâ Parvan, adhyâya* 68). The Pâṇḍavas did not force Draupadî to undergo ordeals simply for the purpose of creating a favourable impression on the minds of the people regarding her character. We thus see that at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* not only was the practice of having recourse to *daivapramâṇa* not observed, but that the abductions of the kind referred to became so common that the people began to look upon them with indifference. **This then clearly shews that at the time of the Râmâyaṇa the people had higher notions of morality and decency and greater faith in the interposition of Providence than at the time of the Mahâbhârata. Hence the priority of the former to the latter.**

Having thus far tried to show by various arguments[4] that the *Râmâyaṇa* is more ancient than the *Mahâbhârata*, we shall now proceed to criticise **Prof. Weber's assertion[5] that the Râmâyaṇa is only an allegory, and could not have had a historical basis.**

In all the places which are most intimately associated with the memory of Râma, such as Ayôdhyâ (the modern Oudh), Chitrakûṭa (Chatarkôṭ in Bundêlkhand), Kishkindhâ (the modern Humpi in the Bellary District), and Laṅkâ (Ceylon), **monkeys** are to be found in very large numbers, as if in confirmation of the story of the *Râmâyaṇa* that the army of Râma was composed entirely of monkeys passionately devoted to him. Chitrakûṭa, Nâsik (the ancient Pañchavaṭî), Oudh, Humpi and the island of Râmêśvaram are famous places of pilgrimage and attract millions of people every year. Sir Monier Williams gives the following account of Chitrakûṭa (*vide* p. 353 of his *Indian Wisdom*): — "The isolated hill Chitrakûṭa is the holiest spot of the worshippers of Râma and is

4 [I feel obliged to note here that the arguments used are not arguments in the European sense of that word. — ED.]

5 [Strongly supported, I may note, by some of the "arguments" already brought forward in this paper. — ED.]

crowded with temples and shrines of Râma and Lakshmaṇa. Every cavern is connected with their names ; the heights swarm with monkeys and some of the wild fruits are still called *Sitâ-phal.* It is situated on a river called Pisnni, described as the Mandâkinî (II. XCV.) 50 miles south-east of the town of Baudah in Bundlekhund. The river is lined with *ghâṭs* and flights of stairs suitable for religious ablutions, etc."

An interesting article on the ruins of Humpi appeared in the *Madras Times* of 20th February, 1894, under the leading "A Deserted Indian City," from which we find that the city abounds in Hindu temples which line the banks of the river Tungabhadra, and that bathing in a certain portion of the stream absolves a man from all sin. The city, as it now stands, is thus described :— "There was something particularly weird in its utter loneliness ; in the emptiness of its magnificent edifices untenanted by man ; the stone-hewn Hindu deities sometimes monstrous, always fantastic and strange, looking apparently with an expression of silent mockery carved in their faces, and before whom, centuries ago, there bowed down and worshipped and sacrificed millions of votaries, now long passed away, who once crowded the temple gardens and the busy thoroughfares of Humpi. The singular effect of the scene described was heightened by the fact that the city was not by any means untenanted, although the occupants were not human beings. Poor relations of our race, in the shape of a species of large grey monkeys, have their habitations everywhere throughout the buildings. These animals clustered in crowds among the gods, climbing in and out through the doors and windows of the palaces, and appropriately enough at one end of the street was a large stone-statue representing Hanumân, the monkey-god himself." Later on in the account it is stated that for the ten days dating from the first full-moon in March a holy festival takes place, to attend which pilgrims of all ranks and grades come from the most distant parts of India in such large numbers that the influx of the population is considered to amount between 150,000 and 200,000 every year. It is not known to what festival allusion is made here. The principal street of the city is said to be about 50 yards wide and well paved with flag stones right across, both the sides of the street being lined with temples, palaces, and houses. From the above and many other interesting particulars given in this article it will be seen that the ruined city still bears traces of its once having been a mighty capital, while the existence of large statues of Hanumat in the city, and the fact that the plaaces thereof and the temples are now being occupied by large grey monkeys, will justify any one in concluding that **the city must have been formerly the capital of Sugrîva, the monkey-chief.** Many temples are dedicated to Râma and Lakshmaṇa, and the place where Vâli was formerly killed by Râma is still pointed out to pilgrims.

Of Nâsik, however, we have not been able to find a description given in any newspapers of this Presidency or in any books we have come across,[6] and though we have had the pleasure of visiting Nâsik in our younger days, we do not happen to recollect any of the particular sights we saw there. But we have heard it very often stated that 2 miles from Nâsik is the famous Pañchavaṭî or a group of five banyan trees, and that a triangular piece of rock is shown to pilgrims as the nose of Śûrpanakhâ cut off by Lakshmaṇa. Through Nâsik passes the holy river Gôdâvarî, whose banks are lined with Hindu temples. It is a very famous place of pilgrimage. Among the Hindu temples above referred to, surely there must be many dedicated to Râma, Lakshmaṇa, and Sîtâ.

In Allahabad, formerly known as Prayâga, where the sage Bhâradvâja is said to have welcomed Râma on his way to the woods, is a temple of Bhâradvâja, containing images of Râma, Lakshmaṇa, and Sîtâ, which are worshipped by thousands of pilgrims even to-day. A festival is celebrated there in the beginning of October every year, when the people dramatically represent the whole story of the *Râmâyaṇa.*

There is the island of Râmêśvaram with its temple of collossal proportions and gigantic architecture, which is dedicated to Śiva in the form of a saikata-liṅga or *liṅga* made of sand. This temple is said to have been built by Râma on his return from Ceylon. There can still be seen the ruins of what was once a causeway across the channel between India and Ceylon, which is still known and revered as Râmasêtu.

[6] [The author might try the volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer.* — ED.]

Now all these sacred places of pilgrimage, Oudh, Prayâga, Chitrakûṭa, Pañchavaṭî, and Râmêśvaram bear silent testimony to all the particulars recorded in the Râmâyaṇa. Now what has Prof. Weber to say to all these imperishable monuments of Râma's adventures? **His idea is that the Râmâyaṇa represents the spread of Aryan civilisation towards the South.** If Sîtâ represents Aryan husbandry, her abduction by Râvaṇa and his forcing her to accept him as her lord could never mean the attack on Aryan husbandry by predatory chiefs as the learned Professor supposes, but would mean that the tribes who occupied Southern India and Ceylon had a desire to introduce into their own provinces the system of tillage that was adopted by the Aryans; and then the recovery of Sîtâ by Râma would be meaningless, unless, indeed, it is understood to mean that Râma compelled the non-Aryan tribes to renounce the system of agriculture adopted by them in imitation of the Aryans which is highly improbable.

Professor Weber identifies Râma with Balarâma. We take objection to this on the following grounds:—

(1) Balarâma was the brother of Kṛishṇa who lived at the time of the *Mahâbhârata*, whereas Râma was the hero of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and, as such, belonged to an earlier period. The latter therefore cannot be identified with the former, who was probably not in existence at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*.

(2) Râma ruled at Ayôdhyâ, whereas Balarâma is said to have resided with Kṛishṇa at Dvârakâ.

(3) Balarâma is said to have indulged in drink, and is generally described as an impetuous character, whereas Râma was a hero of very temperate habits and of a very mild disposition.

If, as Prof. Weber says, the Râmâyaṇa is only an allegory, and the characters who figure therein are not historical characters, but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations, how does he account for the great esteem and reverence in which the epic and the heroes who figure therein are held by the whole Hindu population, for the great sanctity attached to the places of pilgrimage above referred to, for the various sights seen in those places which tend to confirm all the details of the plot, and for the existence of monkeys in large numbers in all those places of pilgrimage? It is absurd to suppose that Vâlmîki would have imported monkeys into those places or have erected temples of Râma and Lakshmaṇa, Sîtâ and Hanumat, there merely to give currency to an invention. Nor is it possible for any one to suppose that people who belonged to subsequent ages would have erected palaces, temples and statues in honor of heroes and heroines, who, they knew, had existed only in the imagination of a poet. **Our conclusion therefore is that the Râmâyaṇa is no allegory, but has for its basis the abduction of a high-born lady by a leader of the savage tribes of the South.**

To proceed to the other argument advanced by Prof. Weber. **He states that the Râmâyaṇa points to the colonization of the south by the Aryans, and that, as this colonization could be expected to have taken place only after the settlement of the Aryans in Upper India, which is treated of in the Mahâbhârata, the Râmâyaṇa must be of a later date than the Mahâbhârata.** To us, however, it seems that the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* do not respectively refer to the settlement of the Aryans in the south and north of India. Both the epics refer to wars waged on the Indian soil, but while the *Râmâyaṇa* describes a war between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, the *Mahâbhârata* relates to the internal feuds which arose among the Aryans themselves. We all know that at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa* the Aryans had founded kingdoms corresponding to the modern provinces of Bengal, South Behar, Oudh, Kâṭiâwâṛ, and Berar, as well as two others, Sindhu and Kêkaya, both of them being situated close to each other in Northern India; but at the time of the *Mahâbhârata* we find numerous kingdoms flourishing in all parts of India, which shows that they had all come into existence in the long interval between the age of the *Râmâyaṇa* and that of the *Mahâbhârata*. It is

therefore a mistake to suppose that when the *Mahâbhârata* was composed the Aryans were confined to Upper India, and that they extended their dominions eastward at the time of the *Râmâyaṇa*. The provinces of Upper India and those of the valley of the lower Ganges, together with those of Western India, were colonised by the Aryans when Vâlmîki composed the *Râmâyaṇa*, and the *Mahâbhârata* represents only a later, fuller, and more advanced stage of development in the colonization of the Aryans. Such being the case, and the war portions of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* relating to the wars which took place in the south and north of India independently of each other, there is no need to assume that the latter war should have preceded the former. Even supposing that the incidents of the *Râmâyaṇa* refer to the colonization of the south by the Aryans, it by no means follows that this event should have taken place after all the feuds in Upper India had been fought out. Feuds are liable to arise at any moment between the chiefs of two adjacent provinces, even while the surrounding country is in a peaceful condition ; and to wait till all the feuds are fought out is tantamount to waiting till the waves of the sea should cease. Professor Weber seems to be aware of the fallacy of his argument and concedes that the wars of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* might have taken place concurrently ; but he is not inclined to go further and to assign an earlier date to the war of the *Râmâyaṇa*. But as we have already shown, the Aryans occupied Upper India and the Lower Provinces of Bengal at the time of the composition of the *Râmâyaṇa* ; and there is therefore nothing to prevent one from supposing that a war could then have taken place between them and the savage tribes of the south in the manner described in the epic. If this war had really taken place after the war of the *Mahâbhârata*, which was conducted on scientific principles, it would not have been described as a war between monkeys and demons, and Southern India would not have been described as a wilderness. Even supposing with Prof. Weber that Vâlmîki described them as such with a view to making his composition appear as of a higher antiquity than the *Mahâbhârata*, the question still remains to be answered as to how such a work of the wildest exaggeration could have been most heartily welcomed and most sincerely reverenced by the Aryans, especially after having read the *Mahâbhârata*, which is more practical, more real, and more comprehensive. But if it be asked how the *Râmâyaṇa*, supposing it to be anterior to the *Mahâbhârata*, could have continued to command the same respect, even after the composition of the *Mahâbhârata*, we reply that the *Râmâyaṇa* is regarded by the Hindus as belonging to a period considerably earlier than that of the *Mahâbhârata*, as belonging, in fact, to a different *yuga*. And this idea would never have gained ground among the Hindus, had the *Râmâyaṇa* been actually composed after the *Mahâbhârata*. With the Hindus everything that is old is entitled to respect. When once the Hindus begin to pay homage to a deity or to a work, the homage is continued to be paid by succeeding generations for centuries together, without a question being raised as to the wisdom or propriety of doing so. With them custom is 'a power fixed by a thousand tough and stringy roots to people's pious nursery faith.' We can therefore only account for the very high reverence which is being paid to the *Râmâyaṇa* by supposing that it was composed long before the *Mahâbhârata*, and that it was enjoying a world-wide celebrity and commanding universal respect when the latter was proclaimed to the world And this last event could not mar the favourable impression which the *Râmâyaṇa* had, centuries before, created in the minds of the people.

Having thus criticised Prof. Weber's arguments, we shall conclude with **a tribute to the memory of Vâlmîki.** We, the Hindus, regard Vâlmîki as the inventor of the Anushṭubh metre (*Bâlakâṇḍa, sarga* 2), and, as such, he deserves to be called the "Father of Sanskṛit Poetry." He is also known to us as a very ancient sage, living sometimes near the Ganges (3, *sarga* 2, *Bâlakâṇḍa*) and sometimes at Chitrakûṭa (verses 10 to 16, *sarga* 56, *Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa*). He commenced life as a highway robber, but having been instructed by Nârada to repeat the word *marâ* (which, when inverted, becomes Râma), he turned over a new leaf and continued to repeat the word for years together, assuming a motionless posture, so much so that his body was buried in a mound thrown up by the white ants. When his meditation was over, he issued from the ant-hill, and hence his name Vâlmîki.

When we proceeded to Allahabad on a pilgrimage a few years ago, we visited those sacred spots

on the opposite banks of the Ganges, which are to this day known as hermitages. Each of these presents the appearance of a delicious garden. In each of these can be found a large banyan tree situated in the middle, capable of affording shelter to hundreds of weary way-farers, a well of excellent water, a small shrine containing the images of Vishṇu or Śiva in their various manifestations, and a small raised mound on which to perform religious worship. Each of these is occupied by a *sâdhu* or recluse, who has renounced the world and resorted to his seat as a means of emancipating himself from re-births. In some of the gardens there are also caves in which dwell *sâdhus*. We there saw a *sâdhu*, of whom it was said that he had formerly been a *zamîndâr*, and that having conceived an aversion to all that was worldly, he resolved on spending the rest of his life-time in one of these caves, and did so. All these *sâdhus* take only one meal a day, and spend their time in silent meditation. Their meal consists only of a few cakes of wheat flour, which is regularly supplied to them by some charitable person. Their life is one of uninterrupted tranquillity and continued meditation. Oh, for an hour of such a life! As we stood there contemplating the splendid scene around us, the Ganges flowing to our right, the Jamnâ visible in the distance and flowing eastward, the confluence of the two rivers studded with bathing *ghâts* and flags of various shapes and hues floating in the air (for it was the time of Makara-saṅkramaṇa), all these combined to create in our minds the impression that we were transported to an enchanted fairy-land. And the thought thrilled through our veins that the very spot on which we then stood had probably been hallowed by the foot-steps of Vâlmîki some scores of centuries ago. The very name Vâlmîki suggests to us the idea of a sage of hoary antiquity devoutly engaged in contemplation, with his soul in communion with the Supreme Spirit, whose consciousness is so far removed from the world, and whose penance is so long continued, that his body becomes covered up with ant-hills. Such is the mighty power of ascetism and such is the spiritual knowledge to which it leads. Thrice blessed are they who have attained to this knowledge. To them the world is a myth and life a dream. They are unmoved by prosperity as by adversity. To them the epithet *Samalôshṭâśmakâñchana* (one who views a lump of earth stone, and gold alike) may very well be applied. The orthodox Hindus fondly believe that such mighty sages are still practising penances on the tops of hills, by the sides of streams in the neighbourhood of temples and in delightful valleys, and that sometimes they bestow their favour on some woe-begone person and raise him from the lowest depths of adversity and ignorance to the highest pinnacle of prosperity and knowledge. May they continue practising their penances for all time to come, and may they shed the lustre of their beneficent influence on our benighted minds.[7]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DEVIL = WHIRLWIND.

"THE term pisâchi is also applied to the small circular storms, commonly by Europeans called devils." — *Hobson-Jobson*, 540, i. "Devil, s. A petty whirlwind, or circular storm, is often so called." — *Ibid.*, 790, i.

In East Anglia a small circular storm is called Roger's Blast [? = Devil's Blast,[1] Roger being perhaps in East Anglian folk-lore a name for the, or a, Devil]. The following quotations are from *The East Anglian* (the "*Notes and Queries*" of East Anglia):—

"Roger's Blast."

"This is the designation of a cyclone in some parts of Norfolk. It does not appear in Moor's list [Moor's *Suff. Words and Phrases*, — see *Hobson-Jobson*, 302, i.]. If anything is known about the origin or locale of the expression, it would be well to record it, as these bits of folk-lore are slipping away." — Third Ser., Vol. VIII. p 32. (Communicated by the Rev. Canon Raven D.D., F. S. A.)

"In Rye's *Glossary*, founded on that of Forby [*The Vocabulary of East Anglia*, 2 Vol., 1830], this is described as 'a sudden and local motion of the air, not otherwise perceptible but by it whirling up the dust on a dry road in perfectly calm weather, somewhat in the manner of a waterspout. It is reckoned as a sign of approaching rain, usually now for a violent and sudden whirlwind, not uncommon in the summer on

7 [And may they induce into the Hindus in due time the true spirit of sound argument! — ED.]

1 [Concerning Roger = Devil: in the Peak Cavern, Derbyshire, is Roger's Rainhouse, a dripping cave, the cavern itself being called by the local peasantry the Devil's Erse. — ED.]

the broads; often of force enough to lift haycocks and dismast yachts."

"But whence is the name 'Roger's Blast' derived? Is anything known of the origin of the name?" — *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII. p. 48.

"The following paragraph appeared in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 10th, 1870:—'The reedy marshes in the neighbourhood of Wroxham, Woodbastwick, Horning, and South Walsham in Norfolk, are sometimes swept suddenly by a sort of whirlwind, which generally, although not lasting more than a quarter of an hour, does great damage. This wind goes by the curious name of 'Roger's Blast.'"

"A similar account is also given in Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaisms and Provincialisms*, and Wright's *Dictionary of Obsolete English*." — *Ibid*, Vol. VIII. p. 48.

CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

RAULIN.

HERE are a couple of quotations regarding a word that has long puzzled me.

1690. — "(At Arracan) not far from this Palace, there is a great Lake, with many small Islands therein, which are Inhabited by their Priests, which they call **Raulini**." — Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, p. 559.

Further on in this book there are many references to these priests usually under the name **Raulini**, but not always, thus: —

"One of those great Men, whom he calls only one of the **Roolim** of Munay." — Page 566.

"His Coronation, which is usually perform'd with the greatest Ceremony and Pomp imaginable, the Twelve **Royolets** attending." — Page 581.

One would guess that here was meant the **Yahàn** of the Burmese and **Rahàn** of the Arrakanese, both representing the **Arhat** of the Classics, but one would hardly know how the corruption arose. From Buchanan's *Religion and Literature of the Burmas* we have, however, an explanation, not I must confess altogether satisfactory, as follows: —

1801. — "These priests, by Europeans commonly called Talapoins, and by Mohammedans **Raulins**, are in the Burma language called **Rahans**, and in the Pali Thaynka [for Sangha. — ED.]." — *A. R.*, Vol. vi., p. 274.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

24. A young married woman will lose her husband if she lets her hair grow in curls on the top of her head. She must keep the curls carefully trimmed.

25. The birth of a child afflicted with **hernia** results in the death of its maternal uncle. This can be **avoided** by the following expedients:—

First Mode. — An old person of the family puts some butter and oil in a mortar turned upside down. This is set alight and the uncle must look at the faces of mother and child reflected in the oil.

Second Mode — A goat is slain and its bowels removed as an offering to the deity. They are laid next morning on the baby and then flung away and carry the ill-luck with them.

Third Mode. — If the baby is killed his ill-luck departs.

Fourth Mode. — A Brâhman is sent for and made to tie a silver thread from the shoulder to the big toe of either foot of the child.

Ancient Mode now discontinued. — With beating of drums and blowing of horns the family goes to a temple taking a dozen new earthen pots. There are placed in a pile one above the other and a lighted lamp on the top. The uncle with a sword in his hand prays to the god and then breaks the pots.

26. A youth on coming of age when **bathing** is not allowed to empty his vessel when drinking. If he does he will be hen-pecked by his wife or get a mother-in-law who is a pauper.

M. R. PEDLOW.

PANJABI MUSALMAN CUSTOM AS TO SUCKLING.

IN the Western Panjab all the women, rich or poor, suckle their own children. In Lahore, Amritsar, and Dehlî, the children of the well-to-do families are commonly put out to nurse. This does not obtain in the villages; and if the mother's milk fails the child is brought up on goat's, sheep's, buffalo's or cow's milk, according to the parents' means. The term of suckling is two years, and in the case of girls often two years and a half. Among the poor if the child be weakly it is suckled by the mother for an *indefinite* period.

GULAB SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.[1]

IN my Article on the **Development of Currency in the Far East** (*ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 102 ff.), I passed over the discussion of the commencement of the subject, and considered only, in view of my main object at the time, that part of it which relates to the development of the forms of currency in the Far East, existing at the present day and bearing an established relation to coined money or to bullion, in the sense of a metal used for money. On this occasion I purpose to take in hand a part of what I then omitted, but the vastness of the general subject again obliges me to confine myself within very narrow limits. I can really only now discuss **the three points of barter, currency and money in their earliest and simplest forms,** confining my evidence in this discourse chiefly to that from the Far East, and in the Plates attached to it to some leading objects on the subject to be found in the British and Oxford Museums.

The special points I am obliged to leave to some future opportunity are the rise of bullion weights out of measures of capacity, the development of exchange in its modern commercial sense, the rise of coin out of bullion currency and of legal tender out of coin, and the extreme value to mankind of legal tender, to my mind one of the finest achievements of human reasoning powers.

With this much preface, let me commence with what we ought always to settle upon, when about to discuss a subject like that now before us, clear **definitions** of the main technicalities we shall have to use. If we are to arrive at any definite ideas we must be sure of the meanings of such terms as barter, currency and money. **Barter is exchange of possessions pure and simple,** I exchange to-day my grain for your fruit and to-morrow my adze for your knife ; that is barter. **But when our daily transactions become so far complicated as to require some other article in common domestic use to be interposed between the grain and the fruit and between the adze and the knife, i. e., a medium between the articles bartered, we have set up a currency and a medium of exchange.** Thus : you and I and the rest of our tribe have all got cocoanuts in varying quantities and can find a use for them every day. I want fruit and you want grain, but instead of exchanging my grain for your fruit I give you six pairs of cocoanuts for the fruit I want, and later on you come to me and give me five pairs of cocoanuts for the corn you want. In the same way I give you my adze for cocoanuts and you give me your knife for cocoanuts. Here we are bartering through a medium and **cocoanuts are our currency.** When we become a little more civilised and proceed to make **purely conventional articles, usable only as a medium of exchange, we have set up a system of money.** For currency consists of articles, real or imaginary, used for account, *i. e.*, for measuring the relative values of different articles of use. So many cocoanuts make one adze ; so many cocoanuts make one knife. Whereas money consists of tokens convertible into property. So many imitation iron spear-heads can buy an adze ; so many can buy an axe. **Exchange** has, it is true, come to have in modern civilisation a secondary sense, but this belongs to quite a different part of the subject.

Now, I hope I have made my meaning clear to the reader. For our present purpose, **barter is the exchange of one article for another; currency implies exchange through a medium; money that the medium is a token.** And I wish it to be observed particularly that neither currency nor money involve necessarily the use of metals, much less of gold and silver. In fact, gold and silver have come to be used for money, and currency has come to be expressed in terms of gold and silver money, merely because civilised man has long found out that these metals are the most convenient materials to be found on the earth as media of exchange, and that the most convenient way of measuring relative values is to express them in terms of the media of exchange. I emphasize this point, because we shall have to deal almost entirely with **money and currency that are non-bullion,** *i. e.*, not of gold and silver.

[1] The substance of this Article was given in a lecture before the Anthropological Institute on May 30th, 1899, and was subsequently published in its *Journal* for the year 1899.

Barter, pure and simple, does not require much explanation, and I shall confine myself now to one plain illustration thereof from an old book, perhaps not very well known, Davies's *Translation of Olearius, Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors to Moscovy, Tartary and Persia* about 1635. The writer apologizes for the digression from which I am about to quote, and well he might, for he proceeds to talk about Greenland. However, we may be glad of this, as he tells us not only what is quaint, but exactly to the present purpose. He says :—

"There is no money in the Countrey, being so happy as not to know the value of Gold and Silver. Iron and Steel they most esteem, and prefer a Sword or a Hatchet before a Golden Cup, a Nail before a Crown piece, and a pair of Cisers, or a Knife, before a Jacobus. Their trucking is thus : they put all they have to sell together, and having picked out among the Commodities that are brought to them, what they like best, they put them also together and suffer those they deal with to add or diminish till such time as they are content with the bargain."

The points for our consideration in the above narration are two. Firstly, the writer talks of "**the Countrey being so happy as not to know the value of Gold and Silver.**" I cannot deal with this point now, but I am in a position to produce evidence, which I think would convince the reader of the fallacy of this **popular error**. Had Ovid been possessed of a deeper insight into the springs of action he would have written :—"*Effodiuntur opes irritamenta bonorum,*" and not have misled for ages a world of unthinking followers by some truly unhappy lines. Secondly, it will be perceived that the trucking was perfectly to the content of each party to the bargain, *i. e.*, both to the civilised European and the savage. Each side, be it marked, viewing the bargain according to his own interest. I want to draw particular attention to this fact ; because so many imperfectly informed travellers, non-trading residents, missionaries and others have so very often unjustly vilified European traders in their **truck with savages**. No doubt the civilised trader has come away with for him a magnificent bargain, out of which elsewhere — but elsewhere be it remembered, it must be — he is going to make a fine thing. On the other hand the savage, too, has come away more than satisfied, because with what he has got from the trader he can procure from among his own tribe something he very much covets, which the articles he parted with could not have procured for him. Both sides have profited by the bargain from their respective points of view, and the trader has not taken an undue advantage of the savage, as he is so often said to do.

I will explain this by an instance or so. In the Mergui Archipelago off the coast of Burma, there lives in a very poor way a group of wild Malay families, known as the Selungs, which is systematically exploited in mercantile directions by certain Chinamen, whose proceedings have been characterised by one eminent writer thus :—

"These poor creatures [*i. e.*, the Selungs] gather 'black coral,' eaglewood and so on, which they exchange for a little cloth, paddy, tobacco, and perhaps 'the smell of opium' now and then, valued at not a fifth of what they give in exchange."

By a much earlier observer we are told that "they scarcely know the value of money, and are therefore the losers in the bartering trade with the Chinese and others who visit them. Perhaps, they think themselves the greater gainers, since they give products of no use to them for others of vital importance, and are thereby enabled to maintain a wild independence."

Now, I ask the reader to contrast these two statements. We are told first that what the Selungs give in exchange to the Chinamen is valued at not a fifth of what they get; valued, that is, elsewhere in the civilised world. But the savages' point of view is correctly put forward in the earlier statement. What they get by barter is of value to themselves; what they give is of none. As between civilised man and the savage the bargaining is so far fair and reasonable. It becomes unfair, when, as we know from other sources, the traders take advantage of this people's delight in strong liquors and make them drunk, and then conclude unconscionable bargains, by which the savages part with their produce for an insufficient quantity of articles of use to them.

A distinct apprehension of this point seems to me to be essential and to be so often wanting that I feel impelled to give another clear instance. My late friend and genial brother officer, Gen. Woodthorpe, in his account of the Lushai Expedition of 1871-2, wrote thus :—

"A large number of Lushais had accompanied us as far as Tipai Mukh and were busily employed in driving a few last bargains. They brought down large quantities of india-rubber, which they eagerly exchanged for salt, equal weights, and as the value of the rubber was more than four times that of the salt, any individuals who could command a large supply of the latter had an excellent opportunity for a little profitable business."

Now, observe that the profit was not altogether that of the civilised man on this occasion, if the matter be looked at from the savages' point of view. For Mr. Burland, an experienced civil officer with the Expedition, made in the blue-book of the day an observation on this very transaction, which has been independently confirmed by Mr. Soppitt, another friend now departed. Mr. Burland wrote : —

"In former times these tribes made all the salt they required for their own consumption from salt springs, and they say that to make enough salt for the requirements of an ordinary family, a man's labour was required for three months. A man can now collect sufficient india-rubber in one month to exchange with Bengalee traders for more than enough salt to last him and his family for a year. So that a man who chooses to occupy himself three months in collecting india-rubber will, by bartering the same for salt, have a large surplus of that article, with which to trade with the southern tribes, who, they say, are willing to give one maund of rubber for a quarter maund of salt." The point could not be put more clearly.

For evidence in the same direction I must allude to several cases, recorded when military and other expeditions along the frontiers of Assam and Burma have found that **British coins could only be treated as articles of barter.** During the Lushai Expedition of 1871-2 a rupee having been given for a fowl on one occasion the savages would only thereafter exhange fowls for rupees, though the rupees could be got back again for the base metal coin of a neighbouring semi-civilised State. In 1893 amongst some of the Shan Tribes along the Chinese border rupees could not buy a pony, though small silver coins of the same number, and of course of much less value to us, could. Amongst other Shans, copper coins alone could purchase anything, any kind of silver failing to be attractive, and there being no difference in the value placed upon a rupee and its eighth part.

The reason in each of the above cases is the same and clear. The savages in question had a use respectively for the base metal, the small silver and the copper, but none for the rupee, which to us was of very greatly the highest value. The adherence of the Lushais to a rupee as the exchange equivalent of a fowl was due to an accident. Having got into their heads by a chance that to us a rupee was the proper exchange for a fowl, they stuck to it from an unreasoning suspicion that, unless they did so, we were in some unascertainable way cheating them ; and their subsequent exchange of the rupees so acquired for what was to us base metal rubbish was from their point of view to their advantage.

Of course every one knows that trade will accommodate itself to any circumstances and evolve a *modus vivendi* between any two apparently irreconcilable parties. I could give from notes, If I had the time, many quaint and instructive instances of **the working of barter as a mode of trade between savages and civilised man,** but I will content myself with one only from my own experience. I once had to acquire for Government about $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of cocoanut-covered land in the Island of Car Nicobar in the Bay of Bengal. I first carefully and literally walked the boundaries, fixing them approximately with a prismatic compass to the great awe of the sellers, and then gave them without hesitation what they considered as much as they could dare to ask, namely, 12 suits of black cloth, 1 piece of red cloth, 6 bags of rice, 20 packets of China tobacco, 12 bottles of Commissariat rum.

But a far more instructive **instance of evolution** is to be observed in our dealings with the less civilised peoples inhabiting Burma and neighbourhood. The Government has to preserve order by

means of fines and some sort of pecuniary penalties or enforced compensations, and it has to collect revenue in some shape or other, and for these purposes it must have perforce some means of apportioning values. But the people only understand barter and the notion of relative values is entirely rudimentary. In these circumstances, in Assam, among the Kacharis, the British Courts have drawn up for their own use a **regular scale of fines and revenue in terms of the domesticated animals kept by the people,** — *e. g.*, a man's revenue would be assessed, not at Rs. 10 but at a big buffalo; a fine would not be fixed at a quarter of a rupee but at a cock and two small hens. So amongst the Chins in Burma a customary present would not be Rs. 10 but a full-grown hog, and a fine or a compensation for injury would not be Rs. 5 but a silk jacket. Even the old native government of Burma had to adopt a system akin to this, for at the time of the First Burma War of 1824 it levied fines, as a variant of the very ancient Eastern notion of slavery for debt and partly also as a kind of blood-money, on the value of the human body, on the following scale in terms of British money: —

	Rs.
A new-born male child	10
A new-born female child	7½
A boy	25
A girl	17½
A young man	75
A young woman	83½

I ask that this point be borne in mind, as it is **actually the very commencement of that product of human reason we have been calling "currency";** the necessities of civilised governments obliging them to set up, and educate populations up to, the idea of a currency, where none before existed. For when once the savages we have been considering have become accustomed to domestic animals and articles being given **fixed relative values,** a currency in the most elemental form thereof has been started. I also ask the reader to remember this point, because this particular development, being natural and necessary, is inevitable and not confined to wild peoples, and for this reason I shall have to revert to it again later on.

It will be fresh in mind that I have instanced the use of cocoanuts just now in generally explaining currency as distinguished from barter and money: **currency being the use of an article commonly required as the medium for exchanging actual property between buyer and seller.** I did so because of circumstances within my own experience. In the Nicobar Islands, from all time — and we have definite knowledge of the Nicobars from the days of I-Tsing in the seventh century to those of Marco Polo in the thirteenth, and through all those of the earlier European travellers to the present day — **cocoanuts** have been and still **are the currency** of the people. They and the trees that produce them are the staple products of the country and the most valuable possession of the inhabitants. They play a great part in finding them in food, drink and materials for housing, clothing, and furniture. They are thus in constant and daily use and they are employed for currency, *i. e.*, **for measuring the values of other articles and as the medium in exchanging them.** I will give a strong instance of this from what I have myself seen.

On the 5th April, 1896, the people of Mûs in Car Nicobar had occasion to buy a large racing canoe from the people of Chowra Island, and this is what they did. They proceeded to value the canoe at 35,000 cocoanuts, but they are a lazy people and had no intention of fetching such a large quantity down from the trees in their possession. So they paid for the canoe in a great number of articles, each valued in cocoanuts, nearly all of which were in their possession as the result of trading in cocoanuts with such foreigners as Burmans, Chinese, Malays, and natives of India. The list of these articles is interesting and goes to prove my point, but I will not load these pages with it now. It included domestic animals, utensils and implements, cloth, beads, silver articles and even British money.

This transaction induced me to set the local government agent to try and ascertain the approximate value in cocoanuts of such trade articles as the Nicobarese require for domestic and other uses, and his inquiries produced a long list, from needles at 12 coc. a dozen and matches at 24 coc. per dozen boxes to red Turkey cloth at 1,600 coc. the piece. Now, in this list a two-anna bit, which is the eighth of a rupee, was valued at 16 coc. and the rupee itself at 100; but it will be perceived that eight times sixteen is 128. Now, the reason for the discrepancy is that the little piece of silver is used for one sort of ornament and the big piece for another sort, and their value in cocoanuts to these people depends on their relative value as ornaments, and not on their relative weight combined with fineness, or, as we should say, their intrinsic value. I need hardly say that the Nicobarese do not recognise coins as a medium of exchange.

How these primitive tribes manage to count and tally cocoanuts in large quantities is an extremely interesting anthropological study, which of course I cannot follow up now, but I hope I have succeeded in making plain the first beginnings of currency and the mental attitude of man in a primitive stage of civilisation towards this question.

There is in existence a mass of evidence from all parts of the world showing how **savages, semi-savages and some civilised peoples employ natural articles of use as currency,** though, as already stated, I confine myself now chiefly to the Far East for the instances I have to adduce.

Thus, **rice** has been used up till quite recent times as currency in daily transactions in many outlying places about Burma and the neighbourhood; and in some parts of China this is the case no doubt still, and it was so in Kashmir in the sixteenth century. **Cloves** were currency in the Moluccas at the same time, and fish in some other parts of the Malay Archipelago, at any rate in 1820. **Salt** is another article that has been used, as noticed by even the earliest travellers, in China, Burma and the hills all round and in many parts of India. Up to the time of the first Burmese War in 1824, at any rate, **cotton** was the currency between Arakan and Burma. Of **livestock** I need hardly say much, as the use of these for measuring values is a very widely spread instance to the point. But **chickens** were currency in the Maldives off the south-west coast of India in the fourteenth century, and **pigs** in Tibet and **oxen** in Central Asia in much later days. The Lushais of the Assam-Burma borders reckon values in **buffaloes,** and from the Khonds of Eastern India — the people of the Meriah human sacrifices — we have a fine bit of evidence in the middle of the present century; for Macpherson, a name that will never be forgotten among Anglo-Indians for his efforts in putting a stop to the Meriah abominations, tells us in 1845, that "the value of all property is estimated by the Maliah Khonds in '**lives,**' a measure which requires some adjustment every time it is applied; a buffalo, a bullock, a goat, a pig or a fowl, a bag of grain, or a set of brass pots, being each, with anything that may be agreed upon, a 'life.' A hundred lives on an average may be taken to consist of 10 bullocks, 10 buffaloes, 10 sacks of corn, 10 sets of brass pots, 20 sheep, 10 pigs, and 30 fowls."

But my tit-bit of evidence from the East is from Turkestan in the present day, where **mulberries** are the currency, just as till quite lately **bitter almonds** were currency, for small values in many parts of civilised India. I have kept it to the last, because the story thereof carries me on to my next point and affords a parallel to what I have said of the Nicobars. Quoting from a recent Russian *Report* we are told of Darwaz, which is in Bokhara, that "the inhabitants of Darwaz plant mulberry trees, and the mulberry is their sole means of subsistence. In summer they eat it raw and in the winter in a dried state, in the form of flour, out of which they make a kind of flat cake. Their dress they obtain by bartering the mulberry for rough matting and sheepskins, and even their taxes are paid with the mulberry. In fact **the mulberry is the measure tubeteika, the currency of Darwaz,** and many Darwazis never know the taste of bread all their lives long . . . . The grain measure is the *batmán* = 45 *tubeteikas.*"

But observe, **when the dried mulberries are made up into tubeteikas or measures, the currency** begins to cross over the Rubicon, **on its way to becoming a token and hence money.** It is in this act of passing over from currency to money that our subject presents its chief difficulty.

Before parting with the consideration of this particular aspect of this subject, I would like to remind the reader that **non-bullion currency has not by any means been confined to savage, uncivilised or semi-civilised communities.** In the early history of our Colonies we find that the civilised communities set up by the English in remote localities often began, and sometimes long continued, their trade dealings in a currency of local staple produce, and that too by express law; just as Prof. Ridgeway has explained in his *Origin of Currency* was the case in Iceland about 1420 in the matter of **stockfish or dried cod,** and as we have already seen is also the case with the British Courts established in the wilds of Assam and Burma. The great well of evidence on this head is Chalmer's *History of Currency in the British Colonies*, and it is a flowing one, though I shall not extract more than is just sufficient to illustrate my present contention.

The non-bullion currency of the early colonists all through the seventeenth century covered a great variety of articles: tobacco, corn, wampum, sugar, rum, cotton-wool, mahogany, molasses, ginger, indigo, skins and so on. In 1643 in Massachusetts wampum strings were made a legal tender, and tobacco was rated under penalties at 3*s*. per lb. in Virginia in 1618. So sugar, tobacco and other things were made into monetary standards in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dried codfish was a circulating medium in Newfoundland till much later. Even as late as 1708, tobacco, to quote an old Report, was "the Meat, Drink, Cloathing, and Money" of Maryland; and of tobacco as a currency there is a good story told about Virginia in 1620-21. In that year 150 "young and uncorrupt girls" were imported as wives for the colonists and were rated originally at 100 lbs. of tobacco or £15, but subsequently at the increased price of 150 lbs. of tobacco or £22 10*s*. And we are told "that it would have done a man's heart good to see the gallant young Virginians hastening to the waterside when a vessel arrived from London, each carrying a bundle of the best tobacco under his arm, and taking back with him a beautiful and virtuous young wife."

In Barbados the colonists commenced with a currency chiefly in cotton and tobacco, but also in indigo and "fustick-wood." About 1640 sugar became the currency and was legal tender from 1667 onwards, coined money being established in 1715. In the Leeward Islands, books and accounts were kept in terms of sugar, and even as late as 1740 it was officially stated that "the value which is put on sugar, rum, cotton, and other commodities, the growth of the Leeward Islands, is called currency there." The variety of "the other commodities" was considerable from time to time; tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, molasses, and so on; and their rating was fixed by the government, just as we saw the Indian and Burman officials rating livestock and so on for the wild Lushais and Chins. This went on more or less till 1784. In British Honduras, one of the most unwieldy currencies yet invented, mahogany in the form of logwood, lasted till 1785. In the Bermudas, which was the first of the colonies to start a coined currency, tobacco was the currency until 1658.

Now, it is from the collation of such facts as those above given that we perceive first, that in similar conditions the mind of civilised and uncivilised man works in much the same directions and produces much the same results and that, though, as could be easily proved, mankind is really much better off with gold and silver coin of the realm as his currency, **it is not all necessary in a condition of comparative isolation,** such as that of savages or a semi-civilised people must always be in practice, **for currency to consist of metal.**

I now propose to tackle our difficulty — to plunge into the Rubicon and see if we cannot find a clear way across. The cause of all our trouble — of the eddies, whirlpools, currents and other dangers in our path, is the fact that every section of mankind in every place and at every period, being a product of Nature, has **never developed along a single line.** He has always been subjected to and affected by outside influences. He has picked up a little here, snatched a little there, and engrafted what he has caught up on to the tree of his own ideas, with the result that its subsequent growth has become complicated or even diverted from its original tendency. A strong example of this is the Hindustani language; its basis, genius if you like, is Hindi, the superstructure is chiefly Persian and partly Arabic, with grafts all over it of scraps of very many other tongues. Our own tongue is in much the same case. Anglo-Saxon, a term implying a growth, be it noted, at base with a ten per cent.

infusion of Latin and Greek, another appreciable infusion of Norman and modern French, and sprinklings of every other language under the sun. It is just the same with currency, in that common wide sense of the term which covers both barter and money.

No semi-civilised group of men has been at any time entirely isolated, and in tracing the development of currency anywhere, the **influences of contact** with the outside world are everywhere and always more or less plainly apparent. Barter is the natural basis of all dealings between man and man, and the setting up of a common useful article as a medium of exchange — of a currency in the restricted sense of this discourse — is a natural development. But somehow a community under our observation has learnt to count after a fashion. Somebody has taught it how to measure, or in some forgotten way it has been led on to a distinct point further in upward development and has acquired the art of measuring by weighment. Whenever this has happened, and one or more or all of these things have happened nearly always to any community we can now study, complications have ensued. The result being, of course, that in any given concrete instance of barter, it is not by any means to be clearly separated from currency, and *vice versâ*. The reader will have already perceived this in the course of my present remarks. It must have occurred to him that some of my illustrations of barter are perilously near currency, and that the aptness of some of my cases of currency is jeopardised by their close approach to barter. Just so. In my view, in illustrating by examples a natural development, this is inevitable. It is a phenomenon of Nature, of which the explanation I offer is that just given.

However, the passage from barter to currency does not present any great difficulties practically, but **between currency and money, between the employment of a domestically usable article and the employment of a domestically non-usable token as the medium of exchange,** there are many difficult currents, eddies and whirlpools, and the proper channel is by no means always clearly to be seen. Let me hope that I shall now in his judgment take the reader over as safely as I have in my own judgment taken myself.

Let us commence our passage by following the safe current of **roughly measured articles in every-day use as the medium of exchange.** In the fourteenth century Friar Odoric tells us of a rich man's revenue in China being stated in sacks, *i. e.*, "heavy ass-loads" of rice, revenues there being, until quite lately, and perhaps still, estimated in **sacks of rice.** In Burma, under the native Government, they were always estimated in **baskets of rice,** just as they were in Kashmir in the sixteenth century in the days of Akbar the Great. All this is on the same principle as the use of **the rolls of tobacco,** with which the young Virginian paid for his bride's passage out from England, though the measuring is not, owing to the comparative civilisation of the parties concerned, so accurate or regular. I think also that the currency in **skins** so well known in Ancient Russia, North America and China may be safely placed in the category of roughly measured currency, though the measurement is effected in a manner, and is based on principles, differing from those on which the measurement of the rice and tobacco was effected and based.

Out of the current of roughly measured currency we may glide almost imperceptibly into the equally safe current of **carefully measured, and, so far as regards measurement, regulated currency.** Of this the **tobacco rolls** of Old Virginia are equally as much an example as they are of roughly measured currency, giving us an instance of the difficulty in some cases of arriving at a distinct attribution to class. **The** *tubeteika* is, however, a clear instance; 45 *tubeteikas* or mulberry cakes make by local law or custom a *batmân* or standard measure. And when we come to study our old friend Marco Polo's sayings about "Tebet" in the thirteenth century we find the same thing: — "The small change again is made in this way. They have **salt** which they boil and set **in a mould,** flat below and round above, and every piece from the mould weighs about half a pound. Now 80 moulds of this salt are worth one *saggio* (say a sixth of an ounce) of fine gold, which is a weight so called." In other words 80 moulds of salt of a definite size made a *liang* or Chinese tael of the period. The experience of the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago in 1596 was much the same in the matter of **cakes of sago.**

In 1710 Alex. Hamilton, the traveller, procured evidence to precisely the same effect from Borneo, which he thus quaintly states : — "**Beeswax** is the current Cash in that Country. It is melted but not refined, and **cast in moulds** of an oblong Square, the Breadth about Two-thirds of the Length, and the Thickness Half the Breadth, and a Ratten Witby to lift them by, cast in the Wax. A Piece weighs a quarter of a Pecul which comes to in English Weight, 34 Pound, and a Pecul is valued in Payments at 10 Masscies or 40 Shillings Sterling. They have also for smaller Payments Pieces of Eight to a Pecul and Sixteenths and for smaller Money they have Couries." In the above pregnant passage the term "pecul" is of great interest in another phase of the development of currency, for it means fundamentally a man's load ; the masscie or mace, properly *mâs*, was a small fixed weight of gold. But the point just now is that moulds of beeswax of certain defined sizes equalled certain defined weights expressible actually in money.

Tea, in bricks and cakes, is another similar form of currency in natural produce, which has been widely noticed by travellers and others, and has what naturalists call a wide distribution, for it is found from Shanland and China to Russia. The use of tea bricks and their apparent close approach to money is well put by Baber, the celebrated traveller, writing in 1882 :— "**A brick of tea is not only worth a rupee, but in a certain sense is a rupee.**" Some 20 years earlier Clement Williams, a name once well-known in Burma, wrote : — "The only kinds apparently known in the market at Bamo are the **flat discs of China tea and the balls of Shan tea.** The discs weigh 20 tickals each ; seven piled together make a packet, which used to sell at 1½ to 2 tickals [of silver, say 5 shillings]." This is a very neat bit of evidence for our present purpose.

Passing from natural produce in conventional cakes, bricks, balls, discs and what not **to articles that are entirely manufactured,** there is for the present discussion a valuable reference to **a currency in cloth** in a letter from John Jesse, dated 20th July, 1775, to the East India Directors. This old Oriental worthy writes :—"I was informed the quantity [of pepper] that year [1774, in Borneo Proper] was 4,000 peculs, cultivated solely by a colony of Chinese settled here, and sold to the junks, at the rate of 17·2 Spanish dollars per pecul, in China cloth called congongs which, for want of any other specie, are become the standard for regulating the prices of all commercial commodities at this Port." And then he proceeds to relate a little hankey-pankey by which the contractor cheated the workmen of about half the produce of their labour ; a proceeding, I would like to say, that is very much easier with a non-bullion currency or money than with a legal standard gold and silver coinage, which is in reality, so far from being a curse, one of the greatest blessings man's ingenuity ever brought about for the benefit of his kind. But, however that may be, the congong must have been a piece of cloth of an average length and size, and therefore it belonged to the category of carefully measured articles, domestically usable and employed as a medium of exchange, and that is enough for us just now.

An instance of an odd taste in currency, for which there is much evidence in the Far East from Burma, Yunnan, Shanland, Siam, Malay Archipelago and Borneo, among other places, is the use for that purpose of **glass jars and bottles.** The Chinese noticed this of the Burmans 1,000 years ago, and in 1870 and 1874, during expeditions in Upper Burma, one writer notes that "what money could not secure empty pint hock bottles did. For four of these I got eleven eggs and a brood of jungle fowl chickens." Another noticed that the Shans placed "an inordinate value upon empty bottles." Any kind of liquor bottle was good, soda-water bottles were better, red hock bottles best of all. In the very last Consular Report from Yunnan, for 1898, we are told that in the hills these "bottles are accepted in preference to silver." The bottles being "good quart bottles of clear glass." Here we have **a ready-made careful measurement,** which the users of the currency are unable to effect for themselves, though they are thoroughly alive to the value of the constancy in the size respectively of the hock, soda-water and other liquor bottles.

The pleasant and safe currents of roughly and carefully measured articles have carried us pretty far on our way, with just a little roughness over the matter of the Virginian tobacco rolls, but our further journey is through rougher waters, though I do not think we need apprehend any fear of

coming to grief. De Morga, the famous and exceedingly intelligent Governor of the Philippines early in the sixteenth century, after explaining that the usual way of trade was in general barter, says :—"Sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, according to the agreement made; also **in metal bells** brought from China, which they value as precious ornaments. They are like large pans and are very sonorous, and they strike upon them at their feasts and carry them in the vessels to the wars instead of drums or other instruments." We are here still in the region of a currency of the same sort precisely as the glass bottles of the Shans, but when we come to look into the story of **the big drums of the Karens of Burma,** of which two fine specimens are in the British Museum, the conditions are much less clear. Of these Gen. Macmahon, a slovenly and discursive but withal most experienced writer on the Karens, has said : — " Among the most valued possessions of the Hill Karens is **the kyee-zee**, consisting of a copper or spelter cylinder of about a quarter of an inch in thickness, averaging about 2 feet in length and of somewhat greater diameter at one end, which is closed with the same kind of metal, the smaller end being left open. They are ornamented in a rude style with figures of animals, birds and fish, and according to size and volume of sound are valued at from £5 to £50. On the outer circle are four frogs. They have distinctive names for ten different kinds, which they pretend to distinguish by the sound. In the settlement of their quarrels and in the redemption of the captives, the indemnification always takes the shape of a kyee-zee or more with perhaps a few buffaloes or pigs as make-weights. To such an extent does the passion for the possession of these instruments predominate among the more secluded tribes, that it is said instances are by no means rare of their having bartered their children and relations for them. The possession of kyee-zees is what constitutes a rich Karen. No one is considered rich without them, whatever may be his other possessions. Everyone who has money endeavours to turn it into kyee-zees, and a village that has many of them is the envy of other villages, and is often the cause of wars to obtain their possession." These Karen drums, then, are of varying size, are used in making large payments, and represent wealth. If they are put to domestic use, as for feasts and what not, they must be classed as currency; if they are to be looked on merely as tokens of a certain value, and kept only for making large payments when due or only as representatives of wealth, then they are money. **They are in fact just on the line between currency and money.**

It is a far cry from the Burmese border to Angola, but I must travel there for a parallel, from the remarks of Pyrard de Laval in 1601, who tells us : — " As for the small money of Angola, it consists only of little shells, somewhat like those of the Maldives [*i. e.*, cowries] and little pieces of cloth made of a certain herb. These pieces are an ell in length, more or less, according to the price. And when they go to market to buy their goods they carry no other money." Now, if these **ells of cloth** were for personal wear, they were thus used for currency ; if they were, as I understand, never worn, they were made for money. It will be perceived what a very short distance there can be between currency and money, and how nearly these two articles take us through difficulties to the opposite shore. But I can show that it is possible to get nearer still without actually landing thereon.

Referring to **the salt moulds** of Marco Polo, Yule, in his invaluable edition, tells us that Ramusio has stated that on these moulds **"the Prince's mark is printed** and no one is allowed to make it except the royal officers." Later on I will describe **a tea brick from Russia stamped** with something like a Government or official mark. Currency cannot get nearer to money than this, for if we define a coin as a lump of metal money stamped to indicate its exchange value, and coin of the realm as such a lump stamped to show that it is a legal medium of exchange, **we have reached in the salt moulds something very like a coin of the realm in salt.** But remember that as both the salt mould and the tea brick can be put to an ordinary domestic use they are still currency and not money.

Having brought the reader I hope in safety so far, I am going to take a little step further in smooth water, so that we may at least touch the opposite shore. The clearest instance I have yet come across of **the exact point where currency ends and money begins** — of the very last act in crossing the Rubicon — **is the use of rice in Burma as a medium of exchange,** as it has come under my personal observation, supported by that of the British Resident at the now defunct

Court of Ava in 1797. Rice is still used, or was at any rate ten years ago used, in this way in Upper Burma in village transactions, but such rice was neither food-rice nor seed-rice, but useless broken rice. In other words it is **a non-bullion token** and so money, just as much as the imitation hoes, hatchets, knives and so on of the Chinese and other peoples in various parts of the world are tokens of currency and so money.

Another almost universal instance of a **non-metallic money proper is the cowry**, for these sea-shells, where chiefly used in the East, are not of any domestic use whatever to the people who pass them from hand to hand, and are expressly imported in very large quantities, often from great distances, only for the purpose of a medium of exchange. They afford a clear example of an untouched natural product being converted into money as distinguished from currency.

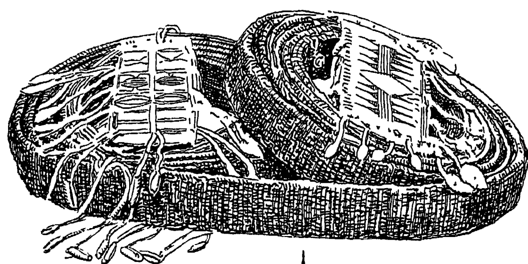
All these things, broken rice, imitation iron instruments and cowries, properly fulfil **the conditions of material for money**. They have to be produced, and though fairly common the production is, in the conditions in which the producers live, nevertheless limited, and therefore they can have a token value. To take the least likely instance. Rice has to be cultivated; the amount of cultivation depends on the capacities and numbers of the cultivators; of what is thus produced a fixed quantity must go for food and another fixed quantity for seed; only what is spoiled in handling and what is over can be used for money. The production of broken rice is therefore distinctly limited and at the same time sufficiently abundant. This is why to isolated half-civilised villagers living in certain places broken rice is money. The reasoning that makes it money for them is precisely that which makes gold, silver and copper tokens money for us.

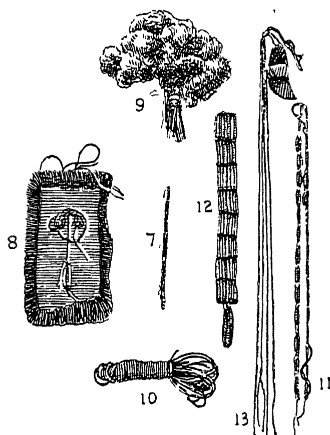
We are now fairly landed in the region of money, and I would point out that what has kept our course straight is holding on to the definition we started with, *viz.*, **that currency implies that the medium of exchange is a domestically usable article, and money that it is a token not domestically usable.** It is just this definition that is the test by which we can separate metal articles, when used as a medium of exchange, into those that are currency and those that are money. When the iron-smelting Shans of Zimmè pay their revenue in the elephant chains, spear-heads, cooking-pots and other ironware which they make, they are using currency; but when similar Shans along the Mekhong use lozenges of ingot iron for making payments, they are using a real money. By the way it may interest some to know that the only proper description of this often mentioned money that I know of is to be found in Aymonier's *Voyages dans les Laos*. So also the usable iron hatchets or handbills of the Nassau Islanders, found in use in 1792, were currency, while the thin, *i. e.*, imitation and useless, as I will presently show by examples, iron knives of the Kachins and Shans of the Assam-Burma border of about the same period were money. Thus, too, the gold and silver boxes, bowls and necklaces and the quainter and prettier gold and silver leaves, flowers and even trees of the former Shan, Malay and Burmese tribute formed a sort of currency and not of money.

Such are the arguments by which I would seek to prove my points out of the books and my verbal evidence, but before closing my remarks I would note just one more point as to which confusion and mistakes may easily arise. In 1241 the Emperor Frederick II., son of Barbarossa, and perhaps the grandest historic figure of all in the Middle Ages, issued a temporary and honest **leather currency**. In the present century among other places, for local reasons, **parchment and paper currencies** have temporarily been established respectively in the Cocos-Keeling Islands and in the Andamans. From the ninth to the fifteenth centuries a most remarkable paper currency was very widely established in China. For a long time past there has been, and probably there still is, a noticeable **currency in porcelain gambling tokens** in Siam. Now, not one of these has any connection with the beginnings of currency, and they arise out of a state of things far beyond the scope of our present subject, for their existence is dependent on conditions only possible in a high state of civilisation, as they are **each and all based upon commercial credit**, an idea not possible to mankind when placed in the surroundings we have been assuming. While on this point, it may be as well to call to mind that the early Chinese writers on paper currency understood the true commercial nature thereof as clearly and distinctly as would the Governors of the Bank of England at the present day.

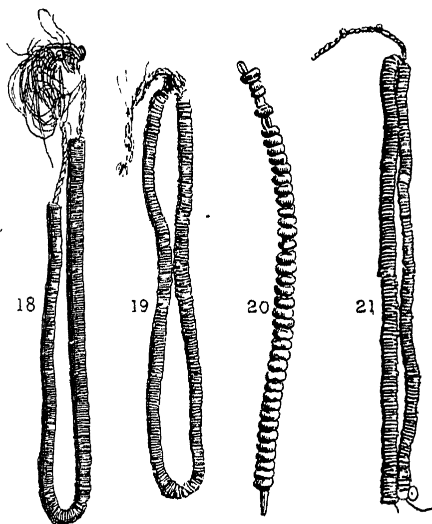
BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

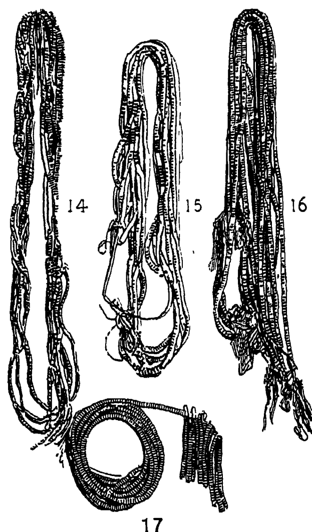
Plate I.

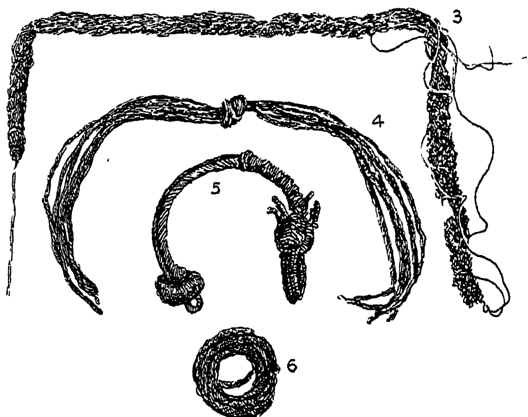












Ex Coll. British Museum and Oxford Museum.

Having thus brought together evidence out of my own experience and the books I have been studying chiefly about the Far East, I will now explain the Plates attached to this Paper, which exhibit, however, articles and objects from many parts of the world, by way of clinching the arguments I have adduced. I am here indebted to the kindness and knowledge of four friends, and the resources of two Museums. It is due to Mr. C. H. Read and Mr. Edge-Partington of the British Museum and to Professor Tylor and Mr. Balfour of the Oxford Museum that I am able thus to add to my evidence. I am also indebted to Mr. Levin for his kindness and courtesy in explaining and lending me samples of his unrivalled collection of **African trade and other beads**. And now in conclusion let me explain that I have not in these pages made any kind of attempt to explain either currency, money or exchange as we modern Europeans understand and use those terms, for they are very far removed from the beginnings we have been talking about. Also, I make now no sort of pretence to exhaust the points I have taken up, and I have done no more than give such examples as seem to me to properly illustrate them, confining myself to definitions and beginnings and taking no count of developments.

Description of the Plates.

Plate I.

Fig. 1 is the **feather money** of Santa Cruz, South Pacific. It consists of two bands of vegetable fibre covered with parrot feathers. There are two boards which are placed in the middle of the bands above and below. The whole structure is carried in a bag and is indivisible. It is real money, *i. e.*, it is used for no other purpose than as a medium of exchange. It is, however, only used for expensive purchases, as it is difficult and slow of manufacture, and therefore of great intrinsic value in itself. This should be borne in mind, as the Fig. 2 probably records a mistake made on "high authority."

Fig. 2 is a photograph of **feather money** taken by Bishop Montgomery at Nelua, Santa Cruz Islands, in front of the house of a trader, and said to be the price of a girl bought as the teacher's wife; but it is nevertheless much more likely to be the trader's capital, as there is very far too much of it to be *primâ facie* the price of a girl for a bride. There is a great number of the feather bands supported on the bamboo or cane and many more on the heads of the natives standing around; and it is doubtful if a girl would be thought to be worth even so much as one pair of the bands.

Fig. 3 is a **necklace of red feathers** used as currency in Santa Maria, Banks group, South Pacific, where shell money is not used. In the Torres Islands, where shells for money are not found, their beautiful little **arrows** are used as currency (Codrington. *Melanesians*, p. 327). Both of these are real currency because they have a domestic as well as a pecuniary use.

Figs. 4 and 6 are **strings made from the hair** of the ears of the flying fox in shor lengths, from New Caledonia, and Fig. 5 is a spear thrower, or becket, with flying fox hair wound round it in parts, from New Caledonia. Now, whether this flying fox hair is money or currency all depends on whether these strings of it are used domestically as ornaments or not. Our information is not complete on this point, though we can guess that it is money from what we know of the Figs. that immediately follow.

Fig. 10 is a **feather ornament** from the New Hebrides, worn by men after making the proper number of feasts and then used as money. This is a fine specimen of the borderland between currency and money, and shows how an article which has been domestically usable passes into the class of articles domestically non-usable on becoming money. Edge-Partington, *Ser.* II., p. 86.

Fig. 11 shows **flying fox fur** in strings from the Loyalty Islands. This was formerly money, as being an article not used for any other purpose.

Fig. 9 shows **honey-sucker feathers** from Hawaii, stuck in bundles on strips of cocoanut fibre, just as they are collected. This is currency because in this state the feathers are used as a medium of exchange, but are also used for ornaments, clothing and other domestic purposes. They well indicate the origin of the use of natural products as money, being plentiful and yet limited in production. The limitation was due to the fact that feather hunting was a vocation. The feathers, too, had a relative value according to rarity or difficulty in production. Thus five yellow feathers of the "royal bird," which were all that the bird could produce, were accounted equal in value to a piece of nankeen, which was sold for one and a-half dollars; this would probably represent to the natives at least a pound of our money. (Codrington, *Windsor Magazine*, May, 1899.)

Fig. 8 is a purse and string of **shells** from New Caledonia. The string consists of very fine **shell discs** divided by knots on a fine cord. The purse is trimmed with flying fox fur as ornament. The whole is money.

Fig. 7 shows a string of **shell beads**, fifty-four to the inch, characteristic of the Banks Group, South Pacific. It is the highest form of their money, because of the labour involved in producing it, and therefore of its intrinsic value. Edge-Partington, *Ser*. I., p. 151.

Fig. 12 exhibits the **tuskshell money** of British Columbia. In this case the shell ends have been clipped off and the shells, **dentalium**, have been strung in eight sections divided by bars of goat leather. They have a pendant made of mother-o'-pearl, from the *haliotis*, or Venus's ear. The specimens in the British Museum are exactly alike Ridgeway, *Origin of Currency*, p. 10; *Smithsonian Report*, 1887, Part II., p. 315 ff.

The authority on this point is Mr. R. E. C. Stearn (*Ethno-Conchology, a Study of Primitive Money*, pp. 296-334, *S. R.*, 1887), whose remarks on this particular money so exactly show how a shell can be used as money, because while abundant it is yet limited in production, that I give them here. "The tusk-shells are collected in the following manner:—An Indian when shell-fishing, arms himself with a long spear, the haft of which is of light deal; to the end is fastened a strip of wood, placed transversely, but driven full of teeth made of bone. The whole affair resembles a long comb affixed to the end of a stick with the teeth very wide apart. A squaw sits in the stern of the canoe and paddles it slowly along, whilst the Indian with the spear stands in the bow. He stabs this comb-like affair into the sand at the bottom of the water, and after giving two or three prods draws it up to look at it. If he has been successful perhaps four or five money-shells have been impaled on the teeth of the spear. It is a very ingenious mode of procuring them, for it would be quite impracticable either to dredge or net them out, and they are never, as far as I know, found between tide-marks."

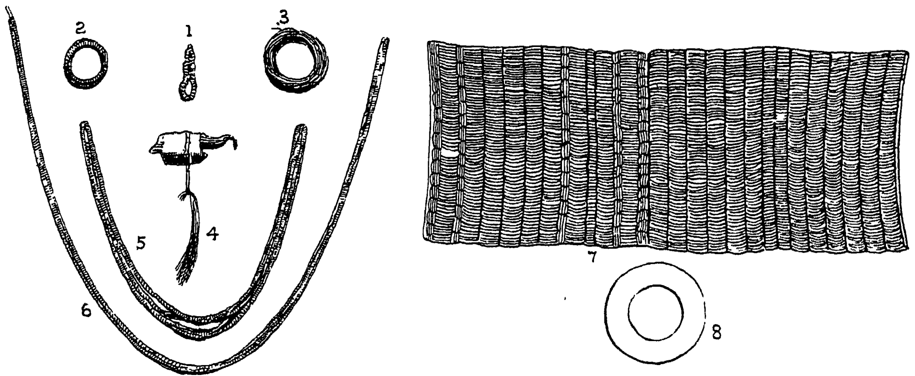
It will then be perceived that these dentalium strings of fixed form and number are money for precisely the same reason as the bags of broken rice in Burma. I may add that this article of Mr. Stearn's is generally well worth study in the present connection.

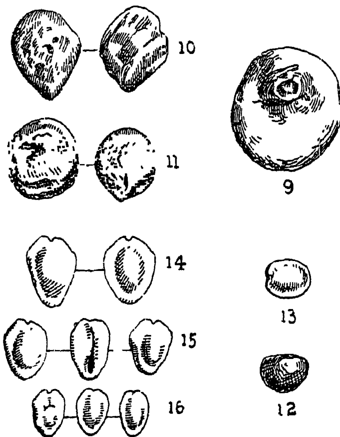
Fig. 13 shows a string of **purple wampum beads** from North America tagged with British green silk and a mixed string of purple beads and white wampum beads. The purple beads are double the white beads in relative value as will be explained later on. These are money.

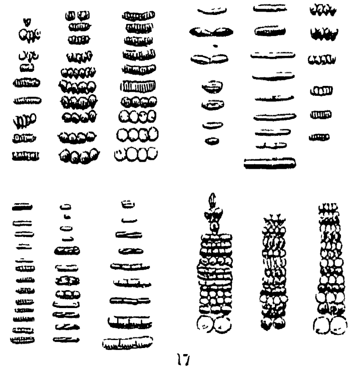
Bead money is not by any means unknown in the South Pacific. The *bruck* or *barak* of the Pelew Islands was made of terracotta in bent prisms, hollow-sided,

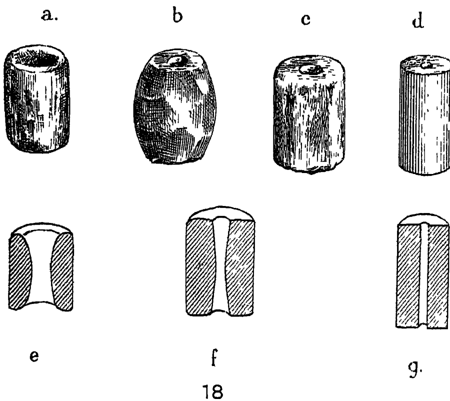
BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

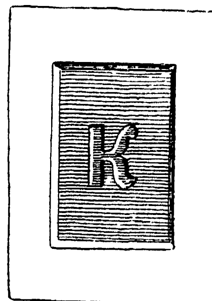
Plate II.

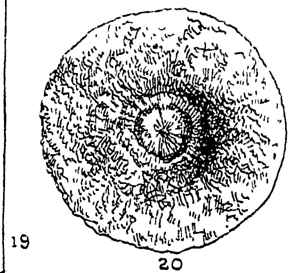












Ex Coll. British Museum and Oxford Museum.

fine-grained, hard and of an almost glassy lustre. It was very valuable. In the Pelew Islands they had also *bungan* or *pangungan*, a red stone, perhaps jasper, polished like brack, and *kalkubut* of agate and sometimes of a hard eramel; both valuable. Common beads of white or green glass were current in four sorts among the populace while the Kluk clan used beads of polished enamel. Beads of pearl and other sea-shells, red and other stones, nutshells, tortoiseshell, cocoanut and so on are current in various parts of the South Sea.

Figs. 14, 15, and 16 are **shell money** from Florida in the Solomon Islands, South Pacific. Fig. 14 shows two indivisible fathoms of rough red shell discs in a double row, separated by white discs and tagged at the ends with white discs and mother-o'-pearl and nut shells, which last two are probably charms.

Fig. 15 represents six indivisible fathom strings of **white shell discs** interspersed at fixed intervals with dark ones. The white and dark discs have a relative value comparable with our silver and gold. In the Pelew seven sorts of currency are said to be thus distinguished.

Fig. 16 represents four indivisible strings of **shell discs** of various colours in standard fathoms, forming the regular circulating medium. They are tagged with blue native hair cloth and nutshells, perhaps as charms.

Fig. 17 is a string of **shell discs,** dark and white alternately, used both for ornament and currency in the Gilbert Islands, South Pacific. The string is tagged at one end with a fringe of similar shell discs. This is currency. This Pacific Islands' **disc-money** closely resembled the *hawock* money of the Californian Indians, which consisted of clam-shell discs strung together and usually rated by the foot or yard. There is a specimen in the British Museum.

Figs. 18 to 21 show **shell money** in strings of discs from the Solomon Islands and New Britain, South Pacific. This is made in great lengths and divided up as required. Fig. 18 is a string of fine discs of purple shells, *i. e.*, of the higher value from New Britain, in the British Museum; this is shown as coming from Mioko, Duke of York Group.

Fig. 19 is a string of fine **discs of white shells** threaded on cane strips. This is money of the lower value from New Britain. The standard length of these strings is a fathom.

Fig. 20. — This is a specimen of the *dewarra* of New Britain, made of **small cowries threaded on cane strips** in large or small coils. It is the common circulating medium.

Fig. 21 is a divisible string of small **discs of white shells,** roughly clipped, from the Solomon Islands.

Plate II.

Fig. 1 is another specimen of the New Britain *dewarra*, a string of **small cowries strung on leaf ribs** in large coils and used as money.

Fig. 4 is a string of **shell discs** manufactured for money only in Susa village in New Ireland, South Pacific. It has a pig's tail at each end and an oyster mother-o'-pearl charm.

Fig. 5 shows fathoms of **shell discs,** regularly cut, and coloured at stated intervals, indivisible, made for money in the Solomon Islands.

Fig. 6 shows long strings of irregular **shell discs** from the New Hebrides, South Pacific, interspersed with trade beads: about $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms in length and used as money.

Fig. 2 is a **string of cowries,** called *udang*, used in Borneo; but the shells are not found in Borneo. This is money.

Fig. 3 shows specimens of Borneo **plaited fibre armlets,** called *unus*, worn by the men and worth, as money, 3 cents of trade dollar money per bundle of fifteen armlets.

Fig. 7 shows a **piece of cloth** from Formosa ornamented with shell discs and used as an ornament for clothing, but also as currency, passing for the high local value of about five Mexican dollars.

Fig. 8 is a **tridacna shell armlet** from Malanta in the Solomon Islands, said to be used as currency for purchases of high value, but in reality it is more likely to be an article of trade or barter. Presented by Edge-Partington. See Guppy, *Solomon Islands*, p. 132.

Figs. 14, 15 and 16 show **cowries of sizes.** The point here is that cowries are bought by local dealers wholesale by weight in sacks and retailed by tale, so that the smaller the cowries, which the retail dealer can manage to pass, the greater his profit. In India the cowries of currency are large, on the West Coast of Africa they are medium, in the South Pacific they are very small.

Figs. 10 and 11 show the **silver shell currency** of the Shan native States of Burma, and Fig. 9 the piece of silver known as Shan-baw. The form of the snail-shell is, I am informed, partly artificial, thus : silver refined by the ordinary process in a rough crucible will, when very nearly pure, or what the natives call quite pure, effloresce, and if the efflorescence is checked by cold water at the right moment it will assume the shell form. So silver in that form is looked upon as pure and the silver shells pass as currency by weight. Figs. 10 and 11, the shells : Fig. 9 shows the process of manufacture. The specimens are valuable to show the development of thought and manufactured form.

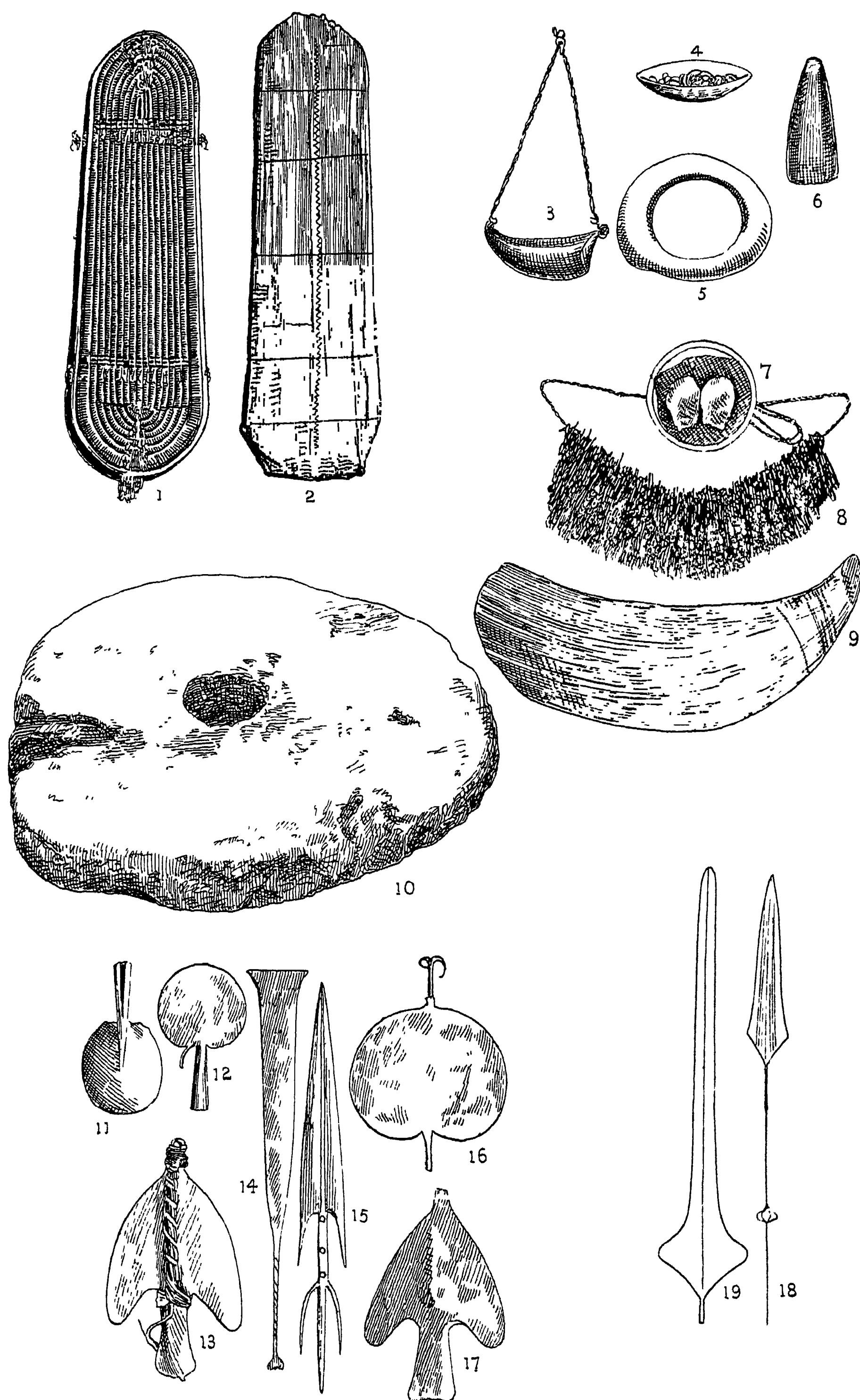
Figs. 12 and 13 are **a tamarind seed** (*majîzî*) **and its silver imitation,** lately used in Burma, under the same name, as a royal plaything in a popular pitch and toss game, but, because of its constant weight and fineness, also as currency.

Fig. 17 shows **Venetian beads** used for trade in West Africa, and supplied for that purpose by the firm of M. L. Levin, a family which has been in the trade for over 100 years. They are used for money respectively as shown, for purchasing palm oil, ivory, slaves and gold. It appears that these particular beads are not interchangeable, *i. e.*, beads for gold will not buy slaves and *vice versâ*. Wealth in beads for gold will only procure gold and so on. The probable explanation is that with these beads the natives can buy from the European stores what they want according to the intrinsic European value of the beads, which varies considerably and in some cases is high, the intrinsic value representing the cost of production. In the British Museum is shown a quantity of the bead money of King Prempeh of Ashanti in necklaces, rings and armlets, taken from his hoard at the capture of his capital by Lord Wolseley many years ago. These are not shown on the plate, but many of the beads of this hoard are identical with those supplied by Mr. Levin's firm, and to be found in the present Mr. Levin's collection, which I will explain presently. There are also in the Oxford Museum a good many cards of African trade beads well worth study, supplied by the late Mr. Levin.

Fig. 18 shows **wampum beads, hand and machine made.** I have already referred to wampum beads being money by law in the early American colonies, and shown strings of them. There is a quantity of evidence as to this in the paper by Mr. Stearn above quoted. The beads were of two kinds, white and purple, usually made from different parts of the same clam shell (*venus mercenaria*) ; and roughly the purple were double the white shells in value. But the most interesting point about these beads is this, that so long as they were hand-made, *i. e.*, native made, they were only used as ornaments and so on, and it was not until they were machine-made by Europeans,

BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

Plate III.



Ex Coll. British Museum and Oxford Museum.

and so became constant as to size and intrinsic value, that they were used as money by the fathom, the fathom being a term of account at four to six beads to the penny of value or inch of measurement. The plate is from Prof. Tylor's article in Vol. XXVI. of the Anthropological *Journal*, p. 248, and shows the difference in form and drilling between the hand-made beads which were for domestic use and the machine-made beads which were money.

Fig. 19 is a **tea-brick used as currency** in Eastern Asia and Tibet. The specimen in the Plate is from East Russia, and it will be perceived that the brick is made of dust tea moistened and pressed into a mould into which a stamp has been screwed. It bears an official stamp and so is very near to coin in tea as already explained.

Fig. 20 is a **disc of leaf-tea** manufactured in Yunnan and obtained in Eastern Mongolia. This can be used in pieces for purchases of a smaller value than the whole disc. This is a currency very near to money.

Plate III.

Figs. 1 and 2 show **a war shield** from Guadalcanar, South Pacific, and its cover: used chiefly for payments of a high value, such as for a wife, and to store as representatives of wealth. They are, as currency, parallels to the Karen drums already explained. Their value in English money is from £1 to 30*s*.

The **mat money** of the New Hebrides and other South Pacific Islands, of which I have no plate, affords another almost exact parallel. The mats are made in great lengths in folds and their relative value is determined by the number of the folds counted in tens and their blackness or age. This form of money is especially interesting, because it is lent out at interest, showing that **it is not necessary to have bullion money, or even easily divisible or separable money, to turn it to personal pecuniary advantage.** Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 323.

Tapa, the **bark-cloth money** of Fiji, forms something of a parallel also. *Tapa* in masses represents accumulated capital. Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, Trans., p. 246.

Fig. 4 shows **a boat-shaped wooden bowl** from New Caledonia, interesting chiefly as showing a rough receptacle for shell money. Edge-Partington, *Ser.* III., p. 68.

Fig. 5 is a **jadeite adze-blade** from Marie Island in the Loyalty Islands, whose inhabitants are cannibals. It represents the price of a fat man for food. This is currency and not money, as it can also be used for the humbler purpose of carpentry.

Fig. 6 is a **Navalae ring** made of white quartz. These rings are from the New Hebrides and are irregular in size. They are money.

Fig. 3 is a **sperm whale's tooth** from Fiji, there called *tambua* and used as currency. This is currency, but **tooth money** has a considerable range in the South Pacific Islands; porpoise teeth and dog's teeth being also used. The dog's tooth for money must be that immediately behind the canines, and when whole and sound it is valued at one, two to five porpoise teeth according to quality, the quality being of course equal to the rareness and difficulty of production.

Fig. 7 shows **the eye-teeth of the elk** (*wapiti*), which pass for 25 cents of United States money amongst the Shoshone and Bannock Indians of Idaho and Montana in the United States, but only amongst the Indians themselves and not between the whites and the Indians. They are also used for the ornamental trimmings of dresses and for horse trappings, and so are currency.

Fig. 8 is a **string of the lower jaws of the flying fox** from the Fijis and other Melanesian Islands, used as money.

Fig. 9 is a **sperm whale tooth** obtained from a whaler in 1822 and used as currency.

Fig. 10 shows **the so-called Caroline Indians millstone money — fê.** This is used in the Carolines for large payments, but is made in the Pelew Islands. It is not really a millstone at all, but a large rough stone disc with a hole in it for carrying. It is made only for money and has no other use. That shown is a small specimen. 2½ feet diameter. F. W. Christian in a late issue *Journ. Royal Geol. Soc.*

We now pass on to articles made of metal. Figs. 11 to 19 are of iron.

Figs. 11 and 12 are **hoes** from the Dinkas and Shillooks of the White Nile. They have a fixed value, but are usable otherwise and so are currency.

Fig. 13 is a native **spade-blade** with a cane withy or loop for carrying, used in Central Africa as currency.

Fig. 17 is an English made **spade-blade,** imitating the native one. These being usable otherwise are currency. In the British Museum, are three iron spades from Dor, Upper Nile, identical with these specimens from the Oxford Museum.

Fig. 15 is a **barbed spear-head** from Central Africa of fixed value and usable otherwise: currency.

Fig. 14 is a conventional **spear-head** from Central Africa used as money.

Fig. 16 is an **iron plaque** used as a marriage portion from Niam Niam in Central Africa. A girl having two of these allotted to her would have no difficulty in arranging her matrimonial future and would be considered a priceless possession. This is money.

Fig. 18 is the well-known conventional **Lomami spear-head,** 5 feet long, and made to represent high values. Fig. 19 is a conventional Lomami spear from the Upper Congo, 5 feet long. Both of these are money.

Plate IV.

Fig. 1 are **imitation iron axes** from the Ogowe River in West Africa. Fig. 2 is a bundle of five or six of these from the same district.

Figs. 5 and 6 are sets of three **iron axe blades, imitation,** each on a cane fastening, from West Africa.

Fig. 4 is an **imitation iron adze** from West Africa very like the **hashash or imitation axe-head** money of Kordofan, which runs 40 to the Turkish piastre. There is a specimen in the British Museum. Fig. 3 are similar bundles of **imitation spears** used by the Nagas of Manipur in Assam as money.

Figs. 7 to 11, money from ancient China, consisting of **imitations in iron** of well-known objects. The imitations have now among numismatists conventional names from their shapes.

Fig. 7 is the so-called **knife money.** Fig. 8 and 9 is the **shirt money.** Fig. 11 is the **razor money.**

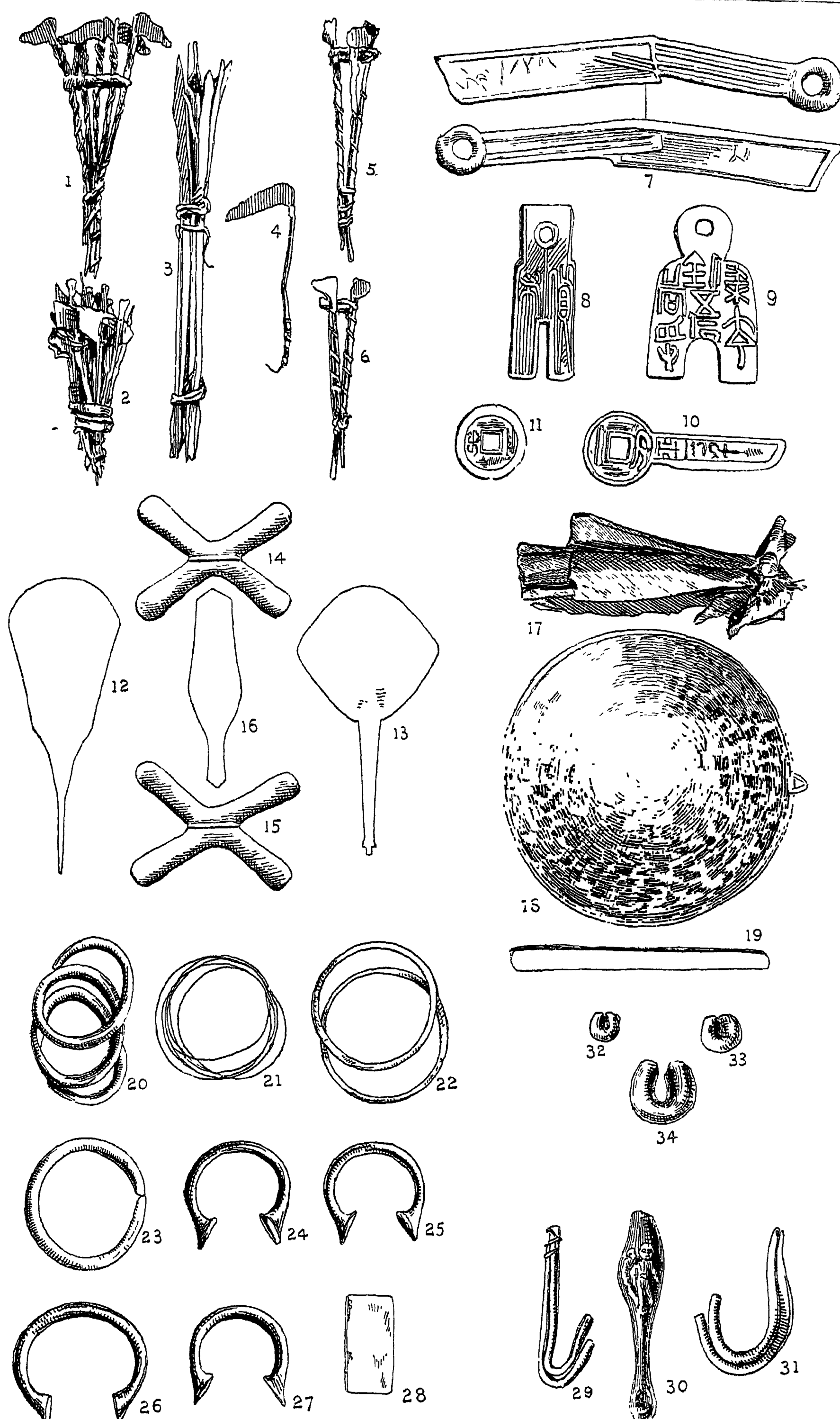
Fig. 10 is **a modern cash.** I have shown this as an example of development. It will be seen from the figures that the hole in the cash directly owes its existence to the hole in the handle of the old conventional money, and that the cash itself is all that remains of that old money. It is just the convenient tag end that has survived through the ages.

Figs. 12 and 13 are two **imitation iron hoes** from the Congo, and are money.

Figs. 14 and 15 are two **copper ingot crosses,** both made in Urua, in Central Africa, by casting in a sand mould. They have a special rib on one side, in the centre. In the course of the down river trade the specimens shown found their way respectively to Coanza on the West Coast and to Tanganyika on the East Coast, where they were procured. They are money.

BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

Plate IV.



Ex Coll. British Museum and Oxford Museum.

Fig. 16 is a **magnetic iron hoe,** called *nguni*, from Zambesi District, East Africa. This is money, no doubt on account of the peculiar property of the metal of which it is composed.

Figs. 17 to 19 show **brass and copper plates and bar iron:** all specimens of currency. Fig. 17 is a set of copper plates, apparently from old sheathing, used as a marriage dowry and regarded as property. They are tied together in fours and fastened to a stick: from Nimkish, Alert Bay, N. W. America. They afford a clear parallel to the Karen drums and the Guadalcanar shields.

Fig. 18 is a **hammered brass frying-pan,** partially conventionalised, still used both as currency and for domestic purposes by the Nagas of the Manipur Hills in Assam.

Fig. 19 is a **bar of native-made iron,** passing at a fixed value in Central Africa.

Fig. 20. — Four **copper bracelets,** used as a wedding dowry and considered as property; each married woman has 100; from Nimkish, N. W. America, currency.

Fig. 21 is the unus or **armlet and anklet of fibre** already described, worn by all Dyaks in Borneo; currency, at five to a cent of trade-dollar money.

Fig. 23. — This and those that follow are money. This is a **ring of European spelter** valued at 3*d*. on the Lower Congo.

Figs. 24 and 25 are **old copper and bronze manillas** from the Bonny River on the West coast of Africa. They are the survivors of the old Roman and European bracelet or *armilla* through the Spaniards. They are now a well-known money in West Africa.

Fig. 26 are **English imitation manillas** for the West African trade, but they are not current in the Haussa country and thereabouts.

Fig. 22 are **iron English imitation manillas** for the Eboe country trade, West Africa.

Fig. 27 is an **old iron manilla** from West Africa.

Fig. 28 is a **large stone bead** for purchasing slaves in West Africa.

Figs. 29 to 34 are silver money. Figs. 29 and 31 are **larins** from Persia used all over the West Coast of India, the Maldives, etc., for the last four centuries at any rate. They consist of silver wire, bent double and stamped to show fineness.

Fig. 30 is the **silver fish-hook money** of Ceylon similarly bent and stamped: probably grew out of the larin.

Figs. 32, 33 and 34 are silver **ticals** and their parts from Siam. The tical is a **bar of silver,** bent double by hammering and stamped to show fineness.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXVII. p. 275.)

WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC.

A POINT of distinction in connection with **magic, sorcery and enchantment is the notable sameness of detail and method** in the old world systems of Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, and India; in the classic and Middle Age systems of Europe; and in the existing practices of wild and isolated wizards in almost every corner of the globe. To a certain extent this similarity is the result of borrowing. But as borrowing cannot explain more than a small fraction of the resemblances, the sameness of practice would seem to be due to the fact that **the roots of magic stretch down to the earliest struggles of human life when sickness, death and misfortune were held to be the work of evil spirits.**

The basis of magic is spirit possession : and spirit possession is the basis of the charm and the talisman not less than of the relation between the witch and her familiar spirit.[96] In certain cases the possessing spirit submitted to the authority of the person with whom he dwelt. In other cases the possessing spirit was master. It was therefore a chief aim of magic to secure for the magician control over the in-dwelling spirit either directly or by an agreement with some high power whose authority the possessing spirit obeyed. **Magic, therefore, rests on spirit-possession supplemented by spirit-compulsion.**

Of the early systems of magic Lenormant[97] holds that the Egyptian system was a debased form of earlier and purer beliefs. It may be that no records of the religion of Egypt remain earlier than the stage when, as on earth, there was only one ruler in heaven. Still it seems hardly possible that either the political or the religious history of Egypt started in so highly developed a form. Further, the references to early evil powers opposed to the rulers seem to shew that in Egypt as elsewhere the rugged conditions of early existence developed a host of evil spirits, part placable, part not to be appeased. Regarding Chaldean magic Lenormant[98] notices that all the charms in the Arcadian collection of holy magic (probably between B. C. 3000 and 2000[99]) belong to white or healing magic. Still it seems unwise to doubt that a similar ritual of mischief-working spells existed alongside of the fierce orthodox system of beneficent charms. In Persia, the acknowledgment of the two rival principles of good and evil would naturally lead to corresponding schools of **white and black magic.**[100] The Hindu scriptures include two leading authorities on magic, the spells of the ancient *Atharva-veda* which are both to cure and to kill, and the modern Sakti ritual which has the two-fold object either of losing itself in the ocean of passion or of using the passion spirit to work magic and sorcery.[1]

The similarity in India between **the ritual** of Right and of Left Path Hinduism and the corresponding similarity in Europe between the Christian ritual and the witches' devil ritual seem in both sets of cases due to the fact that, in spite of the contrast in the character of the beings invoked, the aim of the devotee is the same, namely, to become possessed by the spirit of the subject of worship.

The following notes contain no details of the early systems of magic. Their object is to **illustrate the existing Indian belief and practice of witchcraft and magic** by the corres-

[96] The basis of magic has been assigned (*Sáturday Review*, January 29th, 1887, p. 152) to a belief in correspondences. This explanation can be accepted only if it is admitted that correspondence is due to sameness of spirit. It is by sending his familiar (which also is his own spirit) into the object to be acted on that the magician forces that object to work his will. Again, according to Reclus (*Primary Folk*, p. 75), the basis of magic is nerve-disease. This also may be accepted, provided it is understood that nerve-disease is a basis of magic because nerve-disease is a case of possession. That the charm or talisman is the home of a spirit is shown (below, p. 49) by the Ceylon ritual for charm-quickening.

[97] *Chaldean Magic*, p. 126.

[98] *Chaldean Magic*, p. 59. The Arabs still consider Babel or Babylon to be the fountain head of the science of magic (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 84).

[99] For the probable date compare *Chaldean Magic*, p. 128.

[100] According to the *Dabistan-i-Marahib*, Vol. I. p. 232, it was the Indian Biyasa or Vayâs who taught Zoroaster that genii could give the worshippers of Ahriman or Evil a knowledge of secrets.

[1] The following is a repartee curse from the *Atharva-veda* (read Raghonath's MS. p. 39): "To the house of him who has set you near my door, in my house, on my bed, on my nail-pairings, on my hair-combings, on my eye-blacking, or on my tooth-powder, do thou run and break his head." The sense is — since nail-pairings and hair-combings are part of the victim, and since eye-black and tooth-powder become part of the victim the spirit who enters into them effects a lodging in the person of whom those articles form a part. According to the Sakti scriptures the Gayatri or Sun hymn and the Lakshmi or Luck verse are goddesses. To repeat these versions frees from the penalty of migration (Mr. Raghonath's *Sakti Ritual*, pp. 9 and 153). The sense is — Lakshmi who lives in the spell enters into and drives self out of the repeater of the spell. The repeater becomes one with Lakshmi. He loses the personal or conditioned and gains the universal or unconditioned. He therefore needs not the purifying of being born again. The result of thinking the Gayatri or sun hymn is the same. Thinking of the light that lightens the world draws the light into the thinker and the in-dwelling light chases the old man of self and fills the thinker with the universal, so attaining the final result of the complete round of births. Besides the Gayatri and the Lakshmi several Tantric charms or *mantras* go by the name of the spirits who live in them.

ponding beliefs and practices in other parts of the world. In the case of Europe, where of late years the leading signs of a public belief in magic, sorcery and enchantment have been withdrawn, examples are given to show that the beliefs regarding witchcraft and magic, many of which survive, bear a remarkable resemblance to similar beliefs in other quarters of the globe. In conclusion, the attempt is made to explain two leading peculiarities in the history of European witchcraft and magic during the last 2,000 years: first, **the witch-panic** which mainly between, the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries led to the widespread destruction of persons accused of witchcraft; and second, **the reaction** during the last 200 years which has declared the spirit element in witchcraft to be a delusion, and has disused or repeated the laws against witches.

In India, witches, sorcerers and enchanters practice both white, that is, healing, and black, that is, harming, magic. Witches and sorcerers who practice black magic are men and women who have power over familiar or other spirits which they set to worry either their own enemies or the enemies of those by whom they are paid. In the Bombay Konkân or central seaboard of Western India, witches and sorcerers, called *bhutâlis* or *chetkins*, are often paid, chiefly by the middle and lower classes, to annoy their enemies. In other parts of the Bombay Presidency, sorcerers find the bulk of their patrons among the lower orders. The higher classes, as a rule, fear low-class magic. Their fear of his magical power is often the only means by which the village Mhâr or Mang, the guide and watchman, can enforce the payment of his customary dues. Though practitioners are found among Brâhmaṇs and other high castes, the bulk of witches and magicians are Kolis, Mângs, Mhârs, Ṭhâkurs, Vâghris, and Vârlis. Witchcraft is learned from a teacher or *guru*. Of the various ways of learning the craft the following may be taken as an example. When a teacher agrees to initiate a candidate he tells the candidate that, when he hears of a woman dying in child-birth, he should watch the funeral procession and be careful to see who are the bearers. After the funeral party has passed he should take a small tin box in his hand, pick up a pinch of dust or earth from the foot-prints of the two rear-bearers, and keep the earth in the tin box. Next day he should go to the spot where the body was burnt and put some of the ashes into his box. On the first new moon or eclipse after the death the candidate should go to the burning ground at midnight and taking off his clothes sit on the ground, place the tin box with the dust and ashes in front of him, burn incense, and repeat the incantations taught him by his master. When he has repeated the incantations a fixed number of times, Hadal, that is, the spirit of the dead woman, becomes subject to his control, and by her help the candidate is able to annoy any one he pleases. In the Bombay Konkân and Dakhan, among the troubles the witch or magician brings on on his own or on his clients' enemies is the eruption on the victim's skin of stars and crosses as if burned by the juice of the marking nut. Other annoyances are drying or turning to blood the milk of cattle, stopping the growth of the fœtus, stealing grain and field produce, letting loose wolves, jackals and rats into the victim's fields, pricking needles and thorns into his body or eyes, covering women with turmeric or lamp-black, and tearing their robes. Still worse evils are caused by sending through the agency of the familiar a *mûṭh* or handful of charmed rice or pulse (*udid*).[2] The blow of a *mûṭh* is likened to an electric shock. It causes fatal vomiting and spitting of blood. Experts see the *mûṭh* rolling through the air like a red-hot ball: they claim to be able to turn aside its evil power either by satiating the *mûṭh* with a lemon into which blood from a cut in the finger has been allowed to soak, or by charming a lemon and throwing it in the direction from which the *mûṭh* has come, and thus returning the evil to the witch who sent it. In the petty States of Bânsda and Dharampur, among the hills of South Gujarât, the people used (about 1870) to come to the chief and complain that a certain woman was a witch. They would say: — "We rise in the morning and find our pots broken. This is the work of that witch." Witnesses came forward and said: — "We know the woman, she is a witch. She has broken our pots and killed our chickens." If the evidence

[2] *Phaseolus radiatus.*

seemed trustworthy, the chief sent an order that the woman's nose should be cut off, and that she should drink water from the tanner's sink.[3] In the Mahi Kântha States of North Gujarât, a belief in witches is general. Witches, they say, chiefly belong to the Brâhmaṇ, Vânia, Vâghri and Chàran castes. Witches are either born witches or become witches. If a girl is born on the second, seventh or twelfth day of the star mansion Ashlesha Kritika, when those days fall on a Tuesday, Saturday or Sunday, she is a witch. A woman becomes a witch if, on the black night before the *Diwâli* or lamp-feast in October-November, she mutters a charm of two and a half letters sitting upon a swimming alligator.[4] The Musalmâns of Gujarât believe that people die because a witch has eaten their heart or liver. Bodies examined after death have been found to be liverless.[5]

In the Central Provinces, the Gonds dread sorcery, and will burn a man whom they believe to practise magic.[6] In Bengal, the Oraons and Mundas kill witches.[7] The Kacharias on the north-east frontier of Bengal have a special class of sorcerers called Ojhas.[8] Their dread of witchcraft is the bane of the Bengal Kols and Muangs.[9] The women of the Agareas of Bengal are witches, and know incantations strong enough to blast a tree.[10] In the more settled Bengal plain country, witches are called *dainus* and wizards *khokâs*. When a person is seized with sudden sickness he is supposed to be witch-ridden. Water is sprinkled on the patient's face and he recovers.[11] With the help of Brâhmaṇs the goddess Vâgalmukh or scare-face is invoked to cause a rival's death.[12] The villagers of the Malabar low-lands believe that the hillmen cause disease and charm tigers, elephants and poisonous reptiles by the help of their gods whom the lowlanders call *boutam* or evil spirits.[13] The Thomas Christians of the Malabar Coast have sorcery books by which their priests force devils to obey.[14] The Coorgs ascribe disease among their men and cattle to the curses and witchcraft of their enemies.[15] A class of Coorg astrologers called Kaniyas (said to be the children of Brâhmaṇs by low caste mothers) write horoscopes and stop sorcery and witchcraft.[16] The Kurubars are much feared as sorcerers by the Todas of the Nilgiris.[17] In Southern India, where magicians were (1800) believed to send fever, dropsy, epilepsy, palsy and madness, charms against their spells were one of the chief articles of trade.[18] The people used to pull out magicians' teeth that they might not be able to say their spells properly.[19]

In Ceylon, all subjects of Visamuni the fiend-king meet and dance on Wednesdays and Saturdays.[20] In Ceylon, a woman who dies in child-bed becomes a fiend, attacks men, and is kept off by women with brooms.[21] A Singalese bearing a grudge calls a she-demon to attack his enemy. He says :— "Oh she-demon! oh sister! eat him, eat his flesh, drink his blood, gnaw his bones, muscles and nerves, suck his marrow, consume his liver, lungs and entrails, cover him with thy influence, crack him with heat, fever and pain in his 800 joints, his 900 nerves and his 300,000,000 pores! Stay with him till I come. I bind thee, I bind thee. Let this be so."[22] To kindle love seven goddesses are called and induced to enter some

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[3] MS. from Mr. Ardeshir, 2nd January 1889. Compare the late Colonel E. West in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. p. 14. In many cases the witch deserves punishment. She glories in her power of doing mischief and makes a living by threatening the villagers that, if they do not give her grain, clothes, firewood and other necessaries, she will turn into a tiger and kill their cattle.

[4] MS. from Mr. Ranchodlal, 31st January 1891.

[5] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.

[6] Hislop's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 20: compare *Calcutta Review*, Vol. V. p. 58, and Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 283.

[7] Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 253, 257.

[8] *Op. cit.* p. 85.

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 157.

[10] *Op. cit.* p. 323.

[11] Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I. pp. 210, 211.

[12] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 134.

[13] Dubois, Vol. I. pp. 89-92.

[14] Reclus' *Primary Folk*, p. 52.

[15] Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. III. p. 225.

[16] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 211.

[17] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 311.

[18] Dubois, Vol. II. p. 57.

[19] *Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 191.

[20] *Journal*, Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1865, p. 14. Like the Christians in Europe the Ceylon Buddhists have turned the earlier guardians (generally Brâhmaṇic) into evil spirits.

[21] *Op. cit.* p. 37.

[22] *Op. cit.* p. 76

article which is passed to the person to be influenced. Ceylon charms are believed to cause swoons, imprisonment and death; they scare and control fiends, cure diseases, and inflame love.[23] To work a charm against a person the Ceylon wizard makes a wax or wood image of the victim, writes the victim's name on the image, and ties to the image some of his victim's hairs, nail-parings, threads from one of his clothes, and sometimes sand from his foot-print. Metal nails are driven into the image and it is buried where the victim may pass over it.[24] To quicken a charm, that is, to house in the charm the spirit which has been invoked, the Ceylon priest on a Sunday makes a stool of flowers and sets it on a grave. On the stool he lays yellow, black and white rice with blood, meat, an arrow and a cock. He passes a maid-spun cotton thread round the stool, holds the thread and some *rat mâla* flowers in his hand and says the curse 133 times and burns incense. Three spirits appear and pass into the charm.[25] To annoy a house by showering stones at it, a trick common in India and formerly (seventeenth century) in England, set on a grave where three roads meet or near a sappan tree a stool made of flowers, and on the stool lay a *champa* flower, an iron tree flower, and a stone. Round the stone drop blood, milk, flowers, rice and lights, burn incense and mutter a charm 108 times Do all this three separate times. Take the stone into which the spirits have passed, and bury it near the house, throw a second stone at the house, and the familiar in the buried stone will keep pelting stones at the house.[26] Quickening a charm is a work of danger because the spirit who is meant to enliven the charm may choose to enliven the charmer. Spirits dislike the thraldom of being shut in a charm and made to act according to charm.[27] In Ceylon, the effect of a written charm depends on the position of the letters. Certain letters are lucky, unlucky, or neutral, according to their position,[28]

In the thirteenth century among the Buriat Mongols each medium or *shâman* had a familiar by whose help he drove out evil spirits. The familiar was said from compulsion or affection to have helped his *shâman* to do things against the interest of the chief of evil spirits. It may be supposed that as in Europe Okôdil-Beelzebub willingly suffered minor inconveniences to secure the high prize of the *shâman's* soul.[29] Among the Tartars the sorcerer shouts, beats a tambourine, leaps, capers and jerks, crossing his legs before and behind until he falls on the ground stiff and senseless, and then gives an answer. He wears rags, bells, and pieces of iron, a strange horned head-dress and bear-skin gloves. He carries his tambourine in one hand and in the other a magic staff covered with rat or sable-skin.[30] In Tibet, with the help of familiars, Lamas lick red-hot iron and fill vases with water. When he has to fill a vase with water the Lama says to his familiar: — "I know thee, thou knowest me. Come, old friend, do what I ask, bring water and fill the vase, what is that to thee? I know thou chargest dear, never mind."[31] The Prophet Muhammad ordained a belief in magic: at the same time he declared the practiser of magic to be an unbeliever. Of Muhammadan nations the Afghans believe in the virtue of talismans and in the possibility of acquiring control over genii and demons The Arabs and Egyptians make use of magic to find hidden treasure, to gain a knowledge of the future, to get children, to secure love, to cure, to guard against the Evil Eye, and to kill a rival. Magic, in Arabia and Egypt, is of two kinds, spiritual and natural: spiritual magic is either divine or devilish. The divine is based on the names of God and on passages of the *Kuraan*, also in figures, diagrams and lines. Satanic magic is the getting of help

[23] *Op. cit.* p. 54. By certain evil or *huniyan* charms a man can fill another's house with evil spirits in the form of black dogs or ugly monkeys (*op. cit.* p. 68).

[24] *Op. cit.* p. 71.

[25] *Op. cit.* p. 76. When a maid spins a thread for magic purposes (*op. cit.* p. 57) she bathes, puts on a necklace of *rat mâla* flowers, lets her hair fall loose on her shoulders, and spins sitting on the threshold at sunset. A girl is seldom induced to spin a magic thread, since the necessary freedom of the thread from possession is at the expense of the spinster, who becomes the scape or house of any spirit who may be near.

[26] *Op. cit.* p. 76. [27] *Op. cit.* p. 56. [28] *Op. cit.* p. 53.

[29] Compare *History of Changhis Khân*, p. 141.

[30] Reville, *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 154.

[31] Reference mislaid; compare Huc and Gabet's *Tibet*, Vol. I. p. 193.

from evil spirits instead of from good spirits. One branch of spiritual magic is enchantment. This is generally bad, causing paralysis, filling with passion, maddening and turning into animals. Enchantment is caused by the help of *ginns* and by sprinkling water and dust.[32] The Arabs hold Babel or Babylon to be the fountain head of the science of magic.[33]

In Burmah, witches are supposed to cause murrain among buffaloes. The Burmans used to tie the witches to bamboos and throw them into rivers.[34] In China, old women, who, by the help of spirits, practice witchcraft, are sometimes attacked by the people and killed.[35] Witches are often employed in China to do evil to rivals and enemies. Discontented wives go to witches who give them a powder of children's bones to mix with their husband's food and kill him. A Chinese magician or wizard sometimes fasts for seven days and sleeps under a coffin in which is a corpse to induce the spirit to leave the corpse and plague some enemy's house.[36] Chinese charms are written on yellow paper, burnt, and the ashes mixed with water and drunk.[37] . . . . In Melanesia, magicians are believed to eat the flesh of dead men in order to get power over their spirits. By the help of a dead man's bones Melanesia magicians can compel a ghost to harm any one the magician chooses [38] Three charms enable or compel a ghost to carry out the magician's will: (1) the *gharata*, a fragment of food, some hair, a bit of nail or anything closely connected with the person to be injured; (2) the *talmutai*, a piece of bone and a bit of stone tied round with leaves and with prayers to a *tamati* or dead man; and (3) the *tamatetiga* or ghost-shooter, a bone and leaves shot fasting from a hollow bamboo.[39] The Australian has charms for the chase, for sickness, for journeys, and for war. Australian sorcerers at times remain absent for days, journeying in the spirit-land. They cure diseases, chiefly by sucking, and cause sickness by sending part of a stone from their own into their enemy's stomach.[40] The sorcerers of the Tonga Islands become possessed by the spirits of the dead.[41] In Australia, all deaths, especially of the young, are attributed to sorcery.[42] In Madagascar, sorcery is closely connected with poisoning.[43] The natives of Madagascar wear a crocodile's tooth as a charm against the crocodile. A gold crocodile's tooth is the central ornament of the Madagascar crown.[44] Many natives of Madagascar wear round their necks, as charms, pieces of wood dipped in oil, beads, monkey-bones, and small figures of men, women and oxen. To keep off gun-wounds they wear pieces of bullocks' horn filled with the ashes of healing plants and leaves.[45]

. . . . . African Negroes are subject to ecstasy, hallucination and various forms of excitement which they think are spirit-caused.[46] The Kafirs of South Africa believe that witches have familiar spirits which they call baboons.[47] The accusation of witchcraft is said to have been used by Kafir chiefs to gain the property of the well-to-do. A complaint is made that a certain person who is well-to-do has destroyed the accuser's child. A medium is called: he collects proof, the accused is killed, and his property passes to the chief.[48] In East Africa, the belief in the black art is strong.[49] If a wizard gets into trouble he is tied to a stake and a circle of fire is kept burning round him till he is roasted.[50] The Bongos of

[32] *Arabian Society of the Middle Ages*, pp. 82, 84.

[33] *Op. cit.* p. 82.

[34] Schway Yoe's *The Burman*, Vol. I. p. 231.

[35] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. pp. 23, 24.

[36] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 25.

[37] *Notes and Queries*, Series IV., Vol. VI. p. 212. The practice implies two beliefs: (1) a spirit lives in a charm; and (2) ashes hold the spirit of the thing burnt.

[38] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 285.

[39] *Op. cit.* Vol. X. p. 284.

[40] Reville, *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. II. p. 154.

[41] *Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 100.

[42] *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. X. p. 284.

[43] Sibree's *Madagascar*, p. 282.

[44] Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 50.

[45] *Folk-Lore Record*, Vol. II. p. 411.

[46] Reville, *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisé*, Vol. II. p. 91. Similar nervous experiences keep fresh the belief in the spirit-element in witchcraft in all countries. The victim of such seizures believes he is worried by spirits. There is no reason why any spirit should wish to annoy him: therefore, the annoyance must be caused by an enemy acting through some one who has power to send a worrying spirit.

[47] Cunningham's *South Africa*, p. 131.

[48] *Op. cit.* p. 128.

[49] Burton's *Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 347.

[50] Cameron's *Across Africa*, Vol. I. p. 116.

the White Nile are convinced that witches cause death [51] A bag of grave-dust, blood and bones from Central Africa is labelled as a charm which causes a victim's death.[52] Central African witches are supposed to turn into hyænas. Schweinfurth mentions a woman in his boat on the Nile suddenly, perhaps in a fit of epilepsy, uttering the most frightful sounds to be compared only to the yells of an hyæna. The men took her up and threw her overboard saying she was an hyæna woman or witch.[53] From the time of Herodotus the Budas or hyæna-men, potters and iron-workers of Abyssinia were supposed to be enchanters, who could turn themselves into hyænas.[54] On the Zambesi a chief can turn himself into a lion.[55] In 1810, the Tibboos of North Africa wore fifteen to twenty charms in red, green and black leather cases fastened to their turbans.[56]

. . . . In America, some tribes had sorcerers who caused the death of children by looking at them. They could take animal form, and went about destroying men and spreading disease.[57] Among the North American Indians the belief in sorcery is as firm as among African Negroes. The Red Indians hold that, though many of the men who have power over evil spirits are bad, more are good medicine-men who held sickness and scare diseases. The Red Indian sorcerer carries a bag with bones, shells and figures of animals, and shews his approach by springing a rattle. When spirits do not of themselves come into the sorcerer he cries, fasts and cuts himself till the blood flows.[58] The Central Americans of Guatemala (1650) believed that the life of every man is bound with the life of an animal. They sometimes appeared in the shape of their lion, dog or eagle.[59] The man-eating Caribs of the Gulf of Mexico and the north-east of South America had many charms and little idols of stone, clay and cotton, generally human and ugly. The charms were beaks, claws, heads and feathers. Their favourite animal forms were the tortoise, the serpent and the cayman or alligator. They had magical bottles filled with little stones, grains and sticks decked with plumes, which they honoured with religious dances and sacrifices.[60] The natives of New Andalusia in South America believe the souls of their ancestors live in the recesses of the great cave of Carippe. The cavern is full of the night-bird *Corvus pyrrhocorax* called the *guacharo* : to join the *guacharos* is to join the fathers, that is, to die. Magicians and poisoners perform nocturnal tricks at the entrance of the cavern to conjure the chief of the evil spirits.[61]

In Europe, the Ancient Greeks, apart from their local beliefs in nymphs, sorcerers and witchcraft, traced their elaborate arts of magic to one Œthanes who came to their country with the army of Xerxes (B. C. 490).[62] Though, except so far as it was a cloak of poisoning, the Roman law-makers took no special action against magic and sorcery. Pliny and the Roman poets have left details of many practices. In his eighth Ecloque, Virgil mentions charms which had power to pluck the moon out of heaven, turn men to swine, to make a snake twist in twain, to turn enchanter to wolf, to fetch the dead, to remove corn. Witches fly by night and

51 Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. I. p. 307.

52 MS. Note, dated 20th May 1886.

53 Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 475.

54 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 28, 29.

55 Burton's *Central Africa*, Vol. II. p. 356.

56 Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I. p. 171.

57 Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 496.

58 This religious blood-letting of the Red Indian suggests the cutting of themselves by the priests of Baal I. Kings, xviii. 28), when Baal gave them no answer ; it also suggests the cuttings and blood-lettings of mourners. In all the instances the sense seems to be that the spirit invoked will be drawn into the blood and so into the person from whom the blood issues.

59 Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 241. Compare: when an Eskimo wants to be a sorcerer he goes to a lonely place, fasts, sees visions of animals and chooses one to be his familiar (Reville, *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 294).

60 Reville, *Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés*, Vol. I. p. 244. In the same passage Reville notices that writers on the Caribs confuse fetiches and amulets. Reville draws the distinction that the fetich is a spirit-home, but the amulet has no spirit in it, and, therefore, is not worshipped. The case of the Caribs dancing round their amulets seems to shew they consider the amulets spirit-homes. Other examples (as charm-quickening in Ceylon, above, p. 49) seem to show that in origin no line can be drawn between the idol, the fetich and the amulet. All are worshipful, since all are the homes of guardian spirits.

61 Humboldt's *Personal Narrative*, Vol. III. p. 132.

62 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, . 442-449.

spoil children while nurses sleep; they stay the raging of the sea, and stick needles into men's livers.[63] Horace in his first Satire describes the witch Canidia making and heating an image of wax that like his image the victim might melt in the fires of love. In Italy, in the fifteenth century, Popes Innocent VIII. and Julius II. sent inquisitions to punish those who used the company of the spirits Incubus and Sucubus, and those who destroyed unborn children, young cattle, corn, and grapes.[64] In modern Greece, witches are believed to feed on unbaptised babes, and at will to turn into birds.[65] In Servia, a witch is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit. The spirit is one with the witch, but when the witch is asleep the familiar comes out of her mouth in the form of a butterfly or a hen. As soon as the spirit leaves it, the witch's body is as if dead, and she cannot be awakened.[66] Except in and near cities the Russian witch and wizard hold a high place. Country people turn to them to gain blessings and to ward off evil. They can look into the future, cure disease, and control the weather.[67] The evil-disposed steal, rain and dew.[68] The end of the witch and wizard is unfortunate. The body of the dead witch gets possessed by an evil spirit.[69] When a Russian wizard is about to die evil spirits enter into him and tear his life out. Earth shudders, winds howl, wild beasts roar, and evil spirits in the form of crows and ravens throng the roof of his house, seize his soul, and bear it to the other world.[70] The large early element both in the people and in the conditions of life in Russia keep fresh the belief that the dead return and act on the living, and along with this the belief in the power of witchcraft and magic. Among the eastern Slavonians prophets existed in the person of certain wizards, probably like Finnish cow-jurors.[71] Several of the more general German names for witchcraft meant originally simply doing or preparing.[72] According to Grimm, fancy, tradition, knowledge of drugs, poverty and idleness turned women to witches, and knowledge of drugs, poverty and idleness turned shepherds into magicians.[73] There was also an older element. The whole witch business was in close connection with the sacrifices and spirit-world of the pre-Christian religion.[74] Witchcraft was the early pagan magic embittered by the added blackness of the Christian idea of the powers of evil. The old Scandinavian wise-women used with uproar to rush through the woods with streaming hair to attend a sorcerer's trance. The old sorcerers like the later witches used to get fees to raise storms. They also used to give charms which made the holder of the charm wound-proof.[75] A picture in the Belvedere Gallery at Vienna gives the accepted surroundings of German witches. A horse's head shows under a table, a naked woman flies up the chimney seated on a broom with a lighted candle at the end of it, a circle in chalk is drawn on the floor with a knife and fork stuck in the line of the circle and an egg and dice laid on the line. Inside of the circle two women read some book of incantations.[76] The Jews in Germany believe that during the great fiend-season between the Passion and Pentecost, witches turn milk sour. To stop the mischief they advise that the witch should be caught and shut in a room with a basin of milk, the milk should be beaten with a hazel wand and the name of God repeated. The witch will groan, for the blows fall upon her. The whipping of the milk should cease when blue flames dance on its surface.[77] According to Grimm, in the middle of the thirteenth

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63 Reginald Scott (1600), *Discovery of Witchcraft*, pp. 180-184. Scott (*op. cit.* p. 179) notices a Roman *Lex Salicarum* to punish those who fly through the air and meet at nightly banquets.

64 *Op. cit.* p. 179.

65 Macmillan's *Magazine*, Vol. 51, p. 371.

66 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1077.

67 Ralston's *Russian Songs*, p. 379.

68 *Op. cit.* p. 383.

69 Ralston's *Russian Folk Tales*, p. 283.

70 Ralston's *Russian Songs*, p. 386.

71 *Op. cit.* p. 88.

72 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1032.

73 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1039.

74 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1043.

75 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1043.

76 MS. Note, Nov.-Dec. 1885.

77 Moncure Conway's *Demonology and Devil Lore*. The sense of the remark, "the blows fall on the witch," is that the soul (that is, the familiar) of the witch has entered into the milk to make it sour. That, therefore, the whipping falls upon the spirit, that is, upon the witch. Compare in Scotland and Ireland the saying, "Torture the bewitched milk (by putting iron and hot coals in it) and you will torture the witch who will come and ask you to stop" (Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*).

century, heresies came from France and Italy into Germany, and witches were accused of attending meetings at which the devil appeared as a black spirit or as an angel and sometimes as a cat or toad. They are said to have slaughtered children and kneaded their blood in flour and ashes, and after putting out the lights to have practised the lusts of the flesh and ended by kissing the evil one.[78] These accounts, if correct, seem to differ from the more strictly German witch-doings. The German witches met on the mead or oak sward, under the lime, at the pear tree, and under the gallows, but chiefly on holy mountains and hills.[79] Their revels were not entirely unfriendly to men. They joined the nightly train of gracious dames who brought luck and blessed the babes in their cradle.[80] Later, by the introduction of Christian ideas, the goddesses were transformed from gracious into ill-minded spirits, who with their adherents held sullen conferences.[81] In this degraded state the German witches raised storms, drew milk from cows, had love-affairs with the devil, and murdered men by taking out their heart and eating it.[82] They entered into contracts with the devil, and after the contract the devil left with them an imp or familiar called the witch's carrier in the shape of a cat or kitten, a miller, fly or other animal, which at times sucked her blood.[83] The Finns believed that magic had power over Nature: the spells could bind even the gods.[84] Among the Eskimos are good sorcerers and bad. The bad take advantage of their acquaintance with the undersirable dead and with pityless spirits to serve ill-will and spite.[85]

In Ireland, charms sewed in a bag and worn round the neck kept off drowning, hanging, fairies, and other risks.[86] In Scotland, in the sixteenth century, even white or curing witches suffered. Agnes Sampson effected cures by repeating over the sick the Confession of Faith and by conjuring the ills in the name of Christ.[87] That the Scottish witches were believed to be possessed by the devil or by a familiar is shewn by the saying that in pursuit of her prey no witch could cross running water.[88] In a well-known sixteenth century (1577) case it was considered proved that by the craft of witches the life of Hector Munro was saved at the cost of the life of George Munro, Hector's next-of-kin. The disease-spirit was forced out of Hector who was sick to death by burying Hector alive where three properties met, and the spirit was passed into George Munro.[89] In the Orkney and Shetland islands to the north of Scotland, till late in the eighteenth century, charms were used to kill sparrows, to drive mice and rats out of houses, to secure success in churning and in brewing, to procure good luck, and to cure men and cattle.[90] In the Isle of Man, feathers won in the yearly wren-hunt are treasured as charms against ship-wreck. According to another account no fisher will go to sea without a dead wren, to keep away storms.[91] The sense seems to be — the wren is a great spirit-home. It is because the devil lives in the wren that the yearly wren-hunt is kept up. So, if a storm, that is an evil spirit, reaches the ship, it goes into the dead wren or into the wren feathers, and, being at home, is satisfied. In England, if milk is bewitched and churning fails to turn it to butter put an iron plough coulter into the fire and the spell is broken.[92] In the case of Margaret and Phillis Flower at Lincoln who on the 12th March 1618 were executed for causing the death of two sons of Lord Rutland by witchcraft it was held proved that they got hold of the

78 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1065. 79 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1051.

80 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. pp. 1060, 1062. In the spells of the German witch there was a strong, kindly and curing element, either in the name of older spirits or of Christian saints (*op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1062).

81 *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1055. With the connection between the witch and the ancient goddesses compare (Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 32): — "The lady Sibyla or Diana was present at their meetings. They danced and sung Har Har, divil divil, dance, play here, Sabbath Sabbath."

82 Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 1051, 1063, 1073, 1078. 83 Hone's *Year Book*, p. 1565.

84 Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 244. 85 Reclus, *Primary Folk*.

86 *Folklore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 104.

87 Sharpe's *History of Witchcraft in Scotland*, pp. 76-79. It would seem (*op. cit.* p. 74) that Agnes Sampson confessed a share in a plot against the Earl of Angus.

88 Sharpe's *History of Witchcraft in Scotland*, p. 20. 89 Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 171, 172.

90 Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 19. 91 *Folklore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 104.

92 *Notes and Queries*, Series V., Vol. IX. p. 4. The sense of the coulter is that it scares spirits. In the case of the milk the spirit scared is the witch's familiar who has gone into the milk.

boys' gloves, dipped them in hot water, pricked them, and rubbed them on the belly of their cat named Rutherkin. Here Rutherkin the familiar passed into the gloves and so into the lads to whom the gloves belonged.[93] In Suffolk, in the eighteenth century, an old dying woman handed to a young woman a box with some imps which would have enabled her to be a witch. The young woman, not caring to have the power, shut all the doors and windows, heated the oven, and put the imp box in the oven. The screams were fearful and the imps were baked to dust [94] In England, on the 12th of May, witches used to dance on the water, brush the dew off the lawn, and milk the cows.[95] About twelve years ago (1887) a Somerset girl, to turn her lover's heart, tore out the heart of a live pigeon, roasted it, and stuck it with pins.[96] In England and other parts of Europe, during the last fifty years, magic has revived under the form of spirit-rapping : these modern spirits are not supposed to cause disease or injury, or to know the future. Tylor[97] compares the present form of belief in spirits to the continued use as toys of bows, arrows and other old-world weapons. Nevertheless, the serious belief in witchcraft is not dead. Cases still (1898) not uncommonly come to light from different parts of England and Scotland. One from the *Times* of the 18th December 1845, though instances of later date are plentiful, may serve as an example. Near Linburgh, to cure a girl who was suspected of being a witch, a neighbour put her in a creel half full of wood and shavings and held her above the fire till the shavings blazed. Fortunately the girl was not injured, and the gift of witchcraft is said to have left her.[98]

These examples illustrate the forms of witchcraft and magic which, except in Europe and in North America, are still a main factor in the experience of life. The history of the last 2,000 years shows how Europe and North America came to exclude witchcraft and magic from their list of crimes. At the time of Christ, in Palestine, except among the Sadducees who denied the existence of spirits, the belief in witchcraft was universal: in Greece, except among the materialistic Epicureans, the belief in witchcraft was not less prevalent than in Palestine; in Italy, the Stoics, though they admitted the existence and influence of spirits, despised magic as criminal trickery. Except so far as it was a cloak for the crime of poisoning the Romans of the late Republic and of the early Empire considered magic of too little importance to call for special repression. About the time of Christ the influx of Jews into Rome caused an increase of magic as the Jews took pride in spreading the fame of their great king Solomon, the chief of magicians. The influence of the Christians further increased the belief and the practise of magic. In Roman eyes the exorcisms and other miracles of the early Christians were magical:[99] the declaration of the Christians that the similar wonders worked by their rivals were magicas strengthened this belief: and the boast of magical skill by the leaders of the Gnostics, Basilidians and other Christian sects served to place the fact of Christian magic beyond question.[100] Within 300 years the Roman Emperors found it necessary to make laws

[93] Hone's *Every Day Book*, Vol. II. p. 378. [94] *Gentleman's Magazine*, "Popular Superstitions," p. 126.

[95] Hone's *Year Book*, p. 1353. [96] *Saturday Review*, Jan. 29, 1887, p. 152. [97] *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I. p. 17.

[98] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 14. Since 1736, when the 1604 statute against witches was repealed, the legal view of a sorcerer or witch, that is, of one accused of extortion by the threat of the use of supernatural power, is that the extortioner is a cheat and a thief. From both the towns and country parts of England and Scotland fresh examples of the belief in the supernatural powers of witches and sorcerers continue to be published in magazines and newspapers. Useful instances of recourse to sorcerers for protection from witch annoyances are embodied (up to 1893) in the early chapters of Elworthy's *The Evil Eye*, chiefly for the south-west counties of England. And in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands and Wales the belief in the share that spirits work in human affairs as ghosts, fairies and the familiars of witches and enchanters is both widespread and less unchanged from early times than in England and the Scottish Lowlands.

[99] In the Apostolic and following age all Christians had the power of exorcism (Bingham's *Christian Antiquities* Vol. I. p. 316).

[100] The Basilidians were followers of the Egyptian Basilides (A. D. 100-120), a Gnostic, one of the school over which Simon Magus presided (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 4th Ed., *sub. voce*). Several famous magicians lived about the time of the establishment of Christianity. Among these were Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, a contemporary of Christ, a great traveller and scholar; Simon Magus, A. D. 40, among the Jews; and shortly after Iannes and Iambres, among the Egyptians. The character and acquirements of these magicians is

against the practice of magic. And after the great change in the fourth century which raised Christianity to be the Imperial religion nations were admitted to be Christian with little knowledge of their new faith, so that in spite of the denunciations of the Church, the practice of magic and other irregularities abounded. Further, the action of the Christian Church (A. D. 100-400), in diabolising the powers of Nature[1] and degrading to devils the august guardians of Greece and Rome, and later (A. D. 500-1000), the fiercer but not less beneficent local guardians of the Celts and Teutons,[2] gave fresh life to the earlier and coarser beliefs in the power of evil spirits to harass mankind, which the refined overlayer of the classic religions and the high, brave and manly guardians of the Northern Peoples had concealed and discredited. In the seventh century, the position of the Christian Church with regard to magic was the same as the position of the Prophet Muhammad: "Magic is true: who practices magic is an unbeliever." In the eighth century, Charlemagne made laws against witchcraft and magic. And from that time the suppression of witchcraft became one of the chief functions of the Christian kings as well as of the Christian Church.

After the schisms of the fifteenth century the work of stamping out witchcraft was carried on with even greater fierceness by the schismatics than by the Church.[3] The special intensity of the witch-panic among the seceders seems to have been due to the narrow-mindedness of the leaders, to the passing of power to ignorant congregations, and to the rash contempt for the guardian influences and practices which had hitherto protected Christians from witchcraft and other evils.[4] Among some of the less ignorant in the countries,

illustrated by the claims put forward by Simon Magus: he could make himself invisible, pass through mountains, float down precipices, open prison doors, make images live and trees grow, assume the shape of a sheep or a goat, turn lead into gold, make and unmake kings (Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. VI. p. 262). At first and as late as the laws of Constantine (A. D. 320) the Christians, while prohibiting black or *goetic*, that is, tricky magic, allowed the practice of white or curing magic. Later the Church forbade the practice of both branches of magic, declaring that it was wrong to take help from the devil even in good works (J. Bodin Augevin (1580, *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, p. 148). For meanwhile the Church had decided that all the classic influences, Eudaimons or Good Spirits as well as Kakodaimons or Bad Spirits were devils. Compare Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*, Vol. VI. pp. 248-260; Bodin (as above) p. 31; William's *Superstitions of Witchcraft*, pp. 30, 31.

[1] So Glanvil (1680, *Sudducismus Triumphatus*, p. 9) sees no difficulty in the belief that witches raise storms since they do it not by their own power but by the power of the Prince of the Air, their friend and ally.

[2] Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 1050, 1055, 1062) grieves over his ancient local guardians degraded from gracious powers, bringing health and happiness to men to be dependents of the wholly evil and man-hating Jew-Christian devil.

[3] Compare Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1067): the great killing of witches lasted from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.

[4] The tolling of the baptismal bell, the sign of the cross, the sprinkling of holy water, the blessing of oil, wax, candles, salt, bread, cheese, garments, and weapons, all of which (Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 54) guarded from witchcraft, ceased where the schismatics acquired supreme power. A writer in *Notes and Queries* (Series V., Vol. VIII. p. 131) scoffs at this view. Still it seems true, the evil-scaring power of holy water, oil and exorcism was believed in when their use was stopped. Diseases and proofs of spirit-possession remained. Other devices had to be sought out, and no helper but the witch and sorcerer was ready to supply the want.

. . . . . In mitigation of the shame of the unreasoning cruelties practised by the self-styled enlightened seceders on all accused of witchcraft it is to be noticed that the secession mainly took place in the more savage countries of northern Europe where, before the introduction of Christianity, the raising and the hiding of wild early beliefs by the fierce local guardians of the tribes of Northmen fell far short of the refining influence of the classic religions and philosophies. That Germany was the head-quarters of the early magic religion is shewn by its great wizards Faustus and Henry Cornelius Agrippa (1486) and by its famous witch-gatherings on the Brocken Mountains. According to Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. pp. 1032, 1039, 1043, 1045) Scotland, where in A. D. 695 (Sharpe's *History of Scottish Witchcraft*, p. 20) an Act was passed ordering the burning of juggler's and wizards, is described by the Venerable Bede (A. D. 714 in William's *The Superstitions of Witchcraft*, p. 66) as a favourite haunt of storm-raising witches. And in the countries still further north the powers of wizards remained fresh long after Scotland had ceased to look for heirs to the fame of Thomas the Rymer and of Sir Michael Scott. In Sweden, the doctrines of the German schismatics were adopted with enthusiasm. Here in 1669-70, in a village named Mohra, 300 children were found guilty of witchcraft, of whom fifteen, together with nearly seventy men and women, suffered death (Gladwin's *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 484-6). Certain red-hot seceders passed from England to New England. In their new home, in 1692, their dread of witchcraft burst forth with a frenzy which, after proving a worse calamity than war or pestilence, ceased by the discharge of the accused and by the refusal of the authorities to hear of the further evidence prepared by the fanatic accusers (Williams' *Superstitions of Witchcraft*, p. 268).

where so many unquestioned Christian beliefs had been turned to ridicule, a party arose who, accepting the materialistic views of the Sadducees and the Epicureans, professed to disbelieve in witchcraft. A second party took a position more like that of the Roman Stoics, declaring that, while they believed in spirits, they held in contempt the tales and crimes of witches, and urged, if prosecutions could not cease, that, at least, no accumulation of evidence of facts contrary to the order of Nature should be accepted as proof. To a certain exent this view was adopted by the better class of writers who upheld the truth of a spirit-element in witchcraft. Still, as was inevitable, such writers at first inclined to an elastic view of the "order of Nature," arguing that many witch-practices, the passing through air, the changing into animals, the intercourse with spirits, the power to cause sickness and injure crops were in greement with the Jewish Scriptures, and therefore could not be held to be contrary to the order of Nature. At the same time certain considerations inclined other believers in the truth of the spirit-element in witchcraft to admit the advantage of a stricter interpretation of the order of Nature. The experience that the trial of witch cases by the ordinary rules of evidence led to doubtful and unsatisfactory convictions, that the extreme severity of the punishments instead of stifling seemed to increase and spread the evil, that confessions were accepted which afterwards proved to be false, and that witch-finders were detected fabricating evidence, caused a general dissatisfaction with the results of witch-trials. The wider knowledge of Nature and the growing conviction that not all disease of body and mind is due to the working of spirits added strength to the distrust of the truth of witchcraft. A stricter view of the possible in witch-tales and crimes was, by degrees, suffered to outweigh the natural force of the evidence, till, in 1736, the Witch Act of 1604 was repealed, and the old experiences that witches possessed familiar spirits, and that they were able to turn into amimals and to fly through the air began to be treated as delusions.[5] In spite of the change in the law and in enlightened opinion the lower classes as a rule keep to the earlier beliefs. The sudden sickness of man and beast, the vagaries of epidemic disease, nervous delusions, deceptions of the senses, the cursing powers of crabbed age, the insight and foresight of the village genius, above all, that sheet anchor of conservatism, the kindly law that records, hits and forgets, misses, provide an experience which serves to keep alive a fresh, though hidden, belief in the main features of the immortal craft of witchery and magic,

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[5] The views of three leading upholders of the fact of witchcraft, of J. Bodin Angevin, 1580, the author of *De la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, of Gladwin, 1680, the author of *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, and of Gaspar Schott, 1687, the author of *Physica Curiosa*, shew how difficult it was for believers in spirits to admit that the chief manifestations of witchcraft were contrary to the order of Nature. Bodin Angevin, 1580 (pp. 109, 118), gives details of cases which he considers proof that sorcerers can send sickness and spoil crops; he held (*op. cit.* pp. 90-104) that cases of men taking the form of animals were proved beyond question: he gives (pp. 104-109) elaborate reasons for believing that men and women can have connection with spirits. In his accounts of the English witch trials of the seventeenth century Glanvil (*Sadducismus Triumphatus*, pp. 326-331), 1668, accepts the evidence as proof, which no test of possibility could overrule. He does not admit (*op. cit.* pp. 6-11) that the flying out of windows, the transfer into cats, the passing of wounds from their animal to their human bodies, the raising of tempests by witches can justly in theory, be held to be impossible or contrary to Nature. At the same time (*op. cit.* p. 228) he is prepared to concede that, in fact, some beliefs regarding witches are vain and impossible: that carnal copulation with the devil and the transmutation of men and women into other creatures is a delusion; that many witch-stories are false or founded on melancholy fancies or odd diseases: and that witch-finders have done much wrong and wrung confessions from the innocent. The Jesuit, Gaspar Schott, 1687 (*Physica Curiosa*, pp. 102, 103), held, on the authority of Scripture and of many Fathers and Doctors, that spirits and, therefore, witches could cause and cure disease: he held (*op. cit.* p. 522) that a man or woman might be possessed by a spirit and under the spirit's influence might do many things which could not be accepted as natural: he held (*op. cit.* p. 98, 99) that within the power of Nature demons may make men wound proof: at the same time he refused to admit (*op. cit.* p. 121) that witches would raise storms unless God specially allowed them: he held (*op. cit.* pp. 82-95) that the evidence proved that witches attended meetings but that their flying through the air, passing through keyholes, turning into animals, and being in two places at the same time were delusions and impossible. How greatly the wider knowledge and keener criticism of the eighteenth century sapped the inherited faith in witchcraft is shewn by the conclusion of the writer on magic in the fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* published in 1810. All the tales of diabolical agency in magic and witchcraft must undoubtedly be false.

LEAVES FROM AN OLD INDIAN'S NOTE BOOK.

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"Purra-Nânnûrru:" King Vaiyâvi-Kô Perum-Pêgan, and his deserted 'Queen Kannagi.'

ONE of the later chieftains celebrated for liberality was **Pêgan, or more fully Vaiyâvi-Kô Perum-Pêgan.** He was king, it is said, of a mountain fortress called **Nallûr.**[1] Its site is uncertain, for there were many towns bearing this title. His tribe is called the Âviyar, and of these too nothing is known, except the fact that they were related to the more celebrated **Vêḷ Pâri.** He is said to have been conquered by the great Pâṇḍiyan, Neḍum Çeṟiyan. His little domain was on the coast south of Madras, and was called **Miṟalai.** In it were the villages of Tuñjalûr and Taṇḍalai. I hope some of the very able men connected with the Archæological Survey may find it possible to supplement this.

His wife, whom for some reason or other he had put away, was called **Kaṇṇagi,** and she is represented as living alone in grief on a mountain apart.

Kabilar composed several odes on this theme, as did Paraṇar, Van-Paraṇar, Ariçil-Kiḻâr and Perum Kundrûr Kiḻâr. There are seven of these which are specially interesting.

The word **vaḷḷal** applied to this and other chieftains, signifies 'liberal or generous man.' Of these twenty-one are enumerated; and divided into three classes, the first, the middle and the last. It is not quite evident whether this is a distinction of time, or of excellence; but the last seven who are called 'the generous ones of the later time' are the only ones that have any footing in what can be called Tamil history.[2]

The following (141) is a species of song called *Âttupaḍai* or 'Introduction'; which is the name of a kind of lyric introducing anyone, — ministrel, songstress, suppliant or learned man, — to some superior; and thus affords ample scope for eulogium of the benefactor to whom the wanderer is introduced. Here the poet, **Paraṇar,** says; —

"O supplicant, who with thy tribe art wan
With hunger's pangs, you ask me who I am,
I came but late from trackless wilderness;
Now in this town I dwell, my prancing steeds
From chariot high unyoking leisurely.
This songstress by my side wears costly gems,
The ministrel, I, bear wreaths of golden lotus flowers.
Before I saw the king my state was worse than thine
Is now; this instant have I what you see become,
Our prince a garment rich unto the lone peafowl gave,
Albeit he knew the bird no robes put on,
Pêgaṉ, the lord of elephants and steeds,
Gives, for to give with lavish hand is good;
Nor looks for recompense in other worlds."[3]

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[1] ='good town.'

[2] The time must have been about that of the Saxon heptarchy. In reading this collection of 400 ancient Tamil Lyrics we are among extinct volcanoes. They are full of hints of dramatic situations, and only by endeavouring to comprehend these can the student hope to gain a full perception of the beauty of the verses.

[3] Comp. 134: Song to 'lame' Môçiyâr's Ây.

This hill-chieftain **Pêgan** is referred to in the *Pattu-pâṭṭu*, III. 84-87, in these words : —

'Kindly-hearted.'

The prince of Âv'yar race, of goodly form and brave, —
Pêgan, lord of the mighty crag-encompassed mount, —
On hill-side rich and flourishing, where rains fail not :—
Heard in the wilderness a peacock's call, and deemed
Its cry betokened cold, so a rich garment gave.

Another bard, **Perum Çittiranâr,** mentions him in an enumeration of the seven (158, 10-12) : —

Pêgan, lord of the mountain land
On whose cool heights are caverns deep,
Where darkness rules, and peaks defended by the god !
(*? Murugan.*)

The following is by Paraṇar : —

'Pêgan more discerning than the rain' (142).

The rain now fills the empty tanks ; —
Now pours on wide expanded fields ; —
And oft on salt and barren soil ; —
It knows no choice ! **Pêgan,** who rides
On elephant, gem-ankletted,
Recks not while lavishing his gifts ;
Yet when his foes draw out their hosts,
A keen discerning warrior he !

The next is by Pâri's friend **Kabilar** : —

'The Mourning Queen' (143).

Lord of the land where men on millet feed,
On mountain slopes, — presenting many a gift
That pregnant clouds may gather o'er the hill,
Praying anon too heavy rain may cease, —
(So do the mountain-folk invoke their god !)
Pêgan, rich in gifts, Lord of charger swift ! —
Who is the suppliant, for whom I plead ? . . . .
But yesterday I trod the desert path
My people round me faint for lack of food.
A hamlet small stood on the lofty hill,
Where sounding cataracts make music to the vales.
I prais'd thee and thy mountain there. I saw
Her shedding bitter tears. She wiped them quick away ;
They sprang afresh, bedewed her gentle breast.
And tenderly she wept, complaining like
The mournful voice of slender flute.

This was **Kaṇṇagi, Pêgan's queen,** who had been banished to a small hamlet on the crest of the mountain, and it is on her behalf that the poet intercedes.

Again and again the poets sing to **Pêgan** one song : 'bring back your queen, we ask no other boon.'

The following also is Paraṉar's on the same theme (144) : —

Ah ! cruel 'tis to show no pitying grace !
At eventide upon my little lute
I played a plaintive song, and praised
Thy land where heaven unfailing blessing pours.
And one whose eyes like the dark *neythal*[4] gleam
Wept till the tears fell on her jewelled breast,
By ceaseless sorrow bowed. I bending low
Questioned, "Are you akin to my loved friend ?"
With fingers like the *kânthaḷ*[5] buds she brushed
Away her tears, and quick replied, "No kin !
But, list, they say that **Pêgan,** glorious chief,
Was wont erewhile, in sounding chariot borne,
With tender love to seek out one like me[6]
In the 'good-town' by fragrant jasmin girt."

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(145) is by the same minstrel :—

'Go, wipe away her tears.'

Pêgan, whose fame dies not,
Who gave in pity garment rare
To screen the peafowl's tender form,
Thou lord of raging elephant and fiery steed !
We come, not hunger-driven, nor with a needy band ;
We take our little lute, black as the *kaḷâ's*[7] round,
And making music sweet, soul-ravishing, we say :
"Thou lovest kindly grace, do one good deed!
The only boon we ask of thee is this :
At night-fall mount thy chariot bright with gems : —
Go, soothe the sorrow sore of her who grieves alone."

Another minstrel, — **Ariçil-Kiṟâr,** — sings the same song (146) : —

Be thy rare gems and treasures what they may,
We seek not these, O **Pêgan,** great in war.
When with our little lyre, in tender strains,
The fruitful fields of thy good land we sing,
If pleased thou boon on me bestow, O king !
Thy spouse, erewhile with choicest gems adorned
Now suffers bitter grief because no love is hers.
Let her this night perfume her tresses bright
Like peafowl's plumes upgathered by the wind,
And wreathe her brow with fragrant blooms !
Yoke to thy mighty car thy swiftest steeds !

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[4] *Neythal* = the dark blue water-lily.
[5] *Kânthaḷ* = the *Gloriosa superba.*
[6] She seems to say she is the once loved, but now forsaken, one.
[7] *Kaḷâ* = *Carissa.*

And yet another, — **Perun-Kunrrûr-Kirâr,** — echoes the supplication (147) : —

O'er mountain paths by crag-born torrents rent,
To sing my plaintive song, with little lute,
I come. — Alone she hears the rain-drops fall,
So sweet to happier ears ! But yesterday
She sat and wept, with liquid eyes of love,
Thy *queen*. To-day if thou shouldst visit her,
The tresses' wealth, uncared for long, again should gleam,
Pure as the gems they wear, with garlands fresh adorned,
O Âv'yar chief, this is sole boon I ask.

The history does not fill in the romance, nor say whether these intercessions were successfull or not; but the student of Tamil will again and again read with delight the elegant phrases, mingled with genuine simple pathos, in which they urge their supplications.

She had very probably been kind to them in her happier days, and now that some intrigues in the petty court have brought about her temporary disgrace, they do not forsake her, but plead her cause, in the face, no doubt, of a powerful clique that upholds some newer favourite of the fickle king.

All honour to the faithful bards !

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

If sparrows nest in a house-eaves or any one scribbles on the floor with charcoal or spiders make webs on the walls, the owner will fall into poverty.

To guard children against the Evil Eye, their mothers disfigure them by applying lampblack to the eyes or make black spots on their forehead, cheek, or chin; but girls are usually tattooed, not marked in this way.

When children are attacked by the Evil Eye they show it by their appetite falling off. To remedy this the mother takes salt, dried chillies and charcoal and puts them into a pot of water coloured with lime and turmeric. This is waved three times over the child and then spilled on the ground, or the ingredients are cast dry into the fire with some of the child's hair.

Fruit and vegetable gardens and patches of cultivation stand in need of protection from the Evil Eye, or else their growth will be stunted, even if they are watered daily.

The owners of gardens take the following precaution. A scare-crow or some animal's bones or a white-washed pot is set up in the plot.

Black or blue threads, or pieces of leather or cowries are also fastened to the necks or legs of the house cattle to avoid the Evil Eye.

On proof of pregnancy the wife washes herself profusely, taking much care to avoid the shade of a man falling on her, in the belief that her child, if born, would take after that man in features, though not in mental character.

M. R. PEDLOW.

HUBBLE BUBBLE.

YULE, *s. v.*, describes this still most familiar Anglo-Indianism thus : — " An onomatopœia applied to the hooka in its rudimentary form as used by the masses in India." There is good confirmation of this description from an old MS. before me dated 1669, in which there is an illustration described thus : — " Hoocars commonly called hubble bubble."

R. C. TEMPLE.

A FAQIR HIS DOINGS.

IN 'Amanâbâd, in the Gujrânwâlâ District, there is a *bâulî* (reservoir of water) having recesses all round it, not much above the level of the water. In one of these lived a *faqîr* for a long while, it was said in 1883 for ten years. He preserves a strict silence, not even answering questions. It is said that those who came to the *bâulî* to bathe brought him food, and so he got supported. After dusk groans proceed from the *bâulî*, which are said to be the result of the *faqîr's* reflections on the wickedness of this world.

W. G. F. HASLETT in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BEGINNINGS OF CURRENCY.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 45.*)

Postscript.

MR. M. L. LEVIN'S private collection of **Aggry and other (chiefly glass) beads** is fastened into six frames. The collection consists of specimens of beads of various kinds that have passed through the hands of the firm during the nineteenth century, and is unique.

Besides Aggry beads it contains: — A series of beads meant for ornament and not for money for the East Indian trade. Bright shiny beads which are used in Africa as presents and not as money, and are known as **"dashes"**; they can, however, be used in barter and in some districts as currency. Miscellaneous beads; Japanese, French, Chinese, African, Australian (peach stones).

Among the African beads are some **shell discs** and **cornelian beads** used in Africa, but not made there, as the Africans cannot bore cornelian: they are probably Asiatic procured in trade. One of these is ancient. Very many similar stone beads are to be found among the old Buddhist sites of North Western India. There are also other ancient African beads in the collection.

The collection further contains money-beads which are not Aggries, *e. g.*, (1) **Caffre money,** which consists of small common beads in shapes peculiar to each district. With reference to **the importance of form in money-beads,** I may say that there were up to the outbreak of the War with the Transvaal still lying useless 2,000 lbs. weight of beads, at Johannesburg, sent there as Caffre money; useless because they were of the wrong sort. Also in the collection are some beads which Messrs. Levin attempted to export as general but not accurate copies of old Aggry beads for use as money; quite unsuccessfully, however, as no variation in recognised form was acceptable to the natives as money. (2) **Blue Popo beads** used for money and exceedingly valuable, being worth more than their weight in gold on the West Coast of Africa. The Venetian bead-makers at Murano, as the ultimate successors or the Phœnician and Egyptian makers, are unable to imitate these apparently simple bits of blue glass[2] so successfully as to induce the natives to accept their products as Popo beads. (3) **Coral money-beads** used on the same West Coast, equally valuable when large as the Popo beads, and worth more than their weight in gold, *i. e.*, more than £4 the ounce.

In this connection there is a very interesting example in Mr. Levin's collection of **an old red bead** found in some quantities on the beach of St. Agnes in the Scilly Isles, presumably out of some wreck. These turned out to be trade beads intended for the West African trade as money, and were made in Venice. (*Notes and Queries*, 1873, p. 522.)

There are in the British Museum and Oxford Museum several cards of samples of Messrs. Levin's exportations of modern Venetian beads to Africa, both as "dashes" and as money.

The following passage from Mr. Hore's account of the twelve tribes of Tanganyika in *Journal Anthropological Institute*, XII., 1882, p. 8 ff., is worth recording here, both for its mention of the use of **glass beads for money,** and for its valuable reference to **the manufacture of salt for currency,** as an addition to the notes already made on the subject in the body of this article.

"The only export of great extent from Ujiji itself is the famous packages of salt, current all over the Lake shores as a medium of barter. This salt is manufactured once a year on the banks of the Ruguvu River, east of Ujiji, where from 2,000 to 3,000 persons sometimes assemble at the proper season, just before the commencement of the rain, forming quite a town for the sole purpose of manufacturing the salt. It is packed up in cylindrical leaf packages weighing from 20 to 30 lbs. each, and value at Ujiji at about 2 yards of good calico. The market of Ujiji town consists generally of an assemblage of from 200 to 300 small booths or stalls, exposing for sale almost everything that

[2] Perhaps they are not glass at all but made out of beryl or aqua marine.

the Lake Countries produce, as well as meat, vegetables, fruit and grain. Here for the first time we find a regular currency or money in use by the natives; it consists of strings of blue and white cylindrical beads, each string containing 20 beads. Bunches of 10 strings are called *fundo*. From 9 to 11 *fundo* are given in exchange for 4 yards of thin Manchester calico, and from 12 to 15 *fundo* for 4 yards of good heavy American calico; the value varying daily according to the quantity of cloth in the market. . . . Coloured cloths with nails and coils of copper and brass wire, are used for more extensive purchases."

In regard to **Aggry beads**. Both Mr. M. L. Levin's collection, excepting the ancient and foreign samples already noted, and my own collection of **modern Venetian Aggries** made for the existing trade in Africa were manufactured for Messrs. Levin at different times for the above trade.

In the Levin collection, however, are many samples of Aggry beads, both of their own modern exportation and of genuine ancient make. Of the **genuine ancient beads** there are several white and speckled samples. **The true Aggry bead,** old or new, must be of glass, or of a substance closely resembling glass, of the same quality throughout, and in the Levin collection are two samples of Aggries cut by suspicious natives to test their quality. In both cases the outer surface was all blue, but the inner surface, and of course the ends also, had a wavy white pattern running over them. The regular continuance of this pattern throughout the inner substance of the beads was what the cutters were looking for.

The place known as **Agra, in trade parlance Aggry or Aggrey,** is, I am told, not the modern Accrà. It is rather an old ruined site of a former town not far inland from the West Coast of Africa, near Cape Coast Castle.[3] It has given its name to the famous Aggry beads probably because it was once an important trading centre. **The origin of the peculiar forms known as Aggry beads** is somewhat thus. The Portuguese and Spaniards succeeded, as traders on the West Coast, the Arabs who worked for Egyptian masters. The Arabs' trade was very ancient and their currency the old glass beads. The more modern Arabs first and the Europeans afterwards found that their best policy was to continue the old recognised form of currency by imitating it. The modern Aggry beads are made in Venice. Ancient Aggries are very rare.

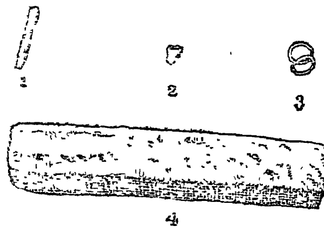
There does not appear to be much scientific information on this subject. Indeed, I am only aware of the obviously cursory paper on "Aggri beads" by Mr. J. E. Price, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, XII., 1882, p. 64 ff., and the avowedly indeterminate notice in Brent's "Glass Beads with a Chevron Pattern," *Archæologia*, Vol. XLV. But what literary evidence I have confirms the above statement, and so does an examination I was able to make, owing to the courtesy of Mr. A. J. Evans, of the splendid collection of beads in the Ashmolean Museum. This examination enables me to say with some confidence that in form, substance and manufacture **all Aggries, ancient and modern, are the direct descendants of** those **ancient Egyptian beads** which Mr. Evans tells me belong to the seventeenth and nineteenth Dynasties, especially the latter, and are characteristic of the Ramesside period. The date of these beads from the ancient Egyptian tombs may range therefore from about 1400 to 1100 B. C. As a step, perhaps, in the pedigree, Professor Ridgeway informs me that long **cylindrical beads of beryl and aqua marine** are found in prehistoric tombs in Rhodes, which seem to have come from mines at Zabara in Egypt. The form and shape, and perhaps substance, of these suggest the Popo beads of West Africa, which may also be taken as a form of Aggry beads, and have probably precisely the same ancient history.

Since the above information has been set up in type Dr. R. Koettlitz has been so kind as to send me some valuable confirmatory evidence from his recent travels in **Abyssinia.**

In the accompanying block-plates is an illustration, fig. 1, of **a quill containing gold-dust,** quills being generally used there for this purpose and passing for that reason, when so filled, as currency. Another block-plate, fig. 2, represents **a small rag-bundle containing a dollar's worth of gold,** and current therefore as a dollar. There are also shown, fig. 3, **two rings of virgin**

[3] Possibly the Akroful of the fuller maps. It is possible also that the term "Aggry bead" merely means the bead used in the trade centres.

gold so malleable that they can be bent about like lead. All these three articles are found only in the extreme West of Southern Abyssinia and are used there and also across the frontier on occasion as currency.



The usual and most sought after form of money, and in the Western Country almost the only money, is **salt in bars**. Dr. Koettlitz writes : "A salt bar at Addis Abbaba is worth a quarter of a dollar, and this is its value in most of the districts I passed through, but in the Western portion of the Country it is worth more, for there it is valued at a third of a dollar. This salt money is frequently broken to make small values, the pieces afterwards often being collected and firmly tied and stuck together with grass. These 'broken' bars have, however, lost some of their value, five of them going to a dollar. When getting change the Abyssinians and Gallas always test the salt by scraping with the finger nails close to the ear. The ring of the piece warns them of the extent to which it may have been damaged."

Dr. Koettlitz' salt-money is in bars of uniform size and of approximately uniform weight, and as we have just seen uniformity of quality is ascertained by the sound emitted by the bars when scratched in a particular way. In the block-plates, fig. 4, is shown a bar of salt brought home by Dr. Koettlitz. The article is often mentioned by travellers, but I believe this is the first time that one has been represented.

The most desired currency of almost the whole of that part of Abyssinia over which Dr. Koettlitz travelled, which was the country due East and West of the latitude of Addis Abbaba, is **the Maria Theresa dollar.** Now this coin, to be acceptable, must not be defaced in the smallest degree, must bear the date 1780, and especially the crown on the queen's head must bear eight, and the rosette on her shoulder nine, dots. If a piece fails in any of these respects it is rejected.

The king has lately introduced **the Menelik dollar** entirely differing from the Maria Theresa dollar in appearance and bearing an Amharic inscription. This coin is not accepted outside the capital. The half Menelik dollar is even a less acceptable coin in the capital itself.

The whole of this evidence strongly bears out the remarks made in the body of this article on the principles of currency among savage and semi-savage peoples.

A NOTE ON THE BRITISH COLLECTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES.[1]

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E.

THE starting-point of the **British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities** was the discovery in 1890 of the **Bower and Weber Manuscripts.** It drew my attention to Eastern Turkestan as a promising field for epigraphical exploration. At my suggestion, which was strongly supported by Sir Charles J. Lyall, the Government of India, in 1893, issued the necessary instructions to their Political Officers; and in response to these a large collection of epigraphical and other antiquities has been brought together.

The collection consists of (1) Manuscripts and Xylographs, (2) Coins and Seals, (3) Terra-cottas and Pottery, and (4) Figures of stone, metal or wood, and miscellaneous objects. The larger portion of these objects has been procured by **Mr. George Macartney** in Kâshghar ; the remainder, by **Captain Stuart H. Godfrey** and **Colonel Sir Adelbert C. Talbot, K. C. I. E.**, in Kashmîr.

[1] The substance of this paper was read at the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, October, 1899.

The manuscripts comprised in the collection, accordingly, will be referred to in the sequel as the **'Macartney MSS.,'** the **'Godfrey MSS.,'** and the **'Talbot MSS.'**

With the exception of a few coins and seals, which came from Samarkand, Tashkend, and other places in Western Turkestan, the whole of the antiquities included in the collection came from the neighbourhood of two places in Eastern Turkestan. These are **Kuchar** and **Khotan.** The former lies on the northern, the latter on the southern border of the Great Sandy Desert, which occupies nearly the whole of the space intervening between the Tian Shan and Kuenluen ranges of mountains. The southern portion of this great desert, which lies immediately to the north of Khotan, bears the name of **Takla Makan** or 'place covered with broken pottery,' and most of the find-places of the antiquities of the Collection are situated within the limits of this portion of the sandy desert. Fifteen of such places, nearly all being the sites of ancient towns buried under the sand of the desert, are now known, situated at distances from about five to 150 miles distant from Khotan, mostly to the north and north-west of it. With the exception of two, they are all known only from the information of native treasure-seekers. Two of them, however, have been verified by European visitors : these are Borazân and Aq Safil. The former was visited by Messrs. Högberg and Bäcklund, Swedish Missionaries in Kâshghar, in 1897, and by Mr. Macartney in the spring of the same year. It was also visited by Dr. Sven Hedin in January, 1896, as related in his book *Through Asia* (p. 759 ff.). It lies about five miles west of the Khotan Chinese city, and probably occupies the site of what was the Buddhist city of Khotan in the earliest centuries of our era. It is a place, not buried like the others in the loose moving sand, but in a compact stratum of loess-clay, about 25 feet thick. Imbedded in this stratum are found pottery, coins, seals, figures, and other antiquities. Dr. Sven Hedin, in the book above-mentioned, has given a full description of the place. Aq Safil, or 'white battlements,' is one of the proper sand-buried sites. It lies about twenty miles north-east of Khotan, just within the Takla Makan desert. It was visited by Messrs. Högberg and Bäcklund in the summer of 1897. Their description of the place has been included by me in my *Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities* (Part I., Introduction, p. xiv. ff.). It would appear from it that the basement platforms of two ancient *stûpas* are still to be seen there. At this place some of the manuscripts, coins and seals of the collection were found. Two other sand-buried sites, not included in the above-mentioned 'fifteen,' were discovered by Dr. Sven Hedin, in January and February, 1896, in the desert, about 80 and 150 miles north-east of Khotan.

In the neighbourhood of Kuchar there are only two places where any antiquities of the Collection have been found. These are a mound and a ruined tower, both probably the remains of ancient *stûpas*, situated one mile and sixteen miles respectively to the west of that town. The tower was visited by Major Bower in January or February of 1890, as related by him in the London *Geographical Journal*, Volume V, for 1895 (p. 240 ff.). Both the mound and the tower were explored, apparently in 1889, by some people of Kuchar in quest of treasure, and in both of them, it is said, manuscripts were found. Among those found in the tower is the celebrated Bower MSS. The Weber MSS. and several of the Macartney MSS. were also found in it. All these are in a more or less fair condition of preservation. Of those found in the mound nothing very definite is known. They appear to have been destroyed or dispersed. Only an insignificant portion, consisting of a few entire leaves or fragments of leaves, have found their way into the British Collection. They are included in the Godfrey, Talbot and Macartney MSS.

With the exception of the manuscripts just enumerated all the remainder of the antiquities of the British Collection have been obtained from Khotan or the desert in its neighbourhood. All the bound books, whether manuscript or xylograph, all coins and seals, terra-cottas and pottery, and all the rest of the miscellaneous objects have come from there. Kuchar has contributed nothing of this kind. Only a few manuscript leaves or fragments of leaves, similar to those from Kuchar, have been obtained from Khotan.

Directly or indirectly the whole of the antiquities have been obtained from native treasure-seekers. The Weber MSS. and some of the Godfrey MSS. were presented to those two gentlemen; the rest

has been purchased, some for trifling amounts of money. As a consequence, with the exception of one case, practically nothing is known as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of any of the objects. All that is known is that they are said to have been found or dug out in sand-buried sites. Their outward condition certainly indicates their having lain, for a longer or shorter time, in the sands of the desert. Moreover all the above-mentioned European visitors to **Khotan** report having observed pottery, coins, and other objects, similar to those in the collection, imbedded in the loess-clay or strewn on the sand. The one exception referred to is the discovery of the Bower, Weber and Macartney MSS. in the tower near Kuchar. The accounts of it given by different natives to Messrs. Weber, Macartney and Godfrey in the main agree. It appears that some time in **1889** some people of Kuchar undertook to make an **excavation in the stûpa** in question. Their object in digging into it was to find treasure, as it was well known that in the time of Yaqûb Beg much gold had been discovered in such ancient buildings. Whether or not they found any 'treasure' is not known, but what they did find was **a large number of manuscript books and detached papers,** together with the bodies of a cow and two foxes standing. The hole which they made into the *stûpa* was excavated straight in, level with the ground, and the manuscripts, accordingly, would seem to have been found in the centre of the *stûpa* on the ground level, exactly in the spot where the original deposit of relics is usually met with in such monuments. The manuscript books and papers were taken to the house of the chief Qâzî of the town, where a couple of days afterwards they were seen by Hâjî Ghulâm Qâdir, heaped up in a corner, there being a big *sabad*, or 'basket,' full of them. On inquiry having been told the whole story by the Qâzî, he brought away a few of them, and later on, early in 1890, he gave one of them, now known as the **Bower Manuscript,** to Major (then Lieut.) Bower. The others he sent to his younger brother Dildâr K͟hân in Yarkand. These the latter took with him to Leh in 1891. Here he gave one portion of it to Munshî Aḥmad Dîn, who in his turn presented his acquisition to **Mr. Weber, a Moravian Missionary.** The latter transmitted it to me in Calcutta, where, under the name of the Weber Manuscripts, specimens of it were published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII. (for 1893). The remaining portion Dildâr K͟hân took with him to India, where he left it with a friend of his at Aligarh, a certain Faiz Muḥammad K͟hân. On a subsequent visit to India in 1895, he retook it from his friend, brought it back to Turkestan, and presented it to **Mr. Macartney.** The latter forwarded it in 1896 to the Foreign Office in Simla, whence it was transmitted to me in Calcutta. It was named by me the Macartney MSS. and specimens of it were published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI. (for 1897). What became of the rest of the manuscripts in the Qâzî's house is not exactly known. It is probable that Andijani merchants in Kuchar, who are Russian subjects, must have got hold of some of them and transmitted them to **Mr. Petrovsky, the Russian Consul-General in Kâshghar.** The latter forwarded them to St. Petersburg, where specimens of them were published in 1893 by Professor **S. von Oldenburg** in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*, Vol. VIII. As late as 1894, 'ten manuscripts' were reported by Dildâr K͟hân, on the information of his brother in Kuchar, to be in the possession of a certain Yûsuf Beg. Unfortunately the negotiations, set on foot by Mr. Macartney for the purchase of these manuscripts, fell through, owing to the Beg's denial of possession, from fear of the Chinese authorities. It is believed that subsequently Mr. Petrovsky succeeded in purchasing them. If this is correct, they should now be in St. Petersburg. The exact details of the find are so curious that it may be best to quote Dildâr K͟hân's account, kindly procured for me by Mr. Macartney in January, 1898. I translate from the original Urdû: 'I heard from my brother G͟hulâm Qâdir K͟hân that there was a dome-like tower near Kuchar at the foot of a mountain. Some people said that there was a treasure in it; it must be searched out. Accordingly some people, making a hole in the tower, began to excavate it, when they found inside a spacious room (*ghar k͟hâna-dâr*), and in it a cow and two foxes standing. On touching them with the hand, the cow and foxes fell to the ground as if they were dust. In that place those two books were found packed in wooden boards. Also there is in that place a wall made as if of stone (*dîwâr sang-ke mûâfiq*), and upon it something is written in characters not known. It is said that a few years ago an English gentleman [that is, Major Bower] went there, and having visited the place came away. Nothing more is known.' With regard to the cow and the foxes mentioned in the above account Mr. Macartney remarks in

his covering letter: 'As far as I can make out, they must have been found in the tower in a mummified condition. The art of stuffing animals would not appear to have been unknown in ancient times. Mr. Petrovski informs me of having, some years ago, received from Kuchar a fish contained in a box, found buried in the ground.' Dildâr Khân's remark about the inscribed stone wall (a stone slab let into the wall?) is curious. It is, as I learn from Munshî Aḥmad Dîn, based on a statement by Qâdir Ḥakim Beg of Kuchar, who, passing through Yarkand in 1895 on a pilgrimage to Mecca, was questioned on the subject of the discovery of the manuscripts. He was requested at the time by Mr. Macartney to procure a copy of the inscription; but owing to his death in Mecca, nothing more was heard of the slab. The truth of the report is well worth further inquiry: if true, the inscription might prove to be a most valuable record. At the same time, considering that the 'room' must have been in almost complete darkness and that the explorers probably had no means of lighting it, it is not quite easy to understand how, with the exception of the manuscripts which they brought away with them, they could identify the exact nature of what they found inside. I may note, however, that also in the *stûpas* of Afghanistan occasionally similar curious deposits have been found. Thus Masson relates (in the *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 110) that in 'Tope No. 11 of Hidda' there were found in 'an interior cupola' 'some human bones and two or three animal teeth,' which were afterwards identified as those 'of the ass, the goat, and a species of deer.' Also with reference to the 'spacious room' I may note that similar large chambers, in the form of 'cupolas' or cubical 'apartments,' have been found in many of the 'Topes and Tumuli' of Afghanistan. Thus, in 'Tope No. 2' of Kotpur there was discovered a large cupola with a diameter of 12 feet.' In Buner, Dr. Stein found in the Takhtaband *stûpa* a cubical chamber, of 7 feet dimensions, which was lined with large and carefully cut slabs.' This may illustrate the presence of an inscribed slab in the Kuchar *stûpa*.

MANUSCRIPTS.

The manuscripts included in the British Collection consist of two divisions: A, Sheets, and B, Books.

A. MS. Sheets.

The manuscript sheets divide themselves into two rather distinct classes. One is written in known characters, either **Indian Brâhmî or Chinese**; the other is written in characters as yet undeciphered. They also differ in the appearance and quality of their paper; the former class being written on very flimsy paper, soft and of a dirty-grey colour, the latter, on a thicker, coarser, and stiffer paper of a dirty-brown colour.

(1) Sheets inscribed in known characters.

These are large squarish sheets which measure in breadth 11 inches, and in length from 6 to 15 inches. There are fourteen sheets which are practically entire; besides there are seventy-three fragments of varying sizes. They are inscribed on one side only, and are probably all official documents of some kind. The majority of them were obtained from people of Khotan, and the probability seems to be that they all emanate from that town or its neighbourhood.

Three of the entire sheets are written in **Chinese characters and language.** There are also thirteen fragments in Chinese. The writing is more or less antique; but Mr. Macartney had the complete sheets read for me by Chinese literati in Kâshghar. They are dated and are official documents. One is a request from a district officer to his superior for instructions regarding the collection or remission of certain revenue. This is dated in the third year of the *Tali* period, *i. e.*, in **768 A. D.** The second is a copy of a notice of requisition of certain articles; it is not dated. The third is a deed of loan of money, dated in the seventh year of the *Chien-chung* period, *i. e.*, in **786 A. D.** Both periods fall within the rule of the T'ang dynasty of China. These three documents are in three different handwritings. They were all written at a place the name of which, being expressed in obsolete characters, has only doubtfully been read as *Lëë-sieh.* It is conjectured by Mr. Macartney to be an ancient name of Khotan.

The other sheets, eleven in number, are written in a species of **current Brâhmî (or Indian) characters, but in a language at present unknown.** There are also sixty fragments, similarly written. Specimens of a complete leaf as well as fragments have been published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (for 1897), plates iv to vii. The paper is exactly the same as that of the Chinese documents above described, and it is most probable that originally they came from the same place, which may be either Khotan or Kuchar. Most of them were received from a Khotanese merchant, but one-third from an Indian merchant trading to Yarkand, who said that they had been dug out 'near Kuchar.' The exact point of their *provenance*, therefore, is not quite certain ; but whatever it is, the outward similarity of the Chinese and the undetermined sheets undoubtedly points to its being the same for both sets. This circumstance further renders it very probable that the undetermined sheets, like the Chinese, are official documents, and likewise referable to the **eighth century A. D.** At that period Khotan (and apparently also Kuchar) enjoyed a native administration under Chinese suzerainty. This accounts for the concurrent use of the two scripts, the Brâhmî (or Sanskritic script) having been introduced into Eastern Turkistan at a very early date by Indian Buddhist missionaries. The language of the undetermined documents should be either the Turkî of the native population or perhaps the Chinese of the suzerain power.

There is further one entire sheet (7½ × 8½) in.) of similar paper, inscribed on both sides with characters which have been described to me as obsolete Chinese.

(2) Sheets inscribed in unknown characters.

There are eight of these sheets. They are very large, measuring on the average either 23 × 16 in., or 16×12 in.; one only measures about 14 × 9 in. They are all entire, though one is in a very rotten state and torn in shreds. This rotten one and the small one were found together enclosed in a rotten cloth bag, which was sent to me by Captain Godfrey unopened. The bag is said to have been found beneath a skull in a sand-buried 'graveyard' in the Takla Makan, together with another bag containing a manuscript book which is now in the British Museum. Another manuscript book, discovered in similar circumstances, will be noticed further on. Three of the sheets are inscribed on both sides ; the other five are only inscribed on one side. The former bear writing in two different characters, arranged interlinearly, as shown in the specimen published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI., plates xi. and xii. One of the two writings is in white or pale ink, and seems to **resemble Uigur (or Nestorian) script,** while the other is in black ink, and would seem to be some kind of Mongolian. The latter script alone is found on those sheets which are inscribed only on one side ; it is also seen in a number of manuscript books which will presently be noticed. With the exception of those two which were found in the bag, all the sheets bear the imprints of two or three seals, and it seems probable, therefore, that these 'sealed' sheets are official documents of some kind. The small manuscript which was in the bag bears a line of writing in Turkî, inserted in the upper margin of the sheet. This was read for me by Mr. Bäcklund, Swedish Missionary, and Munshî Ahmed Dîn of Kâshghar, independently from one another. Their readings practically agreed in everything but one clause of three words. This clause Mr. Bäcklund translated to mean 'a *jing* (1½ pounds) of green tea,' and declared it to be evidence of the modernity of the Turkî inscription, because, as he says, green tea has been known in Eastern Turkistan only within the last thirty-five years. The Munshî was unable to decipher those three words with certainty, but suggested them to mean 'one hundred cases. Professor Vambéry, to whom I also submitted the original sheet, informed me that he could not agree with either of the two versions, and that it was impossible to read the clause with any certainty ; but he suggested that it might possibly mean 'a big box.' He added that 'the use of green tea is very old,' and that he 'found it quoted in books dating from the last two centuries.'

There are further two small oblong sheets, measuring 8½ × 8¾ in. and 3½ × 17½ in. They seem to be rather cuttings from larger sheets. The writing is very indistinct, but seems to resemble the smaller script in the manuscript books, divided into paragraphs with headings, which will be noticed further on.[2]

[2] See 2b. below.

Lastly, there are two small sheets, each folded into two leaves (7×5 in.), covered with unintelligible scrawls, which may or may not be graphic signs.

B. MS. Books.

These divide themselves into two entirely distinct classes, marked off from one another by three striking differences. In the first place, one set, in outward form, is exactly like the Indian *pôthî*, while the other set resembles the European 'book.' Secondly, the former is written **in Brâhmî (or Indian Sanskritic) characters** of several slightly differing ancient types, and composed either in Sanskrit or in an, as yet, unknown language interspersed with Sanskrit words, while the latter are written in characters and languages at present quite, or nearly quite, unknown. Thirdly, the former is written on a whitish or grey soft paper, but the latter on a yellowish or dun paper of a coarser and rougher quality. Fourthly, the former come from Kuchar, the latter from Khotan.

(1) MSS. in the form of Indian Pôthî.

The manuscripts of this class are done up exactly in the same manner as an **Indian** book or *pôthî*. Such a *pôthî* consists of a number of leaves, cut of a practically uniform oblong shape, generally enclosed between two wooden boards, and held in position, or 'bound,' by a string which passes through a hole drilled through the whole pile. In the still surviving Indian *pôthîs* this hole is in the centre of the pile; or there are two holes, at equal distances from the margin, in the centre of the right and left halves of the pile. In our Central Asian *pôthîs* there is only one hole, but this is invariably in the centre of the left half. There are reasons to believe that this arrangement was also the practice in India in very ancient times. The peculiar position of the string-hole in the Central Asian manuscripts is thus a mark of their great age. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that some of the manuscripts were imported from India by the early Buddhist missionaries.

The manuscript books of this class, included in the British Collection, are the following :—

1 and 2. The two Macartney MSS., of which I have published a detailed description and specimens in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (for 1897), p. 237, plates ix and x. Both are fragments : one, giving **the Buddhist story of the Mahâyakṣa Mâṇibhadra,** consists of thirty-five leaves; the other, a Buddhist medical treatise, comprises fifteen leaves. The former cannot be dated later than the **middle of the fifth,** the latter later than **the middle of the fourth, century A. D.**

3. One of the Godfrey MSS., of which a description and specimens have been published by me in the same place (pp. 231 ff., plates ii and iii.). It is exceedingly fragmentary, there being only two practically entire leaves and two torn pieces. It seems to be **a Buddhist work on incantations.**

4. Another manuscript, apparently containing **the story of the Mahâyakṣa Mâṇibhadra.** This book, too, is exceedingly fragmentary, there being only six leaves, of which only one is quite entire. The leaves were obtained by Messrs. Macartney and Godfrey and Sir A. Talbot at different times.

The preceding four manuscript books are written in **the Sanskrit language.** The following books are written in **an unknown language, interspersed with Sanskrit words:—**

5 and 6. Two exceedingly fragmentary books. Of one there are only two leaves; of the other six, more or less torn. To judge from the interspersed Sanskrit words, the former may have treated of Mâṇibhadra, while the latter seems to have been a medical work.

7. There are also seven fragmentary leaves, the only remnants of six different works, of which one at least must have been of very large size, as its only surviving fragmentary leaf is numbered 90 on its margin.

With one exception, all the manuscript books above enumerated are written in **that Indian Gupta variety of the Brâhmî script, which was current in India up to about 600 A. D.** The only exception is No. 1, the book on Mâṇibhadra in the Macartney MSS. It is written in a

peculiar slanting modification of the Gupta script, which originated in and was limited to Eastern Turkistan, or perhaps to Kuchar, for, I believe, it has not yet been discovered anywhere else.

To complete the subject of this class of manuscript books I may add a list of those existing outside the British Collection. Foremost among them is the celebrated **Bower MSS.** This is now the property of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, for which it has recently been purchased by its Librarian, Mr. Nicholson. I have there seen it most excellently mounted, each leaf separately, between two panes of glass. A complete edition of it has been published by me in the New Series of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*. My edition of the text is accompanied by a full English translation, explanatory notes, and photo-etched facsimiles of all the leaves. A historical Introduction I have, at present, in preparation. Great praise is due to the Government of India, who have in the most liberal way provided the whole of the considerable cost of the publication. The date of the larger portion, a medical treatise, can with certainty be fixed to be not later than the middle of **the fifth century A. D.** Other portions are probably even older. Among them is one which is a fragment of the story of the Mahâyakṣa Mâṇibhadra. The Bower MS. is peculiar in being written on birch-bark, while all the other books of this group are written on paper. It is, for this reason, probable that that manuscript was imported into Kuchar from India. Indian manuscripts used to be written either on birch-bark or palm-leaf. There are in the British Collection a few minute fragments of a palm-leaf manuscript, dug out from the mound near Kuchar. Specimens of them have been published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (for 1887), plate i, No. 1.

To this class, further, belong **the Weber MSS.** These are now in my own possession, having been purchased by me from Mr. Weber. A full account of them, with specimens, has been published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII (for 1893). They consist of fragments of nine different books. From among them I may specially mention two books (Nos. 5 and 7), giving the story of the Mahâyakṣa Mâṇibhadra, and one book (No. 9) on medicine. All three books are written in the Central Asian modification of the Indian Gupta script. The medical work is composed in the unknown language already referred to, interspersed with Sanskrit words. The other six works are all written in **Sanskrit.** None of them is likely to be later than **the fifth century A. D.**

Lastly, to this class belong the **Petrovski MSS.** which are in St. Petersburg, and of which Professor von Oldenburg has published a description and specimens in Vols. VII and VIII of the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.* They consist of fragments of ten different books. Among them I may particularly mention one (No. 8) which again gives the story of the Mahâyakṣa Mâṇibhadra; and this book (as well as Nos. 7, 9, and 10) is written in the Central Asian variety of the Gupta script. All are composed in **Sanskrit**, except No. 10 (in Vol. VII of the Russian Journal), which is in the **unknown language interspersed with Sanskrit.**

The Central Asian variety of the Gupta, which was at first unintelligible, was deciphered by myself in 1892, and its alphabet published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, plate iv.

The unknown language, interspersed with Sanskrit, still remains unintelligible. A key to it will no doubt be found in the course of time. I may mention two points that seem to promise light. In the first place, the story of Mâṇibhadra appears to have been a very favourite one. There are not less than seven manuscripts containing it: all in Sanskrit except one, which is in the unknown language. By a careful comparison it may be possible to identify those portions of the story which have survived both in the Sanskrit and in the unknown language, and thus to unravel the latter. Three of the Sanskrit manuscripts are evidently portions of the same total manuscript: thirty-five leaves in the Macartney MSS., seven in the Weber MSS., and eight in the Petrovsky MSS., making a total of fifty leaves, and amounting possibly to the entire manuscript book. In view of the possibility of this story of Mâṇibhadra serving as a key to the unlocking of the secret of the unknown language, it appears most desirable that the whole manuscript of fifty leaves should be published after the manner of the Bower MSS. Another possible key may prove to be the medical treatise in the unknown language, No. 9 of the Weber MSS. It contains strings of Sanskrit names of drugs which enter into the composition of

medical formulas. By a careful comparison of them with the string of drugs occurring in the formulas of the Bower MSS., it may be possible to identify some formulas, and thus to interpret the unknown language. To both this and the above-mentioned task, I hope to devote the leisure which is now afforded to me by my retirement from India.

(2) MSS. resembling European Books.

The manuscripts of this group are done up much in the style of European books. Sheets of paper are folded into leaves, and these piled upon one another, and then fastened along the folded edges by means of pieces of thread, or twists of paper, or copper pegs, so that the leaves open like those of a book. The number of pegs is three, or two, or one, and they are riveted upon large copper guards outside the covers of the book. Those books which are fastened with one peg have not a little resemblance to certain ancient copper-plate grants, which consist of several copper 'leaves' held together with a copper seal-ring. These appear also to be the oldest books of the collection. Specimens have been published by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI, plates xviii-xx. Those with two or three pegs or paper-twists or stitches resemble most closely European books. They, however, also very nearly resemble the birch-bark books of mediaeval Kashmîr, except that the folded sheets of the latter, so far as I know, are never stitched or riveted together. Specimens of stitched books may be seen, *ibid.*, plates xiv and xv. Specimens of riveted books will be shown in Part II. of my forthcoming Official Report of the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities.

There is a large number of books of this description in the British Collection. One or two are in the British Museum, purchased from Mr. Cobbold, and there are two[3] (perhaps more) in St. Petersburg. They divide themselves into two distinct groups by a marked difference in writing. In one group the writing is as a rule continuous, the letters of each word hanging together, as in our own writing. In the other group the letters are all written separately, as in **Sanskrit or Chinese script.**

(a) Books with continuous script.

Of this kind there are four books, all of small size (about 4 × 6 in.), and fastened with paper twists or copper pegs. Two of them, as Dr. A. Stein and Dr. E. W. West, who have examined them, inform me, are written in **Pahlavî characters of the Sassanian type.** The latter is still engaged in deciphering them, and has succeeded in reading a few detached words here and there. The presence of Sassanian Pahlavî would tend to fix the age of those two books as not later than the seventh century A. D. The other two books are written in somewhat similar **characters**, but which, I am informed, are not Pahlavî, and can, for the present, **not be determined.**

There is also a fragment of a fifth book, comprising two leaves, written with white ink, in characters that seem to me to resemble **Nestorian or Uigur writing.** A specimen is shown by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI, plate xvi.

(b) Books with discontinuous script.

These books divide themselves into four different groups, according to the resemblances of their scripts. **None of these scripts has, as yet, been recognized,** and I can therefore only classify them by superficial **resemblances to Chinese, Mongolian, Indian, Kharoṣṭî, and Greek.**

Of books with characters resembling Chinese there is only one. It is a mere fragment of three folded sheets or six leaves, which shows traces of having once belonged to a stitched book. A specimen is shown in the same Journal, plate xiii. It may possibly turn out to be Niuchi or some similar script.

Of books with characters resembling Greek there are two. They are written in paragraphs with headings. It is only the headings that show resemblances to Greek uncial letters. The script of the body of the books I am not able to classify by any resemblance. Both books are complete and riveted.

[3] Specimens of these two are shown in the *Nachrichten über die Russische Expedition nach Turfan* in 1898, Heft I, plate 8.

Of books with characters resembling Kharoṣṭî there are three. They are complete and riveted. Two of them contain a few small roughly circular figures, resembling hand-drawn sketches (not imprints) of seals.

Of books written in characters resembling some kind of Mongolian there are nine. The script in all of them seems to be essentially the same, though there are, at least, three varieties observable. Specimens of these varieties are shown by me in the same Journal, Vol. LXVI : (1) plates xi and xii ; (2) plates xiv and xv ; and (3) plates xvii-xx. Some others will accompany Part II. of my forthcoming Official Report. The resemblance is not clearly definable. The first and third varieties are found in the sheets, previously noticed as having Mongolian writing. A large number of the graphic signs are very complicated, and rather look like a series of continuous letters, making up a word. It is these that seem most distinctly to suggest Mongolian writing. But there are many other comparatively simple signs which, perhaps, rather suggest Chinese or conjunct Brâhmî letters. None of the books of the first and second varieties is complete. Of the first variety there are fourteen leaves, probably belonging to two different books. Of the second variety there are twenty-eight leaves, apparently belonging to five books. The folded sheets or leaves of these eight books seem originally to have been stitched together with thread. On the other hand, all but one of the books of the third variety are fastened with copper pegs. There are seven of these books, all of very small size (about $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ in.) : four complete, comprising upwards of 100 leaves, and three fragmentary, consisting of two, eight, and twelve leaves respectively. One of the complete ones is rectangular, and has three rivets ; one of the fragmentary ones (twelve leaves) is also rectangular, but was stitched ; another, fragmentary, is nearly oval, with two rivets. The remaining four are of a very irregular or fanciful shape, more or less crescentic or coniform, with only one rivet, in their narrow extremity (see *ibid.*, plates xviii-xx).

Most, if not all, the manuscript books of the second group, including those in Sassanian Pahlavî, exhibit some very curious points. They begin and end with two or three blank leaves ; the writing runs in opposite directions, as a rule on alternate pages, and the leaves or pages are not numbered. The second point is particularly curious, as, for reading, it requires two opposite positions of the book, into one or the other of which it must be shifted alternately from page to page ; unless, indeed, it is intended to read all the leaves of the book on one side only, and afterwards, turning the book right round, to read in the same way all the other sides of the leaves. This subject is explained in fuller detail and with illustrations in Part I. of my Official Report.

All the books of the second group are said to have been found in sand-buried ' graveyards ' in the Takla Makan desert. The discovery of one of them is specially noteworthy. It is said to have been dug out from a ' mound, circular in shape, about 5 feet wide and 2 feet high,' apparently the remains of an ancient *stûpa* or tumulus. It was enclosed in a rotten bag, upon which, as upon a pillow, a skull was found resting. In the same mound were found two small brass or bronze figures of horsemen. The whole find now forms part of the British Collection. It was transmitted to me by Mr. Macartney, with the skull resting on its pillow-bag, exactly as it had been found. The bag had not been opened : on opening it, I found it to contain a complete manuscript book. It is one of those belonging to the third variety above referred to, cut into the fanciful shape of a round-bottomed, narrow-necked bottle with long pendant lips. The rivet in the neck is a small narrow copper tube which suggests that the book may have been worn by its owner as an amulet, suspended by a string.

XYLOGRAPHS.

A very full account of the xylographs, comprised in the British Collection, has been already published by me, with numerous photo-etched specimens, in the first part of my Official Reports, printed as an Extra Number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1899. I shall, therefore, here content myself with a very brief notice.

The total number of **block-prints** in the collection is forty-five. They may be divided into nine sets, from the number of the different kinds of letters used in printing them.

In outward appearance they resemble the manuscript books made after the European fashion. Like them they are 'bound' with copper pegs, or twists of paper, or pieces of thread. One only is bound in a semi-Indian fashion, between two wooden boards and fastened by one peg passed through one of the narrow sides. It is cut, like two or three of the manuscript books previously noticed, in a bottle-shaped form, through the neck of which the peg passes. Like the manuscript books, they are also provided with one or more blank leaves at the beginning and end; the pages or leaves are not paginated; and the type is printed reversed on alternate pages. Further, most of them are printed on paper, which, though of different varieties, is essentially the same as that of the manuscript books. Only three are printed on a quite different kind of paper, which is not known in Khotan in the present day. The paper commonly used in them is of a kind of which a very coarse variety is still manufactured in Khotan at the present time.

Two xylographs exhibit the curiosity of being ornamented with sketches of human busts. One has two busts, the other only one, sketched on a page about the middle of the book.

All these books are printed from wooden blocks of type, of which there must have been a large number of various sizes. The type cut on the blocks consists of short formulas, which are printed singly or in various combinations. Each book is imprinted only with one formula, or one set of formulas, so that the formula, or set of formulas, is repeated again and again from page to page, the repetitions sometimes running into several thousands. As a rule, these repetitions are printed on the pages in regular order, though in the alternative fashion already referred to. But in some books they are placed on the pages without any apparent rational order whatsoever. All this seems to suggest that the formulas contained in the books are charms or prayers, and that the books were not intended for a rational method of reading, but for the mechanical repetition of formulas by turning the leaves, analogous to the turning of the Tibetan prayer-wheels. And from this it would, further, appear probable that these objects are Buddhist prayer-books. Or they might contain magic formulas, the efficacy of which depends on their being read in various positions. Such a practice of magic, Professor Margoliouth of Oxford informs me, obtains also among Muhammadans.

The age of some of the block-prints can, with some probability, be shown to be not earlier than the **middle of the thirteenth century A. D.** But others, which are printed on paper like that of the Pahlavî manuscript books, must be very considerably older. **None of them, however, can be older than the eighth century A. D.**; for, as the Chinese tell us, block-printing was unknown in China before that century, and Khotan can only have received that art from China.

The fact that these xylographs are forthcoming in such comparatively large numbers, and contain so many as yet unknown and unintelligible scripts, naturally raises the question of their genuineness. It is too early to express a very decided opinion, nor will it perhaps be possible to arrive at any definite conclusion, until the localities where they are said to have been found have been explored and specimens discovered by European travellers. It seems difficult to separate the case of the manuscripts from that of the xylographs. There are some manuscripts, including the Pahlavî ones, which outwardly, in completeness, in paper, and style of binding, and in all other respects, exactly resemble the xylographs. But in one noteworthy point their case differs: the manuscripts are not abundant. They were the earliest to be obtained, and they ceased to be forthcoming any more soon after the xylographs began to appear. While the latter can still be obtained, the former cannot. I have carefully and minutely examined the block-prints. The results of my examination are fully stated in Part I. of my Official Report. I have shown that in the case of at least two of the groups of xylographs a theory of forgery is even more difficult to understand and believe than that of their genuineness. The conclusions to which I have come, but which must not be understood to be given as final, are these. It is probable (1) that some ancient blocks of type have been discovered; (2) that some books printed from those blocks have also been found; (3) that when the find of these genuine

blocks (as well as manuscripts) became exhausted, while the demand for them by European inquirers continued, fresh reprints were made from the old blocks more or less in imitation of the genuine books, and perhaps even new blocks were cut.

(To be continued.)

THE FOLKLORE IN THE LEGENDS OF THE PANJAB.[1]

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

THE object of this article is to bring into a brief comprehensive view the folklore contained in my large work "**The Legends of the Panjab,**" and in order to achieve this I have, in common with all investigators of popular lore, found myself face to face with a difficulty, *viz.*, **the best mode of presentation.** If one is strictly scientific and arranges the facts in a severe sequence, one is not only apt to be dull, but also to incorrectly interpret the subject, which from its very nature hardly admits of a logical treatment. To begin with, the folk are not consistent and their ideas are all hazy and muddled. Consequently the points of folklore are so far from being clearly separable that they are always mixed up with each other. Any given notion is not traceable to a distinct single basis, but strikes its roots in fact into many, and can often be classified indifferently under any one of several heads. The surest way therefore of projecting oneself into the folk-mind — so far as such a process is possible — is, with the aid of a loose and simple general sequence or classification, to take the various points as they have seemed to grow one out of the other in folk logic and processes of thought. This is practically the line that every one who undertakes the exposition of the subject seems to adopt in the end, and I apprehend that it is a procedure that will commend itself to the readers of this *Journal*.

In order to explain what follows, I should here say that I began to collect the series since partly published as *The Legends of Panjab*, somewhat more than twenty years ago, and succeeded in bringing out fifty-nine legends out of one hundred and eighteen collected, at intervals, which in latter years have, I fear, been very long ones. Now, besides the value of **the collection** for local historical purposes and for the linguistic forms in which many of them are conveyed, they **present a pretty complete view of the machinery of Indian folktales.** The extent to which they actually do so can be gauged by experts from the **typical tables** to be found in the course of my remarks, and drawn up on the lines just indicated. It is my hope that the tables will bring home to some of my readers what a wide and fruitful field any given collection of Indian tales affords ; how well worth indexing they are for those who seek to get at the roots of the genuine lore of the folk in any portion of the world.

Now the so-called faculties of the human mind, despite their apparent diversity, are in reality very limited in extent, and are referable to quite a few radical capacities. Those of attention and co-ordination will be found to cover most of the others that have names. Thus memory and observation are both referable to attention, and so are mathematics, logic, and grammar to co-ordination. Indeed, mankind, though unaware of it, talks mathematically, for the facts of speech can be actually stated clearly in terms of mathematics. And now when tracing the ideas of folklore by apparently natural processes to their roots, I soon found myself harking back to grammar with its **main divisions of subject and predicate ; the matter to talk about and the conversation thereon.** The subject divides itself into the hero and heroine, and the predicate into the commencement, the incidents, and the conclusion. But here all approach to clear division stops, and although the heroes are classed as natural and supernatural, and the heroines are considered according to qualities and peculiarities, and although the sub-heads under each of these are very numerous, it must be understood that they have been placed just as has been found convenient, that a very different disposition would probably be equally correct, and that most of the items can fairly occupy places under several heads.

[1] The substance of this article has already been given in *Folklore* and was the subject of two lectures delivered respectively before the Folklore Society and the National Indian Association.

Having thus explained my procedure and methods, I now give the tables themselves.

I. SUBJECT.

(I.) HERO.

A. Natural.

1. Miraculous conception and birth.
    (a) Remarkable pregnancy of mother.
2. Substituted child.
3. Predestined child.
    (a) Avenging hero.
    (b) Imprisoned hero.
4. Calumniated child.
5. Acts and endowments.
6. Identification.
    (a) Signs of the coming hero.
    (b) Fulfilment of prophecy.
7. Companions, human and animal.
    (a) Unrequited faithfulness.
    (b) Community of birth.
8. Sons.
    (a) Nostrums for procuring sons.

B. Supernatural.

1. Immortality.
    (a) Reappearance.
    (b) Saints.
    (c) Ghosts.
    (d) Spirits.
    (e) Gods.
    (f) Godlings.
    (g) Warriors (*bîrs*).
    (h) Demons and devils.
        (i.) *Exorcism.*
2. Second sight.
3. Miracles.
    (a) Delegated power as to miracles.
        (i.) *Miracles by proxy.*
    (b) Restoration to life.
    (c) Restoration to health.
        (i.) *Cures.*
        (ii.) *Benefits.*
            (1) Sons.
            (2) Rain.
    (d) Inexhaustible supplies.
        (i) *Voracity extraordinary*
    (e) Miracles for injury.
        (i.) *Curses.*
        (ii.) *Nightmares.*
    (f) Stock miracles.
    (g) Native view of miracles.
    (h) Secret miracles.
4. Magic *versus* Miracles.
    (a) Sympathetic magic.
        (i.) *Effigies.*
        (ii.) *Ceremonial cannibalism.*
        (iii.) *Life-index.*
            (1) Life token.
            (2) Token-trees.
5. Enchantments.
    (a) Prophylactic charms.
        (i.) *Snakebite.*
6. Prayer.
    (a) Faith.
7. Invocation.
    (a) Summoning the absent.
8. Propitiation.
    (a) By abuse.
    (b) Offerings.
    (c) Libation.
    (d) Ceremonial generosity.
        (i.) *Charity.*
        (ii.) *Alms.*
            (1) Self-sacrifice.
    (e) Sacrifice.
        (i.) *Asceticism.*
        (ii.) *Penance.*
        (iii) *Austerity.*
        (iv.) *Slavery for debt.*
    (f) Vows and oaths.
        (i.) *Ceremonial oaths.*
            (1) Antidotes.
        (ii.) *Vowing and swearing thrice.*
9. Prophecy.
10. Metamorphosis.
    (a) Disguise.
        (i.) *Change of skin.*

11. Metempsychosis.
    (a) Sati.
12. Counterparts of saints.
    (a) Hagiolatry.
    (b) Demons.
    (c) Godlings.
    (d) Ogres.
    (e) Giants.
    (f) Sea-monsters.
    (g) Mermaids.
    (h) Serpents.
        (i.) *Characteristics and powers.*
        (ii.) *Miracles.*
        (iii.) *Origin.*
13. Anthropomorphosis.
    (a) Humanised animals.
        (i.) *Talking.*
        (ii.) *Grateful.*
        (iii.) *Revengeful.*
    (b) Humanised things.
        (i.) *Talking.*
        (ii.) *Enchanted things.*
            (1) Circles.
            (2) Lines.
            (3) Necklaces.
            (4) Rosaries.
            (5) Arms.
            (6) Magic numbers.
            (7) Holy water.
                (α) *Blood.*
                (β) *Milk.*
                (γ) *Ambrosia (amrita).*
                (δ) *Sacredness of water.*
            (8) Miraculous vehicle.
                (α) *Heroic leap.*
                (β) *Flying through the air.*
                (γ) *Winged animals.*
                (δ) *Winged things.*
                (ε) *Migrating images and tombs.*
            (9) Magic music.
                (α) *Magic instruments.*
            (10) Hair and its powers.
                (α) *Sacredness of the beard.*
            (11) Invisibility.
            (12) Procedure for enchantment.
            (13) Priests.
                (α) *Possession.*
                (β) *Exorcism.*

(II.) HEROINE.

A. Qualities.

1. Counterpart of hero.
2. Native view of women.
3. Tabu.
4. Characteristics.
    (a) Delicacy.
    (b) Attraction.
5. Identification.
6. Beneficent heroines.
    (a) Fairies.
        (i.) *Celestial messengers.*
        (ii.) *Foreign brides.*
7. Maleficent heroines.
    (a) Calumniators.
    (b) Co-wives.
    (c) Stepmothers in polygamy.
    (d) Witches.
        (i.) *Wise-women.*
            (1) Powers.
            (2) Attributes.
    (e) Ogress.
            (1) Serpent heroine.
8. Foundling.
    (a) Egg heroine.
    (b) Sleeping beauty.
        (i.) *Foreign or irregular brides.*

B. Peculiarities.

1. Chastity.
2. Virtue.
   - (a) Male *versus* female.
   - (b) The zone, male and female.
3. Maintenance of virtue.
4. Ordeals.
   - (a) Tests for identification.
     - (i.) *Fulfilment of prophecy.*
     - (ii.) *Signs of royalty and saintship.*
     - (iii.) *Pilgrimage stamps.*
   - (b) Impossible task.
     - (i.) *Swayamvara.*
     - (ii.) *Riddles.*
       - (1) Symbolical speech.
     - (iii.) *Ceremonial gambling.*

II. PREDICATE.

A. Commencement.

1. Seeking fortune.
2. Oracles.
3. Prophecy.
   - (a) Fortune-telling.
   - (b) Horoscopes.
4. Fate.
   - (a) Preordination.
   - (b) Decree of fate.
5. Prophetic dreams.
   - (a) Interpretation.
6. Augury.
   - (a) Divination.
   - (b) Omens.
7. Luck.
   - (a) Actions.
   - (b) Times.
   - (c) Astrology.
8. Ill luck.
   - (a) Misfortune.
   - (b) Sin.
     - (i.) *Widows.*
     - (ii.) *Ceremonial uncleanness.*
       - (1) Leprosy.
       - (2) Treatment of lepers.
     - (iii.) *Female infanticide.*
     - (iv.) *Expiation.*
     - (v.) *Purification.*
       - (1) Ceremonial bathing.

B. Incidents.

1. Jewels.
   - (a) Origin of jewels.
     - (i.) *Rubies.*
     - (ii.) *Pearls.*
   - (b) Flowers.
   - (c) Laughter, tears and speech.
2. Tricks.
3. Ceremonies.
   - (a) Marriage.
     - (i.) *Betrothal.*
   - (b) Adoption.
   - (c) Inheritance.
   - (d) Divination.
   - (e) Initiation.
     - (i.) *Earboring.*
   - (f) Mourning.
   - (g) Conventional.
     - (i.) *Challenge.*
     - (ii.) *Disgrace.*
4. Domestic customs.
5. Beliefs.
   - (a) Animals.
   - (b) Celestial bodies.
   - (c) Eclipses.
   - (d) The human body.
   - (e) The deluge.
   - (f) The Deity.
6. Customs based on beliefs.
   - (a) Aspect of shrines.
   - (b) Refuge.
     - (i.) *Sanctuary.*
     - (ii.) *Asylum.*
     - (iii.) *Hospitality.*
   - (c) Calling by name.
   - (d) Releasing prisoners.
   - (e) Ceremonial umbrellas.
     - (i.) *Signs of dignity.*

C. Conclusion.

1. Poetical justice.
2. Vengeance.
   (*a*) Punishment.
      (i.) *Torture.*
   (*b*) Ceremonial suicide.
      (i.) *Self-immolation.*
   (*c*) Stock punishments.

We are now in a position to tackle the multifarious details of the subject with some chance of arriving at definite ideas, even though the extent of the materials obliges me to be brief almost to baldness. First of all it will be perceived that the **typical hero is born** on an auspicious day by various forms of **miraculous conception or impregnation,** and that his mother experiences a miraculous or at least a remarkable term of **pregnancy.** He is a **substituted child,** in one instance, that of Râjâ Jagdêô, by an accident which curiously brings out an allusion to an old custom of registering princely births, and in another by his own act, as a mode of magnanimous self-sacrifice. Now, substitution of children in folktales is usually an act of malice, and its attribution to a mere chance occurrence is, so far as I know, a novel feature. He is a **child of predestination,** fated in one case to slay the ogre who is to devour his hostess's son, the ogre being aware of the predestination. In such case he would appear to be a variant of **the avenging hero,** pre-ordained to set right what is wrong in this world, a belief common apparently to the whole world of religious notion. As regards this last idea, the form it usually assumes in this collection is the common one of predestination to kill his own parents, who try as usual to avert their fate by imprisoning their uncanny offspring in a pit, necessarily to no purpose. He is the **victim of calumny** everywhere, the stock cause being jealousy or ill-will begotten of unrequited love. Versions of **Potiphar's Wife** are common in Indian and all Oriental folklore. There are two in the Legend of Râjâ Rasâlû alone ; one relating to his step-mother, Lônâṅ, and the other to his wife, Kôkilâṅ. He, of course, assists **the grateful animal** to his own subsequent advantage, and obtains access to the heroine by disguising himself as her husband with success. **He is endowed** with extraordinary and impossible strength or skill. **His identification** is almost always due to miraculous intervention of some sort, and we have more than one instance of the corollary to that idea in the **signs of the coming hero** with which he has to comply, a notion not far removed from that of **fulfilment of prophecy.** The "signs" are in themselves, however, as might be expected, childish and not very dignified. *E.g.*, his horse's heel-ropes will bind and his sword will slay giants of their own accord, and his arrow will pierce seven frying-pans. He is able to strike a pair of bamboos with arrows and knock the golden cup off the top of them. He can knock down the mangoes off a particular unapproachable tree.

The hero has **companions** of the conventional sorts, human beings, beasts, birds, and insects, who talk to him and assist him in his difficulties. Thus, Râjâ Pârag (Parîkshit) has a falcon that saves his life. Râjâ Rasâlû has a parrot who on more than one occasion helps him to a mistress. Râjâ Jagdêô has a horse and a servant to start with him on his adventures, a following which, after success, is enlarged to a wife, a maid, and several servants. The hero's human companions, however, sometimes desert him in his times of difficulty, a situation apparently introduced to enhance the glory of the hero himself, while his animal companions undergo at times the fate of **Gelert,** and are killed for their endeavours on behalf of their masters, an incident well known to Indian and other folklore generally. **Accidental community of birth** is a common and perhaps natural characteristic of the hero's companions everywhere. The hero and his horse or his constant friend are frequently described as having been born at the same place and hour. It is to be expected that a chance of this kind should attract the popular attention and lead to an assumption of **community of fate** in the beings so circumstanced.

Perhaps the most deeply engrained superstition of all among the Indian populations is **the necessity of having a son, as the surest means to salvation,** and there is no subject in Indian folklore of more universal occurrence than that of the **miraculously and fortunately born hero-son** and his doings. There is no point upon which folktales more frequently turn. The hold that the desire of a son to succeed has on the people is more than once powerfully indicated in the *Legends.*

Says Râjâ Jêwar in the Gurû Guggâ Legend to his wife:—"Without a son is no salvation in the world (as) all the Scriptures have sung. Our life has been wasted fruitlessly in the world." Answers Rânî Bâchhal:—"O Râjâ, listen to the thoughts in my heart. Without a son I am uneasy as a *chakwî* at night. Like the *chakwî* at night, Râjâ, I am restless day and night. No child plays in the yard and my heart is very full." In the Râjâ Dhrû (Dhruva) Legend the point is still more powerfully put:—"There was a well known Râjâ Uttânpât (Uttânapâda) of Ajudhiâ. His Queen was barren and he had no hope of a son. He was hopeless and full of sorrow. To him continually said his Queen:—'Râjâ, we have no son and the palace is therefore empty. The garden is dry and hath no gardener.' 'Rânî, a cowife is an evil and burneth the heart. Thou wilt understand when thy heart burneth. Rânî, if thou wilt and sayest it from thy heart, I will bring (home) another (wife) and be at peace.' 'Râjâ, marry and I will say naught against it. Let there be a son in the palace to succeed to the throne. Râjâ, who hath milk (plenty) and a son in his house, Knoweth no sorrow and sleepeth in great comfort. Without a son rule and honour are empty ; Therefore, Râjâ, it will be well with thee (to marry')." There can be no doubt as to the strength of a desire when a woman will deliberately introduce a cowife into her home to secure it. A desire so universal, so strong, so important to the peasantry necessarily finds not only frequent expression in their stories and legends, but also in the acts of daily life, sometimes of a very serious nature. Women have over and over again been guilty of murder and incendiarism due to wild superstitious attempts to gratify it. I can recall a case in which the ignorant low-class mother of daughters only has, with the assistance of her elder daughter, killed a little girl belonging to a neighbour by way of human sacrifice to the supernatural powers to procure her a son at the next confinement, and a case in which a barren woman of the superior peasantry set fire to a neighbour's dwelling with the same view.

The whole category of **nostrums** known to Indian folk wisdom, and it is a very wide one, is employed by those who are so unhappy as to be **barren or son-less** to avert or overcome the misfortune. Every kind of supernatural being, god, godling, hero, saint, wise-woman, wizard, demon, devil, ogre, exorcist, and the like can grant or procure sons. The faith in the givers and the power to give is boundless and ineradicable, going back to the dawn almost of Indian folklore. But, astonishingly varied as are the nostrums tried, the oldest and still the favourite in story is the giving of **something to eat** to the would-be mother — flowers, fruit, rice, grains, seeds, and so on. **Prayer and saintly intercession** are also common in the *Legends*, more or less consciously introduced for the glorification of high places ; and of course holy wells, pools, tanks, shrines, tombs, graves, and other spots, out of which money can be made by way of fees, are notorious for fulfilling the wishes of the disappointed.

Sons born in response to vows, intercession, faith in nostrums, intervention of holy personages, and so forth are **almost always heroes,** ushered into the world with the customary portents and acting in the ordinarily heroic manner. It is only, therefore, by considering what the possession of sons means to a native of India that one can grasp the full import to an Indian audience of such a story as that of the Balôch hero, Jârô, in the Mîr Châkur Legend, who slew his two sons in fulfilment of a rash vow.

Apart from though closely connected with purely imaginary heroes, or beings round whom a mass of myth has collected, by far the most important class of popular heroes in North India are **the saints and holy personages, Hindu and Muhammadan. The holy man, godling, or saint of Northern India is precisely the demon or devil (bhûta) of South India.** There is at bottom no difference between any of them, and the stories about them are hopelessly mingled together. Be his origin Hindu or Muhammadan or merely animistic, the saintly or demoniacal, *i. e.*, supernatural hero's attributes, powers, characteristics, actions, and life-history are in Indian folklore always of the same kind and referable to the same fundamental ideas. He does not belong to any particular form of creed or religion, but to that universal animism which underlies the religious feeling of all the Indian peasantry. I can see no radical difference in the popular concetion of the Hindû Gurû Gôrakhnâth or the Muhammadan Sakhî Sarwar of the North, and the animistic Kôṭi and Channayya of the South. The peculiarities of any one of them are proper to them all. They are best studied as a whole.

In the *Legends* holy personages play a larger and more important part than the Râjâs or secular heroes themselves, and their characteristics and the notions about them are well displayed. Thus, in the quaint tales that have gathered round the memory of the Saints of Jâlandhar, we find an account of the struggle for local supremacy between a Musalmân saint and his rival and counterpart a Hindu *jôgî*, and the point for the present purpose is that the characteristics and the powers of the pair are represented as being precisely the same: they both belong to the same class of supernaturally-endowed beings, and the result of the contest clearly hinges on the sectarial proclivities of the narrator of the story.

Immortality and reapearance, ideas apparently common to the whole human race, are widely spread attributes of Indian holy men, the title of **Saint Apparent (Zâhir Pîr)** being by no means limited to the mixed Hindu-Musalmân canonised warrior Gurû Guggâ, and in these pages we have a case in which the opposing saintly personages, Hindu and Musalmân, on both sides of a sectarian struggle kill each other and all become living, *i. e.*, immortal, saints (*jîutê pîr*). But in other matters than immortality we find that the gods and saintly heroes are much mixed up, and naturally, in popular conception; and we have more than one instance in which **the special attributes of the Deity,** even from the Hindu standpoint, are ascribed to such personages, or ought we to say more accurately, such abstractions as Gurû Gôrakhnâth. And *vice versâ*, even such gods *par excellence* as Śiva and Pârbatî are reduced almost to the level of ordinary mortals.

In connection with **the belief in immortality,** that pathetic hope of the incapacity of a whole personality for death, so universal in mankind, we find that saints, especially deceased saints, are much mixed up in Indian idea with **ghosts and spirits.** In this form they have the power of appearance peculiar to ghosts all the world over, particularly at midnight — "midnight the time for saints, *adhî rât Pîrân̥dâ vêlâ*" — is an expression that occurs more than once. They appear also in dreams, sometimes I rather suspect with a view to helping the progress of the story.

A careful study of the instances in which beings endowed with immortality, *i. e.*, **ghosts and spirits**, on the one hand, and **gods, godlings, and warriors** (*bîrs*) on the other, appear in the *Legends*, and of their actions as recorded therein, will afford yet another proof that fundamentally there is **no individual difference** between them in the popular conception, nor between them and their mortal counterparts, the holy personages of all sorts. They all, the mortal and the immortal, do the same things, have the same characteristics and powers, and are introduced into folktales for the same purposes. The differences to be observed in titles and attributes is due to an overlaying, a mere veneer, of rival religious philosophies — thus, where **ghosts and spirits** appear the tale will be found to be **Muhammadan** in origin or form, where **gods, godlings, and warriors** appear it will similarly be found to be **Hindu** in origin or form. Where the tale refers back to days before set Hinduism, or has its origin in an anti-Hindu form of belief, or is given an anti-Hindu cast, the appearance will be demoniacal or animistic. In every case they will belong to one fundamental category and be essentially animistic heroes, or they may with equal truth be classed as saints minus the veneer of Musalmân, *i. e.*, Western, philosophy.

The corollary to the notion of ghosts and spirits, **exorcism** and the casting out of devils, only once occurs in the *Legends*, though **miraculous and magical cures** of all other sorts abound, and then only by a reference, which is, however, a significant one. For there a Hindu *jôgî* cures a Muhammadan family of goblins and spirits by medicines and herbs[2]; and it is to be observed that in the passage in question the goblins were Musalmân (*jinn*) and the spirits were Hindu (*bhût*).

Perhaps the most strongly marked variant of **the idea of immortality** to be found in Indian belief is the very common folktale expedient of temporary death. In the *Legends* there is, in the story of Râjâ Jagdêô, a distinct instance of it, and also a matter-of-fact allusion to it, in the legend of Harî Chand (Hariśchandra), made in terms that clearly show **the universality of the acceptance of the notion.**

[2] "*Dindâ khalkat nûn bûṭîân tê golîân kardâ jinn bhût dê ilâj*, giving the people herbs and medicines he cured (those possessed of) goblins and spirits."

Supernatural personages in Indian story have as a matter of course, in common with many otherwise work-a-day mortals, **the power of second sight** — that knowledge of things that are hidden — and, in addition to forestalling secret malice, proving innocence "not proven," and so on, can detect unseen thieves, a power by the way claimed by certain leaders of theosophy and esoteric Buddhism who ought to know better.

Supernatural personages may also be said to possess certain inherent powers, of which that of **working miracles** is the most important. So much are miraculous powers inherent in saints that saintship is held to be proved by the possession of the wonder-working gifts, and it is not an offence to holy men to seek to test them. Every one in contact with a saint is considered to be justified in doing so. These powers can be delegated, and we find several instances of **miracles** performed **through an agent, by proxy** as it were. The agency need not be necessarily that of a supernatural or human being. Things dedicated or sacred or appertaining to a saint are sufficient for the purpose, as when a fountain or well sacred to a saint will effect a cure, or when his flute, or conch, or horse, or other animate or inanimate thing belonging to him, will procure for him even a passing desire. The miracles effected at tombs and shrines belong to this class, and these are ubiquitous in India generally, their universality giving form to the widely-spread and pretty notion of the lover miraculously disappearing alive into the tomb of the dead and buried beloved. It occurs in the great love tale of Hîr and Râñjhâ, borrowed, I fancy, from an identical incident in the older and equally famous tale of Sassî and Punnûṅ, where Râñjhâ, transformed into a wonder-working saint, "lifting up his hand prayed much (to God and said) : — 'Either do thou bring her to life or slay me! All things are easy to thee, O God (Rabbâ), mighty and merciful.' It is said that the grave (of Hîr) opened and Râñjhâ went in."

As regards the human workers of miracles the sense of agency or proxy is distinctly inferred in the following remarkable narrative about one of the Saints of Jâlandhar : — " 'Shêr Shâh is dead; where shall I bury him?' And he (the brother) also prayed to the Holy Bâwâ Jân, saying : — 'The dying ascetic is dead : what shall I do now?' From out of his contemplation said the Saint : — 'All that came will return sound : it is the word of God. Ye should all go to Kauḍê Shâh's (follower of Bâwâ Jân) abode. Go to him and say : — 'Pass thy hand over him.' At last obeying the order they ran to Kauḍê Shâh, Gave him the message and brought him to their abode. Said Kauḍê Shah : — 'My friends, I am his slave, It is Bâwâ Jân that restoreth to life and giveth me the credit.' When Kauḍê Shâh passed his hand over the corpse, Then life came to it and he became quite well."

By assuming **the power of working miracles** to be **an attribute of saints**, one becomes prepared for their being able to do anything that is necessary for their own personal glory, the protection of themselves and their followers, or the exigencies of the tales about them. But even then one is sometimes taken aback at the ingenuity of the story-tellers, *e. g.*, causing the gods to cash a document that corresponds to a cheque is the bright idea of a tale so well known about Narsâ Bhagat as to merely require a reference to it in modern story-telling, and carrying a tiger up his sleeve to terrify the ruler of the period is another bright idea attributed to Shâh Qumês. In yet another instance the *legal* remarriage by a saint of a parted orthodox Hindu couple after restoration to life is a greater revolt against the accepted situation in such cases in Hindu life than at first appears.

But the very quaintest, and in some respects the most remarkable and instructive tale I have ever come across of an Indian miracle, is one arising out of the well-known scientific and astronomical proclivities of the celebrated Râjâ Jâi Singh Sawâi of Jâipur, who flourished only one hundred and fifty years ago, and to be found in the *Legends*. It is quite worth extracting from the general story of Râjâ Jagdêô and repeating here. "Now **Râjâ Jâi Singh had a moon of his own**, which he hung up in the sky to give light to his people, and, of course, when Râjâ Jagdêô was in the city it was lighted up as usual, and this made him ask about it, and he learnt that it was an artificial moon made by Râjâ Jâi Singh. As soon he learnt this he determined to play a practical joke, and found out where the **moon-makers** lived, and sent his servant to fetch them in order to make him a moon like Râjâ Jâi Singh's. The moon-makers had heard of what happened to the oilman for refusing oil [Râjâ Jagdêô

had stabbed him], so they were afraid to refuse also, and accompanied the servant to Râjâ Jagdêô's house. When they arrived he asked them how much they wanted for a moon. They replied, whatever he wished to pay, so he gave them 500 golden pieces, and ordered a moon like Jâi Singh's. Calling them quickly spake Râjâ Jagdêô to the moon-makers, And had a moon put up in the heavens (that burnt) without oil: All the city cried out at it, And Jâi Singh said to his minister, 'the sun hath risen!' As soon as the moon-makers had raised up **a second moon** Râjâ Jâi Singh heard of it and asked who had done such a thing. His officials told him that it was by order of the man who had killed the oilman."

It is obviously necessary to the greatness of the **saints,** indeed to the very success of the shrines on the proceeds of which the bards and story-tellers live, that holy men should be able to protect themselves and their followers; and the varieties of ways in which they are fabled to be able to do this is surprisingly large. They can, of course, go unharmed through **ordeals by fire,** and can starve without injury. They can make themselves **invulnerable** by arrows, rocks, bullets, daggers, and what not, and can burst their fetters. They cannot be hanged, and can control and tame animals and slay them with ease. Even for such matters of mere personal advantage and comfort as keeping birds out of their gardens they effect miracles. In one place Shâh Qumês, in order to keep his horse in a mosque without defiling it, prevents it from evacuating for forty days! Râjâ Rasâlû cooks rice by placing it on his Rânî's breasts and procures water from a stone merely in order to get a dinner, and opens locked doors without keys in order to get at his mistress, illegitimately by the way. After all this one is somewhat surprised to learn in the *Legends* that it is wrong to work miracles for inadequate objects or for the mere pleasure of the thing. But the favourite miracle of the creation of a crowd of followers or wild beasts as a means of protection in a difficulty is probably an extension of that idea of invisible supernatural assistance in all severe struggles that has taken so strong a hold on the popular imagination all over the world. And this leads to the consideration that in the study of the actual **miracles** attributed to saints and the like it is something more than merely interesting to observe how much they follow the general notions of the people as exhibited in their folktales, how much they are **based on folklore,** how much on the desires and aspiration of the folk themselves. Thus we may class as belonging to the idea of immortality and its corollaries the frequently recurring miracles of **restoration to life,** the vivification of an idol, and the curious instances of a child saint making a wooden horse run about and a wall into a hobby-horse when in want of a plaything. The restoration to the original form and life of human ashes, of a devoured bride and bridegroom, of an eaten horse and kid, are but extravagant extensions of the same idea. So also without the extravagance are the restoration to greenness and life of a dried-up garden, a dead tree, a withered forest. The odd miracles of making the *dûb*-grass evergreen and fruit trees to bear fruit out of season are further developments of the main idea.

From restoration to life it is not a far cry to restoration to health, and as might be expected **miraculous cures** abound in the *Legends* and may almost be considered to be the stock in trade of a saint. With restoration to health I should be inclined to connect the bringing about of blessings and good fortune, **the fulfilment of desires,** the grant of assistance of every kind, especially in the case of followers and supporters. Saints are, of course, conspicuous for the power, directly or indirectly, to grant the most prominent of all the desires of the Indian peasantry, *i. e.*, sons to succeed them. This occurs again and again in the *Legends*, but instances are also found of the grant of promotion and high position in life. With these must also be classed the great "blessing" of a rural peasantry, **the bringing of rain,** and the great chief desires of seafarers, **a fair wind** and immunity from drowning. Saints can accordingly do all these things. In a land of great and dangerous rivers, like the Panjâb, ferries and the crossing of rivers occupy a prominent place in the life of the people, and so we find a saint making a boat out of his begging gourd and an oar out of his staff when in a hurry to cross a stream, the form of this particular miracle being attributable to the universal belief in **the miraculous vehicle.**

Riches, including a plentiful supply of food, and assistance in procuring them, are largely desired everywhere, and so we have saints finding **hidden treasure, turning all sorts of things into gold,**

and producing jewels and jewellery. We also find them making the sun to broil fish for themselves, and supplying followers with **miraculous food.** But cupidity demands much more than the mere supply of necessities, and the narrators of the stories about saints have had to cater to this failing of human nature, and hence the miraculous production of **inexhaustible treasure and inexhaustible supplies of food, the inexhaustible bags,** the stories of "loaves and fishes," and such like ; the finding of hidden treasure and the creation of gold and jewels and of all sorts of unlikely objects, even out of a praying-carpet. From an inexhaustible supply to an inexhaustible capacity for absorbing it is a natural step, and so we find **voracity extraordinary** in many a quaint form to be a common capacity of heroes, gods, and ogres alike ; indeed, of the last, as the enemy of the heroic tribe, it is the usual attribute or sign.

In opposition to the beneficent powers the converse powers to destroy life or inflict injury in an extraordinary way naturally appears in many an ingenious form, and with these may be classed the great family of **saintly curses and nightmares or terrifying dreams.** "He that can help can also injure," "the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away," are propositions involved in the glorification of every kind of hero. They are constantly brought forward in the *Legends* with as much emphasis as possible, the saints helping and injuring, giving and taking away and giving back again almost in the same breath. The withdrawing of all the water in the wells of the enemy into the wells of his friends, attributed to Gôraknâth, is an act thoroughly to be appreciated in a dry and thirsty land like the Panjâb. So also would the hungry and greedy Panjâbî peasant appreciate the force of the method employed by Sakhî Sarwar of punishing a recalcitrant follower by making him vomit his food and turning his vessels of gold into brass.

Precisely as blessings can be conferred **vicariously,** so can **injuries** be similarly inflicted, and as a consequence of this idea a town fire is attributed to the fettering of a saint by its ruler. And lastly, just as it is necessary for the bards and singers to glorify the saints, and inculcate a sense of their power for mischief, so it is also necessary, since bards are usually attached to particular saints, to maintain their individuality. Hence the peculiar habit of attributing **stock miracles to certain saints.** To explain : Dhannâ, the Bhagat, is always connected with the story of making a god out of a stone ; Rôḍê Shâh with the well-known greenness of the *dûb*-grass in the dry weather ; Gurû Guggâ with speaking from his mother's womb ; Sakhî Sarwar with several performed at his shrine ; and Gôrakhnâth with a whole string of them performed in "the Land of Kârû."

The very large number of miracles that occur in the stories of saints, universally common as these stories themselves are, is due to the **attitude of the native mind everywhere towards the marvellous.** A miracle in India does not excite much wonder, and is to some extent looked upon as a natural incident in everyday life. Miracles are always occurring ; every village has instances of them ; everyone has knowledge of some that are notoriously within the experience of acquaintances. Even Europeans can hardly become intimate with the thoughts and customs of native neighbours without being cognisant of supposed miraculous occurrences around them. They are frequently believed to have happened to Europeans themselves. Sir Henry Lawrence is thus believed at Firôzpur in the Panjâb to have been compelled to compliance with a saint's behests by terrifying occurrences induced by the saint during sleep. Almost precisely the same story has been current in the Ambala Cantonment about myself, and I have also conversed with the son of the child supposed to have been raised from the dead by the long deceased saint Sakhî Sarwar for Dâñî Jattî, now the heroine of a popular Panjâbî Legend widely sung all over that Province. That personage and his neighbourhood had no sort of doubt as to the truth of the tale about his father and grandmother. It would never have occurred to them to doubt it. The once notorious Râm Singh Kûkâ, whom the present writer knew personally while a political prisoner in consequence of his raising a petty religious rebellion against the British Crown, was credited with miraculously lengthening the beam of a house for a follower at Firôzpur by way of helping him to preserve his property. This beam was shown to me in all good faith within ten years of the date of the supposed miracle. Such being the conditions one can hardly be surprised at what has been noted on the subject of the miraculous doings of saints and holy personages.

So far we have been dealing with miracles, whose value lies in their publicity, but the bards and tellers of the marvellous stories have by no means overlooked the importance to them, as a means of turning the popular imagination to their own benefit, of **hidden or undisclosed miracles.** In the *Legends*, among the tales that have gathered round the Saints of Jâlandhar, we are specially treated to a relation of the "open and secret miracles of Sûfî Ahmad of Jâlandhar," and of the severe physical punishment of a woman for disclosing a secret miracle of another Jâlandhar saint. In other instances, disease, and even hereditary madness, are attributed to divulgence of miracles secretly performed by Shâh Qumês. Now, when one thinks over the enormous influence that the idea of ability to perform miracles secretly could be made to wield over the minds of a credulous and ignorant population, one wonders indeed that it does not more frequently crop up in Indian folklore; unless its occurrence is to be regarded as an outgrowth of the idea of the punishment of idle curiosity so common in all folklore — the tales of Bluebeard's wives and so on — which again may perhaps be held to rest on **the notion of tabu.**

Miracles may be defined as wonders legitimately performed, while **magic** embraces the class of illegitimate wonders. The actual deeds, whether the result of miraculous powers or magical arts, seem to be much the same, and in India to be performed for much the same objects. The difference is that the one is right and holy, and the other is wrong and unholy. It is good to work marvels miraculously, but very bad to arrive at the same result by magic. And as, in the bard's eyes at any rate, all heroes, saintly or secular, are personages to be reverenced, one is not astonished at the very small part that magic is made to play in the *Legends*. Indeed, one scarcely ever sees it put forward as a mode of producing the innumerable marvels related. Magic is, however, distinctly attributed in one instance to a daughter of the Serpents, but only for the purpose of moving a heavy stone, an object which, in the case of a saint, would be related to have been achieved by a miracle. It is as distinctly attributed in another instance to Gôrakhnâth, in circumstances where a miracle would seem to have been more appropriate, and in the midst of a host of miracles related of this great saint or holy man. Indeed, in this last case the bard would seem to have confused the notions of miraculous and magical powers.

Of what is generally known as **sympathetic magic**, and may be nothing more than an extension of the notion of the delegated miracle, and so merely a cure by proxy, there is a strong instance in the Legend of Râjâ Dhôl, where the injured leg of a valuable camel is cured by firing that of a stray ass. Restoration to life and health, *i. e.*, cures, and their opposites, destruction and injury **by effigy**, are strictly extensions of the same idea.

Now, when a belief becomes rooted in the popular mind, a custom, however barbarous and disgusting, is sure to be based on it, and the apparently harmless notion of sympathetic magic has led in India, and many other lands, to the horrible custom of **ceremonial cannibalism.** In the *Legends* we have distinct proofs of this, where *faqîrs* eat up the body of a famous leech in order to obtain his curative powers, and Baloch heroes make roast meat of an enemy's ribs in order to absorb his "virtue," *i. e.*, fighting strength.

A harmless phase in the belief in sympathetic magic, leading to many a pretty and fanciful custom of the folk, is to be seen in a form which I have always flattered myself I discovered, when writing the notes to *Wide-awake Stories* a good many years ago, and then called by me the **life-index.** It now seems to have found a definite place among the recognised technicalities of writers on folklore under the guise of the **life-token.** In the *Legends*, however, we do not hear much of it, except in an allusion to the custom of presenting a female infant to the hero as a bride, together with a mango seedling. When the tree fruits the girl will be twelve years old at least, *i. e.*, marriageable. It is evidently felt here in a dim way that the tree is somehow or other her life-token. This custom may be of more interest to ourselves than at first appears, because the habit of planting trees, fruit trees especially, to commemorate the birth of children, or of connecting certain trees with individual children in a family, is common enough in England. It has occurred in fact in the present writer's own family, where the trees dedicated to himself and his contemporaries are still standing at the ancestral family home. It is possible, therefore, that the custom of what we may now call **token-trees**, the world-wide habit of planting trees to commemorate local and even general events of striking importance, such as

the Revolution Elms just outside the ancestral home above mentioned, and many a famous oak and ash and yew one can readily call to mind, partly has its roots in the fundamental idea of sympathetic magic.

The existence of miraculous and magical powers presumes the existence of recognised — or may we call them orthodox? — processes for producing miracles and magic, opening up the wide subject of **charms.** But of these, as matters too well known to require explanation, there is not much detail in the *Legends*, apart from that necessary to briefly explain the miraculous acts themselves; and such as occurs is confined to that all-important division of the subject in the eyes of a superstitious peasantry of **prophylactic charms.** The importance of these to the people is further emphasised by the fact that when charms are mentioned it is in every case but one for the prevention or **cure of snake-bite**, perhaps the greatest dread of all of the Indian peasant, a situation in which he probably feels more helpless and more inclined to invoke supernatural aid than in any other. Such charms are indeed so much mixed up with miracles proper as to form in reality a variety of miraculous cures. Besides charms against snake-bite there are mentioned some as existing against sorcerers, *i. e.*, the charmers themselves, and among real prophylactic charms against general bodily harm only the wearing of the sacred *tulsî* (sweet basil) beads occurs.

The absence of detailed accounts of charms and of the performances of exorcists must not, as above hinted, be taken as implying their scarcity, or only a languid interest in them among the population, and perhaps the best indication of the facts being the reverse of such a presumption is to be found in the *Legends* themselves, in the so-called "genealogies" of Lâl Bêg, the eponymous saint or hero of that curious sect of the scavengers, which may be said to have set up a religion and ritual of its own, though that is in reality an eclectic hagiolatry derived from every superstition or faith with which its members have come in contact. Now the ritual, where it does not purport to relate the genealogy of the hero, consists chiefly of a string of charms of the common popular sorts.

Supernatural intervention in the affairs of mankind, as the result of **vicarious prayer and intercession,** is, one need hardly say, a universal and deeply-cherished human belief, and it is not by any means always claimed in the *Legends* that saints or saintly heroes effect their assisting or injuring wonders direct. Thus **by prayer** Sakhî Sarwar restores a dead horse to life, by prayer Shêkh Darvêsh turns grey hair black, by prayer Shâh Qumês creates a well, by prayer Râjâ Rasâlû restores a corpse to life, by prayer to God (Khudâ) Kaṅkâlî the Hindu witch vivifies the headless Hindu Râjâ Jagdêô. **By faith** Dhannâ Bhagat turns a stone into a god. An empty platter and a pitcher are filled miraculously with food and water merely in response to the prayer of a saint's servant in order to save him from the apprehended wrath of his master. While in the curious collection of miracles attributed to the Panjâbî Saint Rôḍê Shâh they are all described as the result of the "order of the Court of God," following on more or less directly inferred prayer. These and similar instances are in themselves remarkable.

Prayer is, in fact, in common request as an agent for the performance of miracles, and some quaint stories regarding it are to be found in the *Legends*. Besides those already quoted saintly prayer restores to life not only man and beast, but also trees and gardens, restores lost sight and limbs, procures a son, prevents a boat from sinking and produces unlimited food. This is a pretty wide category; but it is quite equalled by the **efficacy of the prayers of the laity**, both Musalmân and Hindu, who by it restore man and beast to life, procure water for the thirsty and more a heavy stone. Prayer in the *Legends* is usually, but not of course always, addressed to God, by both Muhammadans and Hindus, by that **mixing up of the rival religions so typical of the natives of India.** Thus Rânî Achhraû in the Rasâlû Legend prays to the moon for help in characteristic terms: — "O Moon, I have slept on my bed in thy light. I embrace the feet of my bed (now) and weep." And in a still more striking instance we read: — "Light all the candles, and pray to the (gods of the) lamps, saying: — 'Hear, Golden Lamps, hear my prayer, To-day I meet my love, burn (then) all the night.'"

From invoking the aid to **invoking the presence** of the supernatural and invisible protector is but a small step, and the notion of prayer leads straight on to that of invocation — that **summoning of the absent** so common in folktales, usually to help on the story. It is necessarily a most widely-

spread notion, appertaining to the religion of the folk all the world over, and the means employed for it are everywhere very varied. The story in the *Legends* of the use of **holy water** for the purpose in the Panjâb has a European ring about it. As saints may be invoked by their followers, so can they in their turn invoke others; sometimes by mere will power; sometimes by a direct summons in everyday use, such as clapping the hands; sometimes by one of the stock devices for summoning the absent employed in folktales.

Now, saints and all the supernatural powers that be can injure as well as aid, can curse as well as less, and beings that can injure need **propitiation**. So we find **offerings** made to the saints without reference to the faith or creed of either giver or receiver, such as milk, the most important beverage of all in the Panjâb, precisely as it is offered to Mother Earth. At the same time we have a remarkable instance of **propitiation by abuse** in the story of Pûran Bhagat, where a woman deliberately abuses and curses her patron saint, with the avowed object of extorting favours from him. This notion, though somewhat startling, is widely spread. Propitiation is naturally unusually prescriptive, *i. e.*, it is usually employed towards one special protector or class of protectors; but it as naturally constantly loses that character, and becomes general and even vicarious; as when the heroine pours out libations first to the God of the Waters and then to the birds and beasts, an act of general charity likely to be welcome to the gods.

In close connection with the notion of general or promiscuous propitiation, there is a variety of terms in the vernaculars, which are usually translated by "alms-giving, **generosity, charity,**" and so on, but their real import is the making of propitiatory gifts or offerings to saints and priestly or holy personages. **Generosity** in the East does not convey the idea of lavishness in gifts generally, but in gifts to saints or priests. In this sense it is perhaps the most largely extolled virtue of all in fable and story, and of set purpose. This universal inculcation of the virtue of what may be called **ceremonial generosity** does not arise altogether out of any superstitious, religious, or folklore custom, but out of the necessities of the bards and the tellers of tales about saints. Shrines and their attendants have to be supported and means must be gathered to support them, and hence the very high praise and the very great supernatural and future rewards offered to the "generous," which are not confined to any particular creed or country. The Indian saint and after him the attendants and hangers on at his shrine live on alms, and so "charity" and "generosity" on the part of their adherents and audiences are "virtues" that naturally loom very largely in their tales and poems. The ceremonial nature of the "generosity" comes out in the fact that the gifts to be efficacious must be of the conventional sort, and we have repeated instances in the *Legends* of the wrong kind of alms being refused by saints and holy men, however valuable and lavish.

It is obviously necessary, when dwelling on the importance of such a virtue on behalf of a hero, that the hero himself should not be represented as being wanting therein, and hence **"generosity" is an invariable attribute of the saints.** Every saint has been wildly and extravagantly "generous," whatever else he may have. Sakhî Sarwar, Shams Tabrêz, and the rest of them are all heroes of generosity. So also on the other hand are the folk-heroes Harî Chand and Râjâ Ambâ, while the Baloches have a special hero of their own, Nôdhbandagh the Gold-scatterer. The extravagance of the acts of generosity attributed to saints and holy men is boundless. Self-mutilation and self-blinding to gain small objects are among them, stretched in more than one notorious instance into the imposible feat of striking off his own head as alms. Extreme self-sacrifice of this kind assumes a curious form, when a *jôgî* is credited with ceremonial cannibalism, in allusion, perhaps, to the well-known real or attributed habits of the Aghôrî *faqîrs*. The details of the episode are worth repeating as a side light on the Indian peasant's views on such matters. "Rânî Sundrâṅ dressed herself and went to see the Gurû. When she reached him, she asked him where his pupil (Rasâlû) was. 'Oh,' said the *jôgî*, 'I have eaten him up' [Rasâlû had really only run away]. 'But,' said the Rânî, 'I sent you a plate of jewels and a plate of sweets. If these have not satisfied you, will your meal off your pupil satisfy you?' 'I do not know,' said the *jôgî*, 'all I know is that I put him on a spit, roasted him and ate him up.' 'Then roast and eat me, too,' said the Rânî, and she jumped into the [*jôgî's*] sacred fire and became *sati* for the love of Râjâ Rasâlû.'"

Offerings of all sorts, and under whatever name, involve the giving up of something, if of value to the giver the better. A notion that has universally led to such concrete ceremonies as **sacrifices of all kinds** of things of both material value, like cattle, and of purely ceremonial value, like the blood spilt in a notable fight detailed in the *Legends.* All these things are, however, the giving up of something outside the self, however valued or appreciated, and the idea can be easily extended to the yet greater virtue of the giving up of something that is within or part of the self. It has actually been so extended all over the world in the forms of **asceticism and penance,** and nowhere more recklessly and intensely, more wildly in fact, than in India. The virtues of **austerity and expiatory self-sacrifice** are most carefully extolled and inculcated throughout Indian folklore and in the *Legends.* and have led there and elsewhere to one practical result in the widely-spread custom of **voluntary slavery for debt** not only of self but of wife and children.

Gifts, offerings, sacrifices, penances, and the like may be called practical propitiation, but several ways of reaching the same desirable goal supernaturally have been evolved by the superstitious peasantry of India, and the rest of the world too for that matter. **Vows or promises to reward the supernatural powers** invoked for acceding to prayers, and **oaths or invocations to the same powers to witness the promises,** are two prominent methods of propitiating the all-powerful inhabitants of the unseen world, constantly in every language and in every national mind **mixed up with each other.** In the *Legends* we have the whole story of the idea : oaths which are vows and vows which are oaths, notices of the advantages of performing vows and oaths, the importance of keeping them, and the terrible penalties attached to their breach, especially if made to a deceased saint, or a shrine in which a bard is personally interested. A variant of the terrible tale of **Jephthah's daughter is** to be found in the *Legends.*

In every case where it goes beyond being a mere invocation to the supernatural powers the taking of an oath involves a ceremony deriving from the superstitions of the takers, and the **ceremonies connected with the taking of oaths** are therefore not only interesting but nearly always valuable to the student. They are also varied to a limitless extent, and are a strong indication of the objects held to be sacred in any given form of belief, *e. g.*, swearing by touching the sacred thread (*janêu*), or by tearing the thread off a cow's neck by a Hindu, — by touching the Qurân by Muhammadans or the Bible by Christians, are sure references to things held specially sacred under each form of faith. So also when a warrior swears by drinking the milk of his own mother, or when the hero swears by placing his hand on the body of the person adjured, or by drawing a line on the ground with his nose, we are taken back to survivals of forgotten animistic belief. That there should be in the *Legends* occasionally a mixture of Hindu and Musalmân ideas in the forms of oaths will not surprise my readers, and of this a fine example is the phrase : "The Ganges is between us and above us is the Qurân," said by so strict a Musalmân as one must presume a Qâzî to be.

The object of the ceremonies and forms used in taking oaths is of course to render them binding, but it must long ago have been equally important at times to **avoid the consequences of rash and indeed deliberate oaths,** and the inventive ingenuity of the folk has been turned on to this side of the question with considerable success. *E. g.*, it is a happy and simple, not to say a convenient, expedient to interpose the presence of a pigeon's egg as an effectual stopper to the binding effect of an oath on the Qurân.

In the matter of vows and oaths the *Legends* give a great number of instances in which **a certain form of oath or vow,** used for many purposes, but generally for emphasis, has become common to both Hindûs and Musalmâns. It has arisen out of the Muhammadan custom or law of divorce, *tîn talâq* as it is called in India. The custom is due to a passage in the Qurân which lays down that if a man with the proper ceremony pronounces dismissal (*talâq*) three times to his wife he cannot marry her again until she shall have been married to another man and divorced by him. Now, this solemn performance of *tîn talâq*, or three dismissals, has evidently presented itself to the Oriental mind as a very serious vow or oath, it matters little which, and we constantly find in consequence that not only the notion, but even the very terminology of this form of divorce has come to be synonymous with that

of taking a binding oath or vow. There is among the Indian peasantry a regular custom nowadays of emphasising both oaths and vows by taking them three times.

Besides the miracle and magic working powers there are two others of importance, which may be said to be inherent in saints, those of **prophecy and metamorphosis.** In the *Legends* the saintly power of prophecy is usually introduced for the very useful story-telling purpose of indicating the unborn hero's career as about to be developed, and the power of metamorphosis for the purely folklore object of helping on the progress of the stories connected with the saints, or those in whom they are interested, or with whom they have been concerned.

Metamorphosis is a belief that has struck its roots deeply into the minds of the Indian folk, and hence we find it constantly occurring in the hagiological legends. The saints can assume any form that is necessary to the tale or likely to attract the attention of the audience, can change the forms of others, and delegate unlimited power of metamorphosis to their followers. The idea so obviously lends itself to fancy that the variations of it assume forms most startling to the everyday man. In the *Legends* there are many astonishing extensions of the notion, of which turning the Deity himself into a dog in a legend about Nâmdêv, for the purpose of pointing a moral, is perhaps the best example. A dog ran off with the saint's (*jôgî's*) food, and, instead of beating him, the saint addressed him in language applicable properly to the Deity. For his reward the dog turned into the Deity, and thus the saint had the inestimable privilege of beholding the Deity in person.

In the application of the theory of metamorphosis to folktales, we also find another indication of the fundamental identity of the hero, the saint or supernatural mortal and the god or supernatural immortal in the popular mind. The power is possessed by all alike, and by none to a specially great or striking degree peculiar to himself. It is equally possessed by inanimate objects. In the *Legends* there are indications that the forms it especially assumes are due to two causes: the perceptible effect that **disguises** have in altering the apparent nature of human beings, and the **changes of skin and plumage** that snakes and birds undergo; and the old-world belief in **metempsychosis or transmigration of souls**, by which the Indian and Far Eastern peoples have for so very long been thoroughly permeated.

Disguises for the sake of enabling the hero or heroine to carry out their respective objects are very numerous, but the essential poverty of peasant ideas, despite their apparent diversity, comes out in the fact, that the disguises are apt to run in grooves and become stereotyped. As a rule they are such as might be expected, but there is a notable instance of metamorphosis by a humanised serpent merely for the sake of disguise, and it may also be said that many of the objects for which disguise is used are identical with those for which metamorphosis is made to take place. Disguise may be said to be, indeed, merely metamorphosis with the marvellous left out. Changes of skin or clothing, or of things pertinent to human and animal heroes, are so directly connected with **metamorphosis**, and so constantly in Indian folktales, as to give rise to a **temporary** form of it, of which many instances will almost without effort occur to those well acquainted with the tales.

The allusions to the doctrine of **metempsychosis** in the *Legends* are, of course, ubiquitous, but without much variation, and they habitually refer to the variety of lives the heroes and heroines have already passed through in diverse forms. In fact, the sole difference between the folk notions of metamorphosis and metempsychosis lies in the fact of the former consisting of change of form during life, and in the latter after death. The two ideas are very closely connected, so much so that the special changes represented by metamorphosis are based on the variety of bodies, that one and the same unfettered soul is assumed to be capable of vivifying.

In passing it may be here mentioned that metempsychosis is in the *Legends* most ingeniously dragged in to defend the doctrine of **sati**, which is indefensible, except politically, even from the native scriptural point of view. A victim of the custom is made to say: "For many ages will I obtain the same husband," *i. e.*, in reward for becoming *sati*. In the *Legends*, too, heroines are significantly made to commit *sati*, not only on husbands' but also on sons' deaths.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS AMONG HINDOOS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

A PERSON who unhappily witnesses the connection of male and female crows, while at home or abroad, is sure to experience great perils and maladies. To avoid any calamity which may befall after witnessing, he sends by word of mouth or letter, the news of his own death, or that of one of his family members. The diffusion of this tidings amongst the people is the only means of averting the calamity.

[1]A woman, who has lost her children repeatedly, either soon after their birth or a year or two afterwards, will with the hope of preserving the next one, put the last new-born infant on a place sprinkled with water, where dust and other refuse are thrown. And then an old woman of the house pierces its right nostril, with a golden wire, giving it an opprobious name such as Pentiah = Dust-man or Pentamma = Dust-woman; also Pachkûrî=Five-shells, Dhamria = Ten-shells, Dôkûrî = Two-shells, and so on.

If the heel ropes, that tie the hind legs of a horse, are crossed by a pregnant woman, her time of delivery is extended to twelve months. To curtail the time, she marches with a small band of married women, on a Sunday, to a mare, and passes under the animal's stomach, after burning incense, and washing and smearing her own legs and face with turmeric and vermilion.

M. R. PEDLOW.

AN EXPLANATION OF INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN THE FAMILIES OF SAINTS AND KINGS IN INDIA.

THE well established and almost universal custom of intermarriage between the families of saintly personages of apparently no political or social importance and the families of even the most powerful sovereigns in India has always to my mind been somewhat of a puzzle. But in Major King's *History of the Bahmani Dynasty, ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 307, we have no doubt the proper explanation.

"At the same time the Sulṭân, following the example of his illustrious ancestors on the throne, for the sake of invoking the divine blessing on his bed, married his own sister Fâtimah, daughter of the late Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh, to His Highness Ḥabîb-Ullâh Shâh 'Atîyat-Ullâh [the saint], son of Shâh Muhabb-Ullâh; and according to the time-honoured custom of the kings of India, gave a great entertainment on this occasion. The fort of Medak which is situate in the country of Telingânâ on a piece of solid rock, he gave them as a wedding present. His other sister he gave in marriage to His Highness Mîrzâ Adham, son of Shâh Muḥabb-Ullâh, and settled upon them in feudal tenure the district of Jûkâtî."

Here then is an explanation. This class of marriage was a nostrum for procuring sons.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG THE KHATRIS OF THE PANJAB.

AMONG high caste Hindûs of the Panjâb the bridegroom is much teazed by the sisters and friends of the bride, as follows:—When the marriage party reaches the street wherein the bride-chamber is situated, the street is lined on both sides by girls holding small sticks, and as soon as the bridegroom comes in riding he is attacked on both sides by the young ladies, with the reeds in their hands; they actually beat him; and although it does not hurt much, if his horse is not a quiet one he oftens meets with a mishap, and should his turban fall off it is considered a very very sad omen.

In the bride-chamber, while the ceremony is going on, some of the female relations of the bride sit behind the bridegroom, and constantly knock at his back with a small wooden box containing hard stones, or the old copper coins (called Mansûrî paisâ), and others have a quantity of yarn with them, which they wind round and round his head to stupify him. Some again wrap old shoes in red cloths and place them in a recess, and when the marriage ceremony is over, ask the bridegroom to bow before the goddess of his family, and if he does it they expose the shoe and ridicule the boy.

The bride and the bridegroom are both given a cocoanut to eat, and after they have chewed the flesh they are asked to throw the husk in each other's faces; and if the bridegroom fails to hit he gets a good thumping from all the girls who surround him.

MAYA DAS in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] Narrated by Gangammâ, a woman sixty years old, residing in Tent-lines, Nagpur.

THE FOLKLORE IN THE LEGENDS OF THE PANJAB.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p.* 87.)

IT will have been seen from what has been above said that **saints scarcely differ from folktale heroes** of the conventional sort. They are beautiful in appearance; they have all sorts of secular occupations, even finding a livelihood as private soldiers and horse-dealers; they have obvious foibles of their own; they claim kingly rank on assuming saintship, make royal alliances, and keep up a royal state; they are known by special and peculiar signs, they perform conventional heroic acts in an heroic supernatural manner. Indeed, just as the saint is hardly to be distinguished from the demon, so is he hardly to be distinguished from the ordinary folk-hero. Indian demonolatry is ancestral or tribal hero-worship, and Indian hagiolatry is very little else. The saints and their demoniacal, heroic, or godlike counterparts are, however, essentially supernaturally endowed beings of the narrator's own nationality or party, but there are in Indian folk-idea other supernaturally endowed beings, demoniacal in their nature and usually styled *râkhas* and translated **"ogres,"** who belong as essentially to the enemy's party. In the demon world the *bhûta*, especially in South India, may be said to be always of the narrator's own class or side, and the *râkhas* to belong to the outside world, while the **demon proper** (*dêo*) may be looked on as being on the borderland between the two and as belonging as much to the one side as he does to the other, occasionally exhibiting the characteristics of the ogres as clearly as he does those of the saints, heroes, godlings, and what not.

In translating *râkhas* in its varying forms, I have adhered to the usual term **ogre**, as being its best European representative, both expressions indicating, as I take them, **the foreigner who has at one time inspired fear,** and has, therefore, been credited in the popular imagination with certain terrifying supernatural powers, attributes, and habits. The essentials of Indian ogre-stories seem to be constant. The ogre feeds on mankind, an idea extended to feeding voraciously on the larger animals also. He worries the hero's people and friends, and he is finally conquered by the hero, in fair fight, by miraculous intervention, or by conventional exorcism. He is, of course, a giant, and supernaturally endowed, performing much the same miraculous feats as his heroic or saintly opponents. In many respects he may be fairly described as the hero on the other side, his attributes as the result of the fear he inspires, and the struggles with him as vague memories of long past tribal fights with remarkable foreigners.

In one notable passage, showing how ideas extend and run into each other, in a fragment of a modern version of the far renowned (in India, that is) Sindhî story of Sassî and Punnûn, we find that ogres and man-destroying monsters of all kinds are closely classed together. The fragment is based on the very celebrated (in India) poem by Hâsham Shâh, and for the present purpose I will quote the original:

Adamkhôr janâwar jal dê, râkas rûp sarâeṅ;
Majarmachh, kachhû, jal-hûrî, sarp, sansâr balâeṅ;
Tanduê, kahar, zambûraṅ-wâlê, lâwan zôr tadâeṅ.
Man-eating monsters of the deep, like unto ogres;
Alligators, turtles, mermaids, serpents, and world-horrors;
Crocodiles, dragons, porpoises, were bellowing aloud.

Of the same nature in Indian story as the ogre is **the nâg or serpent,** this important fact being strongly emphasised in the *Legends*, in which the serpents and their doings occupy a prominent place. They here, though not in ordinary belief, appear just as ordinary heroes, and are distinctly human in their personalities and all their ways, as often appearing in human as in other forms. They are servants to the hero's patron saint; they live in human dwellings and show hospitality to human heroes; they are subject to human diseases; they give their daughters to, and marry the daughters of, human neighbours. They are divided into families, and like ogres they live on human flesh. Like the rest of

the heroic or supernatural world, they have a wide power of metamorphosis: into and out of human or serpent form, into many animal forms and into a variety of things, such as fruit, a fine needle, a golden staff, a blade of grass. In the same way they have an almost unlimited power of working miracles, chiefly malevolent; destroying life in various ways, setting on fire and scorching with their breath, or bite, or by the flash of their eyes, and drinking up the life of another.* But they have an equally pronounced power of restoration to life, ordinarily by the recognised folk-tale methods. And, lastly, apart from being frequently "winged," they have the usual heroic powers of rapid and miraculous movement.

Now, the notions exhibited in these modern legends on the Nâga serpents go back a long way in Indian story, and I think it a inference to draw from them and their prototypes, that **Indian serpent legends are but a memory** surviving in an ignorant and superstitious peasantry **of an old life struggle between the Aryan population and the perhaps aboriginal Nâga peoples,** whose totem, so to speak, or even merely national fighting emblem or standard, has, it may be, become confused with the race.

From the ogre and the *nâga* one passes almost imperceptibly to the **humanised animal** that appears so constantly in Indian legends, and plays so conspicuous a part in the stories loved of the people. The humanity, so to speak, of the animal, *i. e.*, the non-human, world of beings is most strongly marked in all Indian folklore. Indeed, human and non-human beings seem hardly to be distinguished in the minds of the peasantry. In the *Legends* we find in one clear instance a distinct ascription to the latter of an immortality of precisely the same nature as that universally attributed to mankind. "He took the bullocks at once to the river. They began to drink in the river, where a serpent was on the bank. Bitten, they fell to the ground and their life went to the next world." Here the actual expression used is: "*bhawar Baikunth lôk kô dhâyâ*, the breath went off to the world of Paradise"; just such an expression as would be properly applicable to a human being. In another strong instance a parrot describes itself as "a good Hindu," requiring a purification ceremony after touching a dead body.

Human characteristics may be expected in tales of the customary Oriental animal pets and companions of mankind, such as the horse, the bullock, the camel among quadrupeds, the parrot, the *mainâ*, the falcon among birds. And there are many instances in the *Legends* in which the doings, sayings, and feelings of all of these are hardly to be differentiated from those of the human actors. It may be here noted that the absence of any allusions to a sense of companionship between man and the dog marks a point of wide divergence between ordinary Oriental and European feeling.

There is, in fact, scarcely any characteristic or capacity of the human that is not equally attributed to the non-human world. All sorts of **animals act as messengers.** Serpents, cattle, and birds are, of course, described as being affected strongly by **music.** Serpents and deer, extended in one case to "all the beasts and birds of the forest," are attracted by human beauty in a human manner. A swan falls in love with the heroine in the human sense: deer can dream human dreams: a swan is made to address the Creator (*Kartâ*) by way of prayer, and a doe to distinctly pray to God (*kîtî Rabb aggê faryâd*).

The grateful animal is a stock expedient in folktales, and we are treated to instances of all kinds in the *Legends*, some of which may be called unexpected. Thus in this category appear cats, crickets, hedgehogs, serpents, swans, crows, cranes. The opposite quality of **ingratitude** is also ascribed to a deer and a parrot. And in the quaint legend of Dhannâ, the Bhagat, a god, consisting of an ordinary commercial stone weight, is made to play the part of the grateful animal, using the term in the sense of a non-human being. But the legend here has more than probably an origin in a consciously allegorical story.

Just as **animals** can be grateful and ungrateful, so can they be **revengeful**, and of revenge on human lines there is a fine instance in the tale of the humanised Hîrâ the Deer in the Rasâlû Cycle, who throughout acts the part of the ordinary folk-hero. The tale goes even to the extreme length of attributing caste feelings to the herd he belonged to; for "they cast him out of the herd because he

had no ears or tail" (they had been cut off). But perhaps the strongest possible instance of humanisation occurs in the same Cycle, where a lizard as the hero and a female serpent as the heroine play a variant of the story of Potiphar's wife.

The direct and almost universal use in story of the animal with human attributes is to help on or interfere with the action of the hero in a simple or in an extraordinary manner, as when cranes, crows, parrots, and falcons act as messengers, a falcon takes his turn at keeping watch, and a flock of birds stop the progress of a ship by merely sitting on the shore. In order to do these things **they must be able to talk,** and do so as naturally and freely as do the men and women themselves. But the use of unnatural powers of speech is carried very much further, and they are habitually attributed to everything that is introduced to forward the story or the interests of the actors therein. Indeed, in the legend of Niwal Dâî we are expressly told, "It was the virtuous time of the golden age; all things could speak their mind." An expression used again in the legend of Râjâ Dhôl in almost identical but more limited terms: "It was the golden age of virtue and the cranes spake." An astonishing variety of objects is thus supposed to be gifted with speech. Any kind of plant for instance: trees, mangoes, plums, *pîpals*, plantains, grass. All sorts of articles in domestic use: a bed's legs, a lamp, a pitcher, a necklace, a conch, a couch, a needle, a pestle and mortar, a garland. Even such a general object in Nature as a lake. In one instance a sandal tree relates its very human adventures merely by way of incident. **Anthropomorphism** could hardly go further.

It is, however, carried pretty far in an instance that occurs in the fruitful Rasâlû Cycle in two versions. A corpse, restored to life through the prayers of the hero, helps him out of gratitude in such a matter as a gambling match, in one of the instances. In the other the corpse appears as a number of severed heads, whom the hero adjures not to weep and to help him with their prayers. After all this the story of the well-known parrot of Raja Rasâlû, that "was wise, knowing the Four Vedas," could answer riddles and give wholesome human advise, falls somewhat flat. And the common folk notion of a fœtus speaking from the womb becomes, as it were, natural. It is the stock miracle related of Gurû Guggâ, but attributed also to a good many other personages remarkable in subsequent separate life.

It will have been noticed that the notion of the humanised animal slides almost imperceptibly into that of the **humanised thing.** When once the habit of anthropomorphosis comes into play it appears to matter little whether it be applied to an animate or an inanimate object, and especially is this to be observed in the case of things held to have been subjected to the action of miracles or magic, *i. e.*, to **things charmed or enchanted** by visible or invisible agency, the main use for which in the *Legends*, it may be observed, is to assist the hero or the progress of the tale about him: *e. g.*, enchanted dice made out of such uncanny objects as dead men's bones, which always win.

The well-known enchanted or **protecting circle or line,** within which no harm can come, taking us very far back in Indian belief, is but hinted at in the *Legends*, though its descendants **the ascetic's necklace and rosary** commonly occur. But the more practical means of defence, such as magical or enchanted arrows, play a considerable part. Thus, there are several instances of the use of fiery arrows, varied in one quaint instance as the fiery quoit, a survival of the classical magical quoit of Kṛishṇa and in a still quainter one as an arrow of cold. This last variant is clearly due to an expansion of the general idea of the fiery arrow, for it is introduced for the purpose of combating fire: "Then again Arjun shot an arrow of cold and all the enemies' bodies trembled. Then were the sun's rays obscured and day turned into night. Frost and cold began to fight with fire."

Magic numbers of course exist in India, chiefly in the forms of multiples or parts or combinations of seven and twelve, but I do not think that the peasant mind sufficiently grasps such abstract notions as numbers to lay much stress on any enchanted properties that they may be supposed to possess. I have carefully collected every number that occurs in the *Legends*, and the general conclusion is this: that as to the larger numerals no clear conception is entertained at all. They all mean a very large quantity to the peasant story-teller, and for that purpose one large figure is as good as another. As to the smaller numerals there is but a dim idea that there is something holy or

sacred or supernatural about some of them, they are not sure which, and they never remember them accurately.

The most widespread and familiar, but perhaps not the best recognised article subjected to supernatural agency is **holy water**, as common in India under Islam and Hinduism as it is in Europe under Christianity. In the *Legends* its uses are to invoke "the blessing of the great saints" and to effect miraculous cures — uses that will recall ideas current outside of heathenism. Much of the virtue of holy water is transferred in the popular mind to **blood**, especially human blood, which is the main folk agency for miraculous restoration to life and health, and a common one for the performance of a host of other marvellous feats. In the *Legends* these virtues are to a certain degree yet further extended to **milk**, and it is of interest to record that in them **ambrosia** or *amṛita* not only turns up as the beverage of the gods, but also when pure as holy water, in a most remarkable passage in a Hindu story, where it is regarded as the blood of the Almighty :

Kirpâ hûî hai Sakat kî : hûâ Qudrat kâ khiyâl :
Apnî unglî chîrkê amrit liâ nikâl.

The Almighty had mercy : the All-powerful considered them :
Cutting His finger He drew forth the water of life.

In India, however, **all water** may be called in a sense **holy**. There water of itself purifies, an idea that still leads to an incalculable amount of disease and sickness. The rivers and pools are all more or less sacred, though some of course are pre-eminently so, and **ceremonial bathing** is a source of infinite gains to the priests and holy personages.

The **enchanted miraculous vehicle** is a very old and widely-spread folk-notion, and so we find all sorts of heroes, saintly and demoniacal, flying through the air, leaping the ocean, accomplishing a journey of months in a few paces, and proceeding about their business at any required rate of speed on a variety of unlikely articles, of which abnormally **winged creatures**, bulls, lions, horses, camels, and the like are but variants. So closely do we find the two ideas connected, that I have sometimes thought that the whole notion of the miraculous vehicle and its concomitants is nothing but an expansion of **the heroic leap**, which in its turn is a mere popular exaggeration of some actual feat. In the *Legends* the idea of personally flying through the air is extended to making a saint's shoe to fly through the air in order to punish the saint's opponent by beating him. This causing of things to move miraculously is to be further seen in the common miracle of a saint moving his tomb from one place to another, leading to the quaint practice, observed by myself in Hindu India, Buddhist Burma, and even Japan, of **chaining an image** to prevent its returning whither it miraculously migrated.

The value of **invocation** or calling together the tribe and its defenders by a loud cry or sound must necessarily have been a very early human observation, and its importance and weird suddenness when used has all the world over led to some fanciful and pretty notions as to **magical music and enchanted instruments,** dependent chiefly on the observed or fancied influence of musical sound on the animal world. In these *Legends* there are distinct evidences of the history of the idea, and the chief use to which the **magic flute,** or its variant the magic conch, is there put is, where it is used by the secular hero, to call together the tribe and its friends, or where it is used by a saint or religious leader, to collect his following, celestial or terrestrial. Its secondary uses are to play upon the emotions of friendly animals and to call the attention of the gods and the invisible inhabitants of the celestial worlds to the aid of the hero, who, where the hero is a saint, usually seem to occupy the place of his subordinates and assistants. The sound of the flute or conch seems also to have become mixed up in the popular mind with the "**voice of prayer,**" for it can "reach to the Court of God" and so secure the divine intervention in human affairs.

The power of **enchanted human hair** to assist human beings — perhaps as a spirit haunt to use Sir James Campbell's phrase — is another world-wide and very old notion, and again in the *Legends* we seem to get at an explanation of it, for it and its counterpart the insect's feeler is of no avail until burnt, an idea arising probably from the palpable effect burnt hair has on those who become insensible from a blow or disease. The concrete idea, however, in burning hair appears to be to drive the spirits

out of it by the process and so compel them to your service, for the actual use of burnt hair is to call up invisible assistance. But when once the hair has started on its career as a power to interfere in the affairs of man it is made to do a variety of things for him, for it can, among other things, cut down trees, burn up forests and enemies, and lead the heroine into her enemies' clutches. The outcome of the belief in the virtue inherent in hair has been a variety of Oriental beliefs and customs deriving directly from it : — *e. g.*, the sacredness of the Musalmân's beard and of the entire hair on the body of a Sikh.

To pass from a part to the whole, the great power possessed by enchanted human or animal bodies is **invisibility.** But I do not think its constant use in folktales and in these *Legends* is altogether due to a love of the miraculous. The notion gives such obvious opportunities for investing the heroes and actors with a deeper interest than they could otherwise be made to possess, and especially saints with additional supernatural powers for overawing those who listen to tales about them, that neither story-tellers nor bards have anywhere refrained from taking advantage of it. The practical use to which the power of invisibility is put in the *Legends* is to help on the development of the tales, or to assist the hero or the heroine in their desires, or to glorify a saint or holy personage.

Curiously enough **the procedure of enchantment** is not anywhere directly given in the *Legends*, though of course it occurs often enough in the folklore of the country. All the enchanted articles that occur are supposed to have undergone the processes necessary to render them supernatural. Probably the audience is assumed to know what those processes were, and such charms as occur are all of the prophylactic nature already described.

Between the supernatural and unmistakable human being there has existed everywhere and at all times **an intermediary,** a being who, while obviously and distinctly human, has assumed or acquired certain unusual and therefore in the popular mind uncanny powers. His ordinary form is that of **the priest,** but the forerunner, and in early society the contemporary of the priest, is **the being who is possessed,** *i. e.*, subjected to enchantment, magical, supernatural, or miraculous. **Spirit-possession** is not a desirable accident of life, especially as sudden, severe, or striking disease or illness is confounded with it, and hence the existence of the possessed has led to that of **the exorcist** or professional curer of the misfortune. The idea of possession and its antidote does not seem to have taken a strong hold of the Panjâbî, and consequently not much of either appears in the *Panjab Legends.* Indeed, it is directly mentioned only in one place ; but in many respects a remarkably similar series of legends from Kanara which I have somewhat recently edited in this *Journal* under the title of the *Devil-Worship of the Tuluvas*, mainly turns on it, as indeed does the whole complicated system of modern Tibetan Buddhism, exhibiting once more that common phenomenon in Nature, the rudimentary existence only in one series of connected creatures of a part that is fully developed in another.

So far, we have been dealing with the heroes and their male counterparts, but on turning to **the heroines** it will be found that, so far as Indian ideas on the parts that the sexes are capable of playing in the affairs of life admit, the stories of the female actors follow strictly on the lines of those of the male. The main cause of the differences observable lies in **the low estimation in which women generally are held by the populace** — a fact typified in the *Legends* by the belief that it is not only foolish, but socially indiscreet, to praise a woman, especially one's wife, by the ceremonial observances demanded of the women towards their male relatives, all intended to emphasise their position of subjection, and by the universal custom of the seclusion of women.

The typical heroine is emphatically "**a child of predestination,**" as it were, from birth to the hero. Her **characteristics** are impossible strength or skill to save the hero in trouble, as when she cuts a tigress in two; or, on the other hand, impossible delicacy, as when she is weighed against flowers; or she is endowed with impossible attractiveness, dropping flowers when she laughs and pearls when she weeps. Her beauty is, of course, all-conquering, the animal world, the heavenly bodies, and the God of the Waters (Khwâjâ Khizar) succumbing to it, and like the hero, she is known by "**signs**" —*e. g.*, by the bubbling of the water in a well when she looks into it.

Of **beneficent heroines** we do not hear much in the *Legends*. Perhaps it is hardly to be expected that amongst the Panjâbî peasantry a woman could be held to be of much assistance in life. The fairies, when they do appear, are accordingly merely messengers between this and other worlds, or they represent outside, unorthodox brides or mistresses of Râjâs or heroes, as in the well known case of Rânî Lônâṅ in the Rasâlû Cycle. But of **maleficent heroines** we hear a good deal, and of the victims, male and female, of their active ill-will. Calumny, born of jealousy, is the favoured method of showing it. Jealousy of a co-wife, natural enough where polygamy is practised, and of a co-wife's children, gives so commonly the spring to vindicative action, that the story of the **calumniated wife** may be looked upon as a special variety of Indian folktale, though the enmity is sometimes represented as being extended to the husband, the husband's sister, and the nurse or duenna.

To the category of malevolent heroines belong **the stepmothers,** who play a prominent and peculiar part in Indian folktales, due to the polygamy practised by the rules, the rich and the great. They are nearly always the malignant co-wives with the hero's mother, interfering in his life and story in two main ways — *i. e.*, they either get him into trouble by acting after the manner of Potiphar's wife, or they seek to ruin him out of jealousy of his mother. From the latter cause the heroine is also frequently made to suffer at the hands of one or more of her stepmothers. The methods of the stepmother of arriving at her ends are, however, generally human, and the women held to be endowed with malevolent supernatural powers are the **wise-women, witches, ogresses, and nâgnîs or serpent-women.**

So far as the legendary lore is concerned, we may treat **witch and wise-woman as synonymous terms** for the same class of wicked woman. Both invariably play the same part in a tale and have the same characteristics. They are the marplots, the malignant fiends of the story, and their natural occupation is to place the heroine in the power of her enemies — of which assistance to the hero to get at the heroine in irregular manner is but a variant. They have disgusting and terrible attributes. They are cannibals and take out the liver and eat it. They have second sight and are suspected of knowing things that are hidden. But they are not necessarily ugly or uncomely; often, indeed, they are the reverse. In order to attain their ends they are endowed with the power of metamorphosis and miracle-working — "setting water on fire" being in one instance claimed in the *Legends* as a difficult feat, which no doubt it is.

The **ogress** is in every essential merely a female counterpart of the ogre, with the same attributes, the same supernatural powers, the same enmity to the hero's race, even as the **nâgnî or serpent-woman** is just a woman of her kind, with all the *nâg's* attributes, humanity, habits, and powers. In their struggles with the human or heroic races their methods, though necessarily differing from those of the males of their class, are in each case of the same nature. Thus instead of directly fighting mankind or the heroic opponents, they seek to destroy them by winning them over by female blandishments, and so getting them into the power of themselves and their party.

Besides what may be called the heroine proper of a legend or folktale, the child miraculously born and predestined to great deeds, the legitimate pride and glory of the tribe or race, there is **the foundling,** that kind of child which has come irregularly or illegitimately into the tribal or family circle, to play an important part therein. The career of the foundling may be expected to attract the imagination of a peasantry. Such an unexpected and unlooked-for addition to the family or tribe is sure to be interesting and to give rise to hereditary tales. But apart from the interest attaching to the conditions under which foundlings are introduced, the exigencies of native life serve to create and maintain **foundling stories.** So many sub-castes and tribes and so many families of the upper ranks have from the native point of view a doubtful origin, so many of the richer people, who can pay for bards and their flatteries, have a blot on their escutcheons — a bar sinister, as one may call it — that tales of foundling girls are bound to flourish in order to connect families, castes, tribes, and prominent personages of the day with those of bygone times, whose position and claims are held to be beyond all doubt. Ancestor-making and genealogy-inventing are arts well understood in India, especially by the bardic class, and the story of the foundling mother of the eponymous hero is the most cherished resort-

for the purpose. In the Panjab, that land of great rivers, **the river-borne foundling** is the favourite variety. The girl infant is discovered floating by various methods down a river, is adopted by the finder, is married to the eponymous hero or his father, is subsequently traced to an aristocratic family, and the desired high-class connection is established. A dive into any of the accepted accounts of the more important families, or into the legendary history of the sub-tribes and sub-castes — even into that of the tribes and castes themselves — anywhere in India will produce many such stories in many quaint forms. They abound in the folktales and appear in the *Legends* of course.

Pretty and popular varieties of the foundling tale are to be found in the many variants of **the egg-hero story**, where the little stranger, male or female, is fabled to have sprung miraculously from an egg, from fruit, from a box, a flower, or other small and fanciful article. And to the same category must, I think, be referred the universally popular **sleeping-beauty.** A careful survey of her life-history, the manner of her discovery, her doings and characteristics, point her out as **the representative of the bride from the other side** — raped it may be, or stolen, or abducted, or taken in fight as a sort of *spolio opima*, or perhaps simply found. Whatever she may be, princess in disguise, ogress born, or captive in a foreign land, she is emphatically not of the hero's race or party, and their union is always irregular — *i. e.*, not according to established tribal custom.

In one essential point, arising out of the view taken by the peasantry of women and girls, the folk-heroine differs entirely from the hero. As the actual property of some male, either tabued to him or as part of his personal effects, **the heroine has to be chaste.** Of **male chastity** we do not hear much, except as **virtue** — *i. e.*, **manly capacity, which is quite a different idea from that attached to sexual chastity.** Of virtue in the above sense a great deal is heard, and it is most jealously guarded. The terms usually rendered "pure" and "chaste," and so on, however, never, imply male sexual purity, and Râjâ Rasâlû, a hero essentially of gallantries of every kind, is repeatedly called "*jati sati*, pure and chaste," in the sense of being endowed with unimpaired capacity. He was in that sense fully virtuous. The possession of such virtue is made a condition of worldly power, and when possessed in an inordinate degree calls down the wrath of the supernatural powers as a positive danger to them. It is also a vital point to keep out of touch with women at periods of stress and trial in order to maintain it, their approach and proximity impairing it. The origin of all this is obvious, the male is not subjected to tabu or appropriation, and the female is.

Perhaps the neatest indication of the point that of old **chastity was the virtue of women and virile capacity the virtue of men,** is shown in the manner in which **the zone,** both as a word and as an article of costume, was used. There was always the female girdle or zone, the emblem of chastity, and the male zone or sign of virility and fighting capacity. In the Himalayas the silver zone is still the sign *par excellence* of a warrior. Says a legend : "The Lord Râjâ is coming himself to this war. He has called every wearer of a silver zone to Jungâ."

Now, the very line of reasoning which renders male chastity of no account, makes female chastity the main virtue — *i. e.*, capacity of the sex. In such a society as is reflected in Indian legendary lore, it was as essential for a woman to be chaste, as it was for man to be of his hands, capable. The maintenance of the tribe and its social structure rested on these features of the two classes of human beings composing it. We Europeans have the remains of this feeling in all our languages when we talk of a woman and her virtue. Female chastity, then, being of such very great importance to the men, and also very difficult to secure without the co-operation of the women themselves the men were always calling in the supernatural powers to their aid in maintaining it, out of their natural and well-founded suspicion that such co-operation did not exist. Of this there is universal folktale evidence, and it gives occasion to resort to **ordeals**, both practical and supernatural, more often than anything else — except perhaps the cruel "wisdom" of the witch-finder — by fire, by dice, by water, by impossible tasks and conditions. However, it being on occasion most important to prove the virtue in a hero, ordeals of the same kind are resorted to in tales for that purpose also, and not only has the hero to prove that he is a man of parts, but the saint, too, has to show the peculiar virtue in him by giving a "sign," usually in the form of a miracle. Indeed, **many miracles are merely forms of ordeal.**

The extravagant extension of any idea for the purposes of story-telling, may be looked for in all the literary productions of the folk, and in the *Legends*, by way of emphasising the grave importance of female chastity, the famous heroine, Hîr, before what we, but not the natives, would call her fall, is in one place said to feel polluted, simply because the hero occupied her bed in her absence.

The value to the early intelligence of ordeals for the discovery of virtue in mankind has led to their wide employment in folktales, for the intelligible and important purpose of **proving the long lost hero or heroine** — for testing claimants, in fact. Tests, natural and supernatural, for their **identification** are ubiquitous in all folk-stories, and equally so in the *Legends*, leading in many instances almost imperceptibly into the region of **prophecy and its fulfilment.** Almost the whole stock of folk ideas is pressed into the service of this most prominent necessity of the progress of a story. Heroes and heroines are identified by marks, personal characteristics, and properties, surviving still as "the signs of royalty," both possible and impossible, and by definite ordeals, such as the answering of **riddles and** the performance of **impossible tasks**; and, further, by resort to such purely mythological ideas as a correct recollection of details and surroundings in "a former life." On the other hand, there is in one instance a reference to that widespread, practical form of identification, which is embodied in the custom of placing a stamp or mark on the body or clothes, as a voucher of a visit to a shrine or of a pilgrimage completed, where the hero's camel carries away betel-leaves and water to show that he had really been to the heroine's abode, and so knew the way thither.

The favourite folktale form of ordeal is **the impossible task,** and naturally so, as the individual fancy can here range at will; while the poverty of peasant imagination is also shown by the constant resort of the story-tellers to well-known **stock tasks.** In one form, however, the impossible task is of exceptional interest, for when it is imposed as a condition of marriage with the heroine, the *Legends* show that it is the poor remnant of the once important political manœuvre of the **swayamvara,** or public choice of a husband by girls of princely rank.

There are two common variants of the impossible task frequently occurring in the *Legends* — **riddles and ceremonial gambling. Conventional riddles** preserved at the present day in garbled traditional verse, and usually perfectly unintelligible, are used for all the purposes of their prototype — for identifying the hero; as necessary preliminaries to marriage, and even to an illicit intrigue; as a variant of the *swayamvara;* as a kind of initiation into saintship; in fact wherever an ordeal is for any reason desired. But the more legitimate use of riddles as a symbolical, or secret, or private form of speech is merely hinted at in the *Legends*, as where a birth is announced in the form of a riddle, and where the female attendants of a princess make communications in the same form.

Gambling is looked on by the Indian populace as the usual and proper occupation of the great and rich, and so a good deal is heard of it in the *Legends.* But the **ceremonial gambling** occurring in them bears evidence of its origin; for, as a test before marriage, it is clearly an ordeal in the form of a variant of the impossible task. In this sense it is regarded and repeatedly spoken of as "a virtue of the rulers." Of course, in folktales and legendary lore, the notion is subjected to great exaggeration, and we are favoured with most extraordinary stories of reckless gambling — for property, possessions, and even life itself — and in the *Legends*, with what is of far more importance, detailed descriptions in all its technicalities of the great and ancient royal game of *chaupuṛ or pachîsî.*

Passing thus without effort almost from the actors to the course of the story, we find that perhaps the commonest way of commencing it is to set the hero **seeking his fortunes**, either by way of a start to the story, or to get a living, or as the result of troubles at home, or in response to a prophecy or fortune-telling. This opens a wide door to preliminary incident, even to a relation of invaluable details as to the prescribed modes of procuring **oracles and forecasts** of fate and fortune, which will be found on examination to be substantially the same all over India, north and south. Such oracles as occur in Indian tales are as vague in form and uncertain in meaning as elsewhere, leaving the inquirer to make what he can of them. A fine specimen, drawn from the working of the Persian water-wheel so

universally used in the rural Panjâb, and couched in good rustic verse, occurs in the Legend of Mirzâ and Sâhibân, though the hero seems to comprehend it without effort or hesitation:

> The axle binds the shaft and the spokes bind the axle;
> The axle-tree lies on the ground fastened by strong chains;
> Wheel works with wheel as a king with his courtiers;
> The whole machine creaks as a beggar among husbandmen;
> The pitchers clink (as they come up) full of pure water.

It could hardly be expected that the regular and irregular priesthood of India would allow so fruitful a source of class and personal profit as is offered by such a matter as **fortune-telling** to pass them by, and so we are distinctly told that the **casting of horoscopes,** or the grant of peeps into the future, is the peculiar province of the Brâhmans.

The whole vast fabric of fortune-telling, prophecy, soothsaying, oracle-making, built up by the various kind of Indian priesthood, is throughout Indian folklore and in the *Legends* to be seen to clearly rest on **the universal and ineradicable belief in fate.** Allusions to it are innumerable, and every act or chance of human life is referred to it as a matter of course — as an accepted incontrovertible proposition. The terms for fate and life are even found to be mutually convertible, though instances do occur in which, especially among Muhammadans, fate is distinguished from the consequences of evil deeds, being perhaps an echo there of Christian or Jewish or even Buddhist teaching. Of such a sentiment the following is an example: "If a bullet strike thy forehead, know it is the reward of thy (evil) deeds, know it not for thy fate."[3] But such ideas as this are, however, extremely rare in story, and habitually every event is attributed to the action of fate.

Perhaps the best way of obtaining a comprehension of the depth and width of the sentiment of fatality among the Indian populace — a notion of the extent to which it permeates their ideas as to the causes of the events of everyday life — is by an examination of the *ipsissma verba* of the bards and popular singers, for which the *Legends* afford very many opportunities. It will then be seen that the popular philosophy really amounts to this — every occurrence is fated, the action of fate is visible in every event, is inevitable, is pre-ordained, "written," or decreed. The very terms in which the actors in the *Legends* apostrophise Fate shows this strongly. Cries an unfortunate more than once: "What, Fate, hast thou written in my fate?" Cry others again and again: "O Fate, what hast thou done?" "O Fate, what is this that thou hast resolved on?"

Widely differing occurrences are repeatedly attributed to the direct action of fate. Typical expressions are the following: "The matter was in the hands of Fate, and she (the wife) saved the Râjâ." "Thou wast not in fault, my Lord, it was in my fate." "What is to be must be borne; why make plans (to avoid it)?" "Fortunate is our fate that the Court remembers us." "Thy fate is evil." Here are expressions that recur repeatedly: "I, too, am Fate's victim." "I die for her sake, my fate hath come." Says a king of his minister: "His fate and mine were one." Says an enemy, feeling that he had no chance otherwise: "If Pûran's fate be awake (*i. e.*, against him) I will come back and slay him." Cries a young girl: "All my studying is over, for Fate hath brought me love."

The difficulty of accounting for occurrences — the inscrutability, in fact, of fate — has of course forced itself on the peasant mind, and the feeling finds voice in their exclamations, of which "There is no fathoming fate" is perhaps the commonest. The most conspicuous quality, however, of fate is necessarily the inevitability of its action, and we accordingly find this fact expressed in many different and sometimes quaint terms, of which good examples are: "The rest is in my daughter's fate (over which) none have power." "Who can vary the lines of fate?" "This (a throw of dice) was in the power of fate, no power (of ours) avails." "Thy fate hath encompassed thee and there is no way to save thee." "Fate is not to be gainsaid, and God doeth as He listeth." Here is a strong way of putting the rustic view: "Fate hath come on thee: when fate slew such prophets, shalt thou escape?" Perhaps the most usual ways of all of expressing the hopelessness of fighting against the inevitable are: "What fate has

[3] "*Tainûn gôlî jê lagî vichh tawirûn;*
Jânê apnê karnî pâî, nahîn jânê takdirûn."

written who can blot out?" "There is no remedy against fate." And lastly a curious belief in the godlike powers of the founder of the Sikh Religion is to be seen in the expression: "What fate the Gurû (Nânak) hath ordained cannot be avoided." But the pathetic cry of a mother over a murdered son seems to point to a latent hope in the villagers' hearts that peradventure, for all its inevitability, the action of fate may possibly be avoidable: "Death met him in the street and fate stopped the way (for flight). When thy fate was written had I been by, I would have made a great cry to God and had it written favourably."

The usual way of stating the inevitable is by viewing it as written or decreed by fate. The common expression is: "It was written in my fate; thou canst do nothing." And there also occurs twice in the *Legends*: "See, this was written in the lines of fate, this misery of mine." A religious fanatic in order to account for his mode of life, says: "Mendicancy was written in my fate:" and it is further said of a herdsman: "God wrote no labour (in his fate); he was to be happy with (tending) buffaloes." Of a parted husband and wife it is said: "This much connection was written; fate hath done this." Again, one of three brothers puts the Panjâbi peasant belief very powerfully when he explains to a judge: "Chiefship was written in Chûchak's fate and lordship in Michrû's. In my (Kaidû's) fate was written saintship; it was the writing of God."

The decree of fate occupies a prominent position in Indian idea, and typical ways of giving expression to it are such as these: "The decree that fate has written down against me have I suffered to the full." "O Queen, if posterity had been decreed in my fate, it would have been through you." "The decree of my fate (leprosy) hath been passed upon me." The commonest expressions of resignation are: "The decree of fate must be borne," and "Pain and grief are with all; it is the decree of fate." The notion has even passed into a frequently recurring proverb: "The decree of fate is strong and waits not for postponing." Cries one of a number of refugees from an unhappy political struggle: "It was fate's decree that drove us to the forest."

(*To be continued.*)

A NOTE ON THE BRITISH COLLECTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 73.*)

COINS AND SEALS.

A FULL account of the coins and seals in the British Collection has also been given by me in Part I. of my Official Report, and partly also in the *Indian Antiquary* (September, 1898, and February, 1899). I shall therefore, likewise, content myself here with a short notice.

The total number of **coins** is 486. They include **Indo-Chinese, Chinese, Scytho-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Sassanian, Mediaeval Hindu, Mediaeval Muhammadan, Modern Turkî, Modern Indian, and Modern European coins.** They vary in age from about the first to the eighteenth centuries A. D. Among the Indo-Chinese coins there are a large number, all copper, of bilingual ones, with legends in Chinese and Indian-Kharoṣṭî, some of them entire novelties, showing the figure of a horse or camel and the names of some three to five kings, all commencing with *Gugra.* They are referable to the first or second centuries A. D., and were the earliest issues of an ancient Khotanese kingdom. Most of the Chinese coins belong to the periods of the Thang and Sung dynasties, in the eighth and tenth to twelfth centuries A. D. There are, however, also a number of very ancient coins, among them one unique, of the first and second centuries A. D., of the period of the first Chinese conquest of Eastern Turkistan. Among the Scytho-Bactrians there are a few novelties, of impure silver, imitations of coins of Heliocles and Euthydemus, with a kind of Aramaean legends. The number of Indo-Scythian coins is small; but there are among them a few copper coins, all of well-known types, of Kadphises, Kanerkes, and Hverkes. Among the mediaeval coins there are many of the rarer Turkî, of known types and dates; but there are also a large number (ninety-two, all copper) of a quite

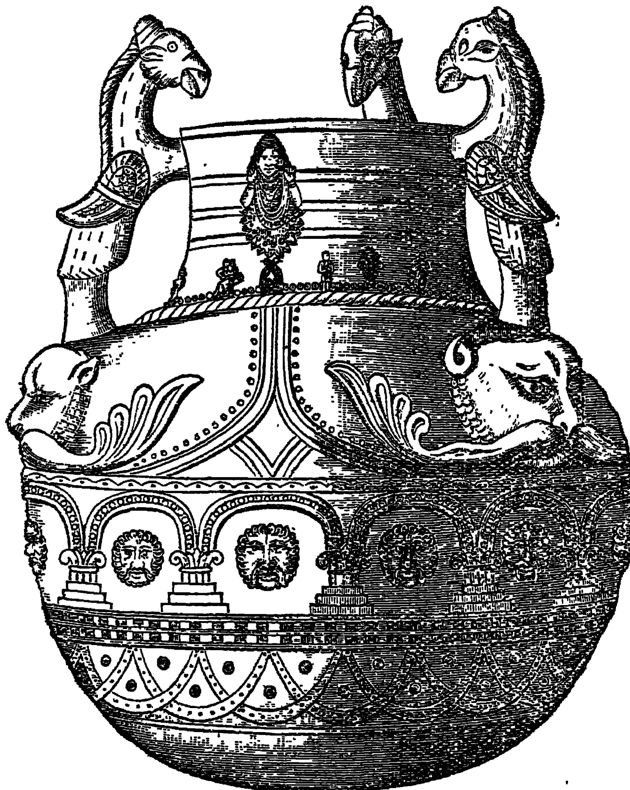
new kind, not yet fully identified. They seem to be issues of the small Musalman principalities of Eastern Turkistan, in the sixteenth century A. D. There are, *e.g.* seven coins of the Kâshgar mint, dated 950 Hijrah (= 1543-44 A. D.). Others seem to show the names of a certain Sulaimân Khâqân and Masa'ûd. The solitary European coin is a Russian one of 1758 A. D. It was obtained, however, from a Khotanese merchant's house; so were all the modern Indian and Turkì coins from the Khotan bazars.

With regard to the seals and intaglios, of which there are sixty-five in the collection, it may be noted that most of them are exactly similar to those found in the *stûpas* of Afghanistan of the earliest centuries of our era, explored by Masson and others. Such are many of the seals, consisting of a thin, flat plate of brass or copper, to the back of which is attached a small perforated peg for the passage of the string on which they were worn. Many of the intaglios and seals also exhibit a distinctly Grecian, or Buddhist, or Zoroastrian design engraved on them. There is one cameo in the Collection, of Grecian design, but moderate execution, showing the helmeted head of a young man.

POTTERY AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

A full account of all these objects, with photographic illustrations, will be given by me in the Second Part of my Official Report, which is now in preparation.

Most of the **pottery** are fragments of a kind of globular vessel, of which a specimen is shown in the plate which accompanies this paper. No complete specimen has ever been found : two, acquired by the Russian Consul-General in Kâshghar, are demonstrably clumsy forgeries. The specimen shown in the illustration is restored from three very large fragments, which admit of a reconstruction of



the vessel with perfect ease, except its bottom, which was certainly round, but may have had a low annular foot. I suggest these vessels to have been funeral urns, because such urns were also discovered in the ruined *stûpas* or tumuli of Afghanistan, but they may have served also for other purposes. There is a very large number of fragments in the British Collection. They indicate jars of very

different sizes, that shown in the illustration measuring about 11 inches wide, and 13 inches high up to the crest of the griffin. The general style of the ornamentation is the same in all, though there is the greatest variation in detail. The griffins would seem sometimes to have been replaced by plain handles, the number of which appears to have varied from one to three. This may be concluded from the existence of some beautiful miniature jars, apparently toys, of which specimens are shown in plate xix of the First Part of my Official Report.

These vessels were constructed in parts. The neck is joined on to the body; so are the handles; so are all the minor details of the ornamentation. There is in the collection a profusion of these minor details, especially faces of men, women, and lions, in every variety of size and design. The fact of the vessels having three handles is noteworthy. I can not recollect any three-handled vessels having been found elsewhere.

The general style of their ornamentation — the figures on the neck, the arches and railing on the body, etc. — shows distinct affinities to the Graeco-Buddhist art of North-western India. The posture of the figure on the neck of the vessel is a very common ornamentation. There is a large painted specimen of it in stucco in the collection; also another, similarly done in stucco, representing Buddha seated in meditation. These must have been taken from the walls of a ruined building, like those shown in Dr. Sven Hedin's *Through Asia*, pp. 800 and 810. Much variety, however, is shown in the larger figures that ornament the neck. One fragment in the collection shows a man playing an oboe (*αὐλός*); another, a man playing on a Pan's pipe (*σῦριγξ*); a third, a man habited in what strikingly resembles the mediaeval court-fool's dress; a fourth, a woman dressing her plaits; a fifth, a coolie, in the Indian loin-cloth, carrying a large vessel on one shoulder, and so forth.

There is a large number of **heads, male and female,** of varying sizes, the largest being about 4 inches high. Some are provided with a plug, by which they were fixed in the body. It seems probable that they belonged, or were intended to belong, to full figures of men and women, though hardly any fragments of the body have been found, or at least collected, especially of the lower limbs. There is only one fragment, consisting of the lower half of the body of a squatting dressed male, in an indecent position. There is also a broken off phalus of full size, noteworthy by its being inscribed with an unread line in old Brâhmî characters of about the fifth century A. D. In the case of four figures, two male and two female, the upper half of the body is preserved. One of the former is peculiar in being, apparently, represented with a female bust. Most of the foreheads are represented bearing marks, mostly a dot, or a dot within a circle, or a bow, or two parallel lines, which remind one of the sectarian marks of India. The faces of the men show two distinct types of features, one martial with a moustache, the other clean-shaven and effeminate. The coiffure of the latter is very peculiar, being made of long piled up braids, and much resembles that on female heads: in fact the two are often difficult to distinguish. It reminds one of Hiuen Tsiang's description of the head-dress of the men in Khotan.

Besides human figures, there is a very large number of **figures of monkeys, male and female,** of various sizes, though all small, some even in miniature, being apparently toys. A few are in nearly perfect condition and exceedingly well done. They are represented in the most diverse postures and actions, some of which are shown in plate xix of the First Part of my Official Report. A rather common representation in miniature is that of a pair in the act of embracement (*ibid.*, Nos. 66, 67, 69, 73); others are shown sitting on a branch and hugging or eating some indistinct object (*ibid.*, Nos. 51-4). Another common representation shows them sitting in an indecorous posture, meditating (*ibid.*, Nos. 68, 74), or playing on some instrument — a guitar, or a bagpipe, or a small drum (Nos. 55, 58, 60, 61), or more usually it is a Pan's pipe (*σῦριγξ*). Two points may be noted here. The monkey is not indigenous in Khotan, but in India; on the other hand, the syrinx is a distinctly Grecian instrument, and has never been noticed in Indian art. The monkeys represent the satyrs and fauns, and point to the influence of Indian as well as Grecian culture. As curiosities are two figures of monkeys with goats' heads, and another curiosity is a miniature twin figure, playing on a guitar, made

up of bird and monkey: there are two birds' bodies with two wings each, and two monkeys' heads and shoulders but with only two arms (*ibid.*, No. 70).

Other animal figures represented in the collection are **camels, horses, leopards, bulls, boars, and a species of bird.** Some of these figures are complete, but in many cases only the head or the anterior portion of the body exists, and here the manner of their fashioning often shows that they were intended to be stuck on to other objects as ornaments, *e. g.* to serve as handles of vessels. The camel is the two-humped Bactrian one. It is often shown with nose-string and loaded. Similarly the horses are shown saddled and mounted. The elephant is only met with as an ornament on jars, and engraved on seals. He, too, points to Indian influence, for he is not found in Khotan.

Of miscellaneous objects in the British Collection, I may particularly mention the following:—

Two stone heads of Buddha, measuring 8½ in. and 4 in. respectively in height, and belonging probably to decapitated figures. The larger one is peculiar on account of the hair being arranged in regular concentric semicircles over the forehead, the centre being the root of the nose. This arrangement of the hair has not been noticed, I believe, in any Indian or Semi-Indian representation of Buddha.

A piece of wooden board, painted on both sides with sitting figures of Buddha. It is a mere fragment, and its use unknown. The painting is in something like tempera, and much damaged.

Three small fragments of **black stone carved with figures of Buddha.** One is the capital of a miniature Corinthian pillar showing Buddha in the foliage. Another shows the side view of a beautiful draped figure sitting on a stool. They have a very decidedly Grecian look, and, both in material and art, resemble the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures of North-western India.

There are some other small figures of the **sitting Buddha in copper or bronze,** similar to those shown in Dr. Sven Hedin's *Through Asia*, pp. 773 and 775. In one the central figure of Buddha is surrounded by seven (not six) Boddhisatvas. In another the same seven figures are arranged in a row, sitting on seven branches of a tree. All these pieces bear marks which show that originally they were adjuncts to some other object.

An interesting object is a copper figure of **a Garuḍa** holding a snake in his beak. The whole is so arranged as to suggest its having been used as a bracket for holding a light.

All the objects above mentioned suggest Indian affinities. But there are also some figures of a very different class. Among these there are several very curious nude human figures of copper or clay, from 3″ to 5″ high. They are of an excessively crude make, and seem to have been idols of a people in a very low state of culture. To the same class belongs a crude clay figure of an animal, apparently intended to represent a horse or a bull. This, as well as the clay figure of a man, bears the impress of an inscribed but unread stamp on the forehead or crown of the head. These crude figures show a striking resemblance to the rude hermæ-like figures shown in Dr. Radloff's *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, Part I, plate v, 1, viii, 1, ix, 2, xi, 9, which are referred to the time of the Tu-kue dynasty, before the middle of the 8th century A. D. The same remark may be made about the two bronze horsemen and the human figures on the box, mentioned below.

To the same class belong two small **twin figures.** One is of horn, and represents a pair of fishes; the other is of stoneware, and represents two misformed men, the two heads being fully as large as the rest of the bodies. There are two pairs of arms, but only one pair of legs. These twin figures might have been amulets.

More interesting are two **bronze figures of horsemen** (3″ high), represented in the position of presenting their swords. Their features are very un-Arian, broad and flat. They are seated on saddles of cloth, which have largely rotted away. These two figures are said to have been dug out from the same mound in which was found the skull resting on the pillow-bag, which contained the bottle-shaped manuscript previously described.

Another interesting object is **a round wooden box,** 4⅝″ high and 3½″ wide, without a lid. When found, it contained a **xylograph,** which is also in the British Collection. The box is figured in Plate xv, fig. 2 of the First Part of my *Official Report*, and the block print in Plate xvi. The outside of the box is carved alternately with standing human figures, very crudely done, and rows of inscriptions. The whole is fully described on pages 108-110 of my *Report*.[4]

Besides these there is a great variety of small objects — arrow-heads, clasps, spurs, buttons, etc. — the antiquity of some of which is very doubtful.

Postscript.

Since writing the above Note (in September 1899) I have received from **Mr. Macartney a further consignment of Antiquities for the British Collection.** It comprises four block prints, a small number of manuscript sheets, all fragmentary, except two, also a small number of pottery, coins and seals.

The most interesting portion are the **manuscript sheets or leaves.** They comprise, besides several written in old Brâhmî characters, a number of sheets of varying sizes, covered with Uigur and Persian writing. They all appear to be documents. Two of the Persian documents, slightly mutilated, have been read by Professor Margoliouth. They appear to be deeds of sale of land. One is dated in the year 401 Ḥijrah = A. D. 1010-11, and bears six signatures. These are the names of three fathers and their three sons. The latter have Arabic names, indicating that they were Muhammadans. The former have Turkî names, and are described as belonging to the **Sipâsî sect.** They also seem to have been illiterate persons, for instead of signing their names, they only affix their marks. The date of the document refers it to the reign of the great **Yilik Khân,** *aliâs* **Ḥazrat Sulṭân Satûq Bughrâ Khân,** who lived 333-429 Ḥijrah = 944-1037 A.D., to the age of 96 years. He was the founder of a very extensive, but short-lived, Uigur kingdom, with its capital at Kâshghar. Three of his silver coins are in the British Collection ; they are described and figured in the First Part of my *Official Report*, p. 29, and plate I, fig. 21. His was the time of the first permanent introduction of Islâm into Eastern Turkistan. His father Tangrî Kadîr Bughrâ Khân was still an "idolator" ; so was his uncle and immediate predecessor Harûn Bughrâ Khân. He himself accepted Islâm when he was twelve years old, and is said to have been the first convert to Muhammadanism in Eastern Turkistan. See Sir T. D. Forsyth's *Report on a Mission to Yarkund in* 1873, pp. 122 ff. This is precisely the religious state of things disclosed by our document.

Another point worth noting in the document is the existence of the **Sipâsî sect** in Eastern Turkistan as early as the beginning of the 11th century. The *Dâbistân* contains a long description of the history of the sect and its tenets. It is said to be a survival of the old Iranian religion. Its home, accordingly, should be Western Turkistan (Bactria), whence it spread across the Pamir to Eastern Turkistan. It also spread into India, where the author of the *Dâbistân* met one of its leaders, **Azar Kaivan,** in Patna, early in the 17th century. The claim to antiquity of the sect as well as of its sacred book, the *Dasâtir*, which has been much questioned, receives considerable support from our document. The possibility, moreover, suggesting itself that the two books written in Pahlavî, which Mr. West is at present examining, may turn out to be original copies of the *Dasâtir* or some other Iranian sacred book.

[4] I may add that since writing the Note, I have received (in December 1899) a similar, but much larger (7¾″ × 4½″) box from Captain H. H. Deasy, who purchased it in Khotan, and whose property it is. It also contained a xylograph, much larger, but printed with the same formula as that of the British Collection. The outside of the box is carved with a row of standing human figures, 3½″ high. Below this row runs an inscription all round, and above it there are five circular knobs, three carved with human faces and two with inscriptions.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

Preface by R. C. Temple.

Through the courtesy of the authorities of the India Office I am now in a position to give a series of detailed extracts from the *Bengal Consultations* relating to the Andaman Settlements in the XVIIIth Century. They throw much light on the methods of our forefathers in the East and on the conditions under which they worked and accomplished so much.

As on the previous occasion I propose to print the papers as they stand and to supplement them with notes by myself and Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., by way of postscript. **The extracts cover the period 1788-1796.**

Extracts from the Bengal Public Consultations of the XVIIIth Century relating to the Andaman Islands.

1788. — No. I.

Bengal Public Council, **1788.** Fort William, the **10th Decr. 1788.** The Secretary lays before the Board a Letter from Captn. Blair to the Marine Pay Master.

Captain Blair to the Marine Pay Master, dated 10th Decr.

To Joseph Pine, Esqr., Marine Pay Master.

Sir, — As **the Viper,** will be ready for Sea in three or four days more and wishing to have every thing ready for the Service, I request you will be pleased to authorize me to purchase a Chronometer and Night Glass, and such Articles as may be proper for presents to the Inhabitants of the Andamans to the amount of two or three hundred Rupees, the Bills for which I shall send you, Some Stationary too, will be necessary which I request you will provide me with, and at the same time be pleased to inform me what Allowance I am to draw for myself as Surveyor, and for two Assistants, from whom I am to draw it, and if from the time of the commencement of **the Survey of the New Harbour,** or from what other period. As I conceive that an Officer from each Vessel will be almost constantly on duty in the Boats be pleased to permit me to give Mr. Beele an Order as Acting Lieutt. for this Voyage.

I am, Sir, etc., etc., etc. (Signed) **Archd. Blair.**

Calcutta,
Decr. 10th, 1788.

Agreed that Captn. Blair be Authorized to purchase a Chronometer and Night Glass, and such Articles as may be proper for Presents to the Inhabitants of the Andamans, to the Amount of two or three Hundred Rupees. The Secretary will give directions for Captain Blair's being furnished with as much Stationary as he requires. The other parts of his Letter are to be for Consideration.

1788. — No. II.

Fort William, the **15th December 1788.** Read a Letter from the Commander of **the Viper.**

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — In Consequence of your Order of the 2d. instant I have to Acquaint you that the Viper is now ready for a Six months' Cruize.

I am, etca.,
(Signed) **Archd. Blair.**

Calcutta,
15th Decemr. 1788.

Captain Blair's Instructions will be recorded

1788. — No. III.

Fort William, 22nd December, 1788. **The following Instructions to Lieutenant Archibald Blair Commander of the Viper Cruizer** are recorded in this Place agreeable to the Resolution of the 15th Inst. in the Public Department.

Instructions to Lieutt. Archibald Blair appointed to survey the Andamans. Dated ye 19th Decemr. 1788.

1st. Sir, — The Honble. Company's **Snow Elizabeth**[1] having been victualled for 6 Months, and impressed for 3, is placed under your orders, and being now in readiness to sail with the Viper, which is also provided and already under your Command, you are directed to proceed forthwith to the Southward, attending to the following Instructions principally relative to the Survey of the Andaman Islands.

2ndly. The material of this Survey is to ascertain in what parts of the Islands there are good **Harbours**, and where it would be most for the Company's Advantage to possess One.

3rdly. **The West side** being much exposed to the whole Range and force of the South West Munsoon, it does not appear that although Harbours should be found there which would be eligible if in other Situations, they would be useful in this; for when Islands or any high Lands are so placed as to be within the Range of the Monsoon, the Strength of the Wind is increased by this Circumstance, and Rain as well as Violent Squalls are produced by it to some Distance from the Shore, these being the Natural Consequences of Clouds being obstructed in their Course, and thus heaped together.

4thly. Therefore to approach an Harbour on the West Side of the Andamans during the whole of the Southerly Monsoon would always be considered as a Difficult as well as dangerous Undertaking, and possibly to mour out of the Harbour during any part of that Season would be impracticable: but, as it will be proper for you to make the North East of **the Great Andaman**, a cursory examination of the Western Coast of that Island may be effected without losing Time, and you are instructed accordingly. Upon your Report Government will determine whether a more particular Examination will be necessary.

5thly. It appears that the most advantageous Situation for **a Harbour must be near the South End and to the Eastward of the Island,** and that One in this Position could be approached from any Quarter and left at any time of the Year; that in the South West Monsoon a Ship could make **the little Andaman** with great safety and either run in between it or the Great Andaman or pass through **ten Degree Channel,** hauling close round **the little Andaman** where they would have smooth Water, and probably much more temperate Weather thân to the Windward of the Islands, and that Ships to the Eastward could also resort to such a Harbour by stretching from **Achun**[2] **Head**, and either going to the Eastward or Westward of the Nicobars as the Winds would permit.

6thly. It is therefore wished that you should make the first examination in this Quarter: The Board are further encouraged to give you such advices from the perusal of **Reports from Mr. Ritchie and Captain Buchanan,** who have navigated round the South Point of the Islands and discovered many Openings which have the Appearance of convenient Harbours.

7thly. Upon this Plan the Vessells should proceed immediately to the South Point of the Island, in order to examine all the Openings near it during the first Part of the Season; and if a good Harbour should be found, they should sound the whole of **Duncan's Passage** to determine whether there may be Danger in it; and, if any, to what Degree, and they should trace the Bank as far to the Westward as possible in order to establish the means of facilitating the Approach of the Channel. From thence, when the Strength of the North East Monsoon is a little broken, they should proceed up the Eastern Side of the Island, examining every opening untill they arrive as far

[1] This vessel was sold in 1789 — *vide* letter from Blair, dated 15th June 1789, in the *Records*.

[2] Mistranscription for Achin or Acheen.

to the Northward as the Cluster of Islands called **Retchus[3] Archipelago.** To the Northward of this, on the Eastern side of the Island, an Harbour would not be well situated: for it is probable that in the Strength of the North East Monsoon, which in all likelyhood would be here also increased by the Obstruction of the Land, a Ship would have some difficulty in getting off the Shore.

8thly. The Board think it very probable that to examine with attention the Space of Coast already described, which is about sixty miles in Extent and to survey any Harbours that may be found in it, will take up the whole of the Season without attending to any other Object, after which if a particular Eamination and Survey of the Western Side of the Island should, upon the general View of it already recommended, be deemed advisable, they may be undertaken at the Commencement of the insuing North East Monsoon.

9thly. Although the Regulations hitherto given of the Site and Bearings of the Head Lands or other parts of the Coast of the Andaman Islands, have appeared to those who have examined them to be contradictory; they may yet prove of some Use in describing the Appearance of the Coast, and in giving the Soundings as well as the Nature of the Shores.

10thly. The situation of the Islands in so low a Latitude affords a little Prospect of forming Docks except such as are constructed at Cronstadt and Copenhagen at a very great Expence. The Rise of the Tides being in all likelihood considerable only in the Bottom of Gulphs, deep Lagoons, or where compressed by the Invironing Inlets, recourse can only be had, in refitting Ships, to the ancient Process of careening, or the modern Invention of floating Docks.

11thly. **The primary View of this Research being, as already stated, the Acquisition of an Harbour where our Fleets in Time of War can refit** by any means on leaving the Coast of Coromandel upon the Approach of stormy Monsoon, or to which any part or the whole may retire in the Event of a disastrous Conflict with an Enemy and so obtain a Central Position in the Bay, whence the Ships may return to the Scene of Action as soon as possible, the following Objects occur as necessary to be inquired into.

12thly. What Places on the Coast possess Harbours which would be a safe Retreat in bad Weather for a Fleet, and should be capable, if required, of being fortified against the attempts of a Superior Naval Armament, and being defended with a small Land Force.

13thly. As minute a Description as Time and Circumstances permit to be made of the adjacent Heights, if any, and Ground, — the general Surface of the Ground, — and, where the Nature of it varies, the respective Extent of it, the Quality of the Soil, and its Capacity to be put into Cultivation — Natural Vegetable Productions, Reigning Winds and Currents — Rise and Set of the Tides, and rate variations of the Atmosphere whether enjoying the Advantages of Different Monsoons on opposite Sides of the Island, as experienced in the Island of Ceylon — Climate and Weather — Whether healthy or otherwise. Magnetic Observations — Harbour and Neighbourhood — Coast if affording Fish — Vicinity of Wood and Water — if affording Timber fit for repairing the Hulls of Ships and forming Masts — Clay Ground, Lime Stone or Coral Rocks near.

14thly. You are also desired to ascertain whether **Sea Shells** are found in such Quantitys on the Shores as may be likely to afford an Article of Commerce for the purpose of **burning into Lime**; **The fine Plaster of Madras being made only from Cockle Shells,** also Whether any **Traces of ancient Volcanoe's** are to be met with. They may be expected from the conical Appearance of the Mountains; and, certainly, determined from the presence of luva or Pumice Stone. You should bring samples of these; as well as of all the mineral Productions.

15thly. With regard to such of the Vegetable Products as are generally or altogether unknown, you are to preserve the Seeds and Fruits of them, and if you have the means, and Leisure should permit, have Drawings made of them. The Quality of the Fruit should be noted, and whenever you find Trees that you think would thrive and be of Use in any of the Company's Territories it is recommended to you to endeavour by Slips or otherwise to forward the Introduction of them.

[3] Mistranscription for Ritchie's, (now Andaman) Archipelago.

16thly. If you have means and Leisure, you will also have Drawings made and Descriptions given of any Animals, Birds, or fish, not known in other parts.

17thly. It is not improbable, as you have been, in the Course of Service, to the Eastward, that you may have seen the Tin and Gold Ore collected on the Malay Coast. If you have leisure while at the Andamans, and your Accommodation with the Natives should admit of your being on Shore, it is recommended to you to open the Ground to some Depth provided this can be done without furnishing a Suspicion unfavourable to your other, far more material Objects, or on the occasion of digging for a Spring of Water, examine the nature of the Strata and their tendency towards affording the Matrix, in which these Metals are generally found. You will be furnished here with Specimens of the Matrix in which Tin is found in Junksilong, and at Prince of Wales Island.

18thly. With respect to the best Method of opening an Intercourse with the People in the Rude State in which they have hitherto been described to be, much may be collected from the Attempts made by the modern Navigators on Discovery ; and it would appear from their Regulations that it would be most advisable for you at first to refrain from landing (unless in the case of positive Necessity) except at such Places on the Coast as you may Judge from their Appearance will successfully answer the Objects of your Survey ; for Grounds of contention are to be avoided, as far as possible, with the Natives, whose Indisposition to every kind of Intercourse (Mr. Ritchies Instance excepted) has been attended with Acts of Hostility to those who have heretofore visited the Islands, and in the Attempt to offer them a Social Communication, which shall afford them the Comforts and Advantages of more civilized Life, the Dictates of Humanity no less than of Policy require that this should be effected as much as possible by conciliatory Means, certainly without Bloodshed : It is therefore recommended to you to endeavour by Persuation, Presents, and other alurements (but not by Force or deceit) to prevail on some of the Natives to come on Board your Vessels, where kind and attentive Treatment of them may remove the Apprehensions of the Inhabitants in general, and promote an easy Intercourse, while at the same Time a useful Object may be gained in acquiring a Knowledge of their Manners and Customs, and of such Words and Expressions in their Language as would facilitate the Communication between us.

19thly. It would be material, and perhaps, after general Treatment of the Natives while you are at the Islands it may not be impracticable, to induce two or three of them to attend you to Bengal, where a further Intercourse with the English may tend to the further civilization of the People and to forward the Objects of Government.

20. It is hardly necessary to recommend you to ascertain from Astronomical Observations, by such Instruments as you possess the Position of the Places which you visit.

21. Copies of Ritchies Journal and Survey, and Capt. Buchanan's Views and Remarks, as well as the Relations of those Navigators, whose Reports are in this Office will be delivered to you.

22. As it is known that the French endeavoured in the late War to cut off our Supply of **Sulphur** by purchasing all that was to be found at Cochin and other Places on the Malabar Coast, as well as by sending one or two small Vessells into the Gulph of Persia for the express purpose of intercepting this Article from Gombroon, it certainly is an Object of great Importance to examine every Soil within the Company's Territories, and near them, in hopes of Discovering this indispensable Ingredient of Gun-Powder. Sulphur being a Volcanic Production, there is great Reason to suppose that it may be found in Abundance in a small Island seen by **Captain Kyd** on his Return from Prince of Wales Island and known to the Navigators of the Bay by the Name of **Barren Island. It was then in the State of Eruption**; but circumstances not permitting to go on Shore, he could only conjecture what the Productions of the Volcano may be. You are desired to examine this Island. The beds of Sulphur are generally found near old Craters.

23. Should the material Points of your Instructions already given have been fulfilled by the End of June, or should the Vessells be obliged to quit the Islands before that Period, you are directed to proceed to **Sidao Harbour,** and to examine it accurately in all Points and Respects necessary to

the Information of Government in determining how far it may be eligible for receiving large Ships, whether the Harbour be considered by it self or on a Comparison with others which you may have found at the Andamans.

24. In the Event of your going to Sidao Harbour or in any other Case where you may want Water or Provisions, you will of course dispatch a Vessell for them to the Places where they will be most easily procured; and as you may possibly send to the Prince of Wales Island, a Letter to **Captain Light,** the Superintendant, is herewith transmitted to you, that he may order the required Supplies to be furnished.

25. Although certain material Points have been noticed in your Instructions, the confidence reposed in You by the Board induces them to leave much to your discretion as to the best Mode of performing the Service on which you have been appointed; and after such a reliance on Your Attention to the General Objects of your Survey, they will not limit a Time for its Completion; but they wish you to avail yourself of all Opportunities that may offer of writing to Bengal either by Ships and Vessells coming directly to this Country, or by any other proceeding to either of the Company's Settlements on the Coast of Coromandel, so that the Governor General in Council may be regularly advised of your Proceedings, and furnish you with such other Instructions as may be necessary.

26. Your Allowances while employed on the Survey are fixed at Sonat Rupees 858 per Mensem, and the further sum of Sonat Rupees 300 per Mensem, will be paid to your Order that you may divide it among the gentlemen proceeding with you, in such Proportions as their Services may appear to you to deserve.

The Payments on both Accounts will be made by the Marine Paymaster. Your own Allowance is to commence from the 1st Instant.

I am, etc., etc.,

Cornwallis,

C. H. W. Stuart.

Fort William, **December the 19th, 1788.**

1789. — No. I.

Fort William, the **3rd June 1789.** Read a Letter from Captain Blair.

Capt. Blair. 29th May.

Mud Point, May 29th, 11-30 a. m. To Edward Hay, Esqre., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Please to acquaint the Governor General in Council that the Elizabeth and Viper are arrived in the River. That the Commands of Government are fulfilled relating to the Great Andaman and Adjacent Islands, to the best of My Judgement. That I afterwards proceeded to Prince of Wales's Island to refit the Viper with a Main Mast to procure Assistance for the Sick, and such Provisions and Stock as we were in want; from that Place I did myself the Honor to write to His Lordship leaving **the Letter with a Sketch of the Survey** to be forwarded by the Superintendant; that I touched at Acheen and have made three several Attempts to examine **Siddoo Harbour,** but the Season being too far advanced I judged it improper to persevere where there was so much hazard and hardly a Possibility of succeeding.

Please also to acquaint His Lordship that I shall loose no time in preparing a chart of the whole Survey with particular Plans of the Harbours and a full Report on the Subject.

I have the Honor to be, etca., etca., etca.,

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

1789. — No. II.

Fort William, the **12th June 1789.**

Captain Blair having returned a few days past from his Voyage to the Eastward where he was deputed upon a Survey, he was directed attend the Council this Morning with his Report and Charts. The Secretary acquainting the Board that Captain Blair is in waiting, he is called in.

Read the Instructions that were given to Captain Blair on the 19th December 1788, and are recorded on the Proceedings of the 22nd of that Month. Captain Blair delivers in the following Letter : It is **read** and **the Charts**, etca., to which it refers **are produced.**

Capt. Blair's Report, Dated 9th June.

To the Right Honble Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor General in Council.

My Lord, — Pursuant to your Lordships Orders dated **December 19th, 1788,** I left Calcutta the 20th and discharged the Pilots the 23rd in the Morning.

My first intention was to have made **the Cocos,** and from thence to have proceeded to the north extreme of the Great Andaman, to prosecute the Survey Agreeable to your Lordships instructions, but the wind proving more easterly than might have been expected at that season of the year, and a current setting to westward, put it out of my power, by Keeping close to the wind, I made **Interview Island, December 29th,** which is situated close to the Coast and ten leagues distant from the North end of the Great Andaman. Here the Viper infortunately sprung her Main Mast which Obliged me to look out for a place of safety to repair the damage and I found one in **Port Andaman.** While the Artificers were employed in the Repair, I had the Opportunity of Surveying part of that excellent Harbour. It is situated between Interview Island and the west coast of the great Andaman, with two passages in ; one to southward, and the other to northward of Interview Island. Ships entering the Harbour from southward Must be very cautious not to Approach too close to **south Reef Island** to avoid the Danger which extends to eastward of it, which is expressed in the plan of that Harbour. The north enterance is both the safest and easyest, No other direction being Necessary than to Round the North End of Interview Island pretty close, and if working, to beware of the Danger, extending to southward from **North Reef Island,** the Breakers on it will be seen a Considerable distance, and the Reef extends from that Island, half way to enterview Island.

The Harbour is abundantly capacious for the largest Fleet, the ground of the bottom is a soft clay, and it is perfectly sheltered from the force of both Monsoons, it is well supplied with good fresh water which I have Noticed in the Plan, and Nature has made it capable of being well defended ; from that Eminence on Interview Island from whence the Brooks of Fresh Water derive their sourse. The Eminence rises from the sea with a steep ascent to the Height of fifty feet perpendicular, and then with a more Gentle slope to double or treble that elevation. Most parts of it are covered with rich soil, which bears every appearance of fertility. It is overgrown with a great Variety of trees ; Many will answer for Masts, and probably for the Construction of the hulls of Ships also. There is plenty of Clay fit for Bricks and the shores are covered with coral and shells, which will Answer for Lime The island is inhabited by **Coffries** who were so very timorous, that I could bring about no further intercourse with them than their Acceptance of [a] few presents which they would not receive from our hands, but made signs for them to be put down on the beach, when they gladly Accepted them, some spots of the Island which were not covered with trees, Afforded us a plentiful supply of excellent Grass for our sheep.

Having surveyed Port Andaman rather beyond the extent of your Lordships instructions I began the examination of the coast, to southward, January 11th; the Viper tracing the outter edge, of the Bank of soundings, the Elisabeth coasting Close to the Island, and Boats were dispatched to examine those Inlets, which had any thing promising in their Appearance, Keeping Stationary in the Nights Coasting to southward from Port Andaman about two Miles distant from shore, we had regular soundings from 20 to 25 fathoms generally soft ground, and perceived several Inlets. In the evening Anchored Near a small flat Island, which is just in sight from Port Andaman. It is

thickly covered with trees and Surrounded with an extensive Reef ; the Passage (if any) between it and the Coast of the great Island, is Narrow and intricate it Appeared to have more inhabitants than Interview Island estimating the population from the Number of Canoos. In the Morning we were joyned by the Viper, and had a visit from the Natives, After some hesitation, they came close under the stern ; they Accepted some Knives and Looking Glasses, but seemed Very indifferent about them. On showing them **Bottles,** they expressed a great desire for them, and Made Signs that they wanted them to shave with One of them very expressively, putting his hand to his head which was only shaved of One side, and when a Bottle was held up, he Oppened his hands to Receive it and called out **Kee Kee** which probably signifies, give in their Language. They were peacable but extremely susp[i]cious, and would not Venture themselves on board even for Bottles. Like those we had seen at Interview Island, they were perfectly Naked, their features color and hair exactly resembling those of the Natives of Africa.

From the above Island the coast lays a little to westward of So. with few projections about two Miles distant from the Shore, the Soundings are regular, the depth from 20 to 35 fathoms, the bottom generally clay, some Spots hard sand and coraline. In latd. 12° 18 a Remarkable low Point, is formed by the Coast trending to S. E. for three miles, where there is a **small Inlet** which I take to be the same, which **Captain Buchanan gives the Name of Dundass,** from hence the coast takes the direction of So. for four miles, where there is a Second Inlet behind a steep Rocky island but the Inlet Appears inaccessible by dry Reefs and sunken Rocks. Here the Coast forms a Returning angle by Running in a S. W. direction Six Miles, to **Cape Bluff,** about Mid way there is another inconsiderable Inlet which also Appeared full of Dangers. From Cape Bluf to **Port Campbell** the Coast runs Nearly S. E. W., with several points and small indentings the Shore is bold with regular Soundings and soft Ground.

Port Campbell though a perfect Harbour in the N. E. Monsoon will be found so difficult of access during the S. W. winds, that it will be extremely dangerous if Not totally impracticable for large Ships to enter in that boisterous season. The Reef which runs off **Montgomery island,** and the Middle Ground of the Opposite side, Contracts the Channel so much, that I do not think a large shipe would have Room to work in it, particularly in the S. W. Monsoon, as it may be Presumed there will be a very high sea there during that periodical wind, and with its usual direction a Ship cannot lay up the Channel, a Reference to the Plan will evince this Assertion. We suffered Many unprovoked insults here, from the Natives and Were frequently Obliged to quit the Shore, to avoid a Conflict with them, but my Peacable intentions would not avail. While watering, the Party was suddenly Attacked, and a Na[i]que was Wounded in the Neck with an arrow, the party was Obliged to defend themselves with Musquetry and wounded One of the Savages. This little Skirmesh have [? had] One good effect; for the two succeeding days the Water of both Vessells was filled up without interruption. Examining round **Petrie island** I met two Canoos, and gave the people which were in them, some bottles with which they were highly pleased, or seemed to be so, but to my Astonishment One of them suddenly jumped out of his Canoo, run Within twenty yards of the Boat and shot All his arrows at us which luckly did no hurt though Most struck the Boat ; to punish the treacherous Villian, I took and carried his Canoos on board and set her on fire next morning with a wind which would drive her, to the place where we had been insulted. Those instances will serve to convey some Idea of the rude state and ferocious disposition of the Natives.

Having finished the servey of Port Campbell ; [I] proceeded to examine to southward **January 28th.** Observing the Same mode as hitherto discribed. The coast to southward of Montgomery Island lays in a S. b. W. direction for seven miles and then trends S. S. E. for three, where it Appears to terminate in a bluff point, which gives this part of the coast much the Apearance of an Island, but after running a little to southward I could distinctly see a small bay behind the bluff, and the junction of the land to eastward which Appeared to trend S. b. E. From the above bluff point to the Islands which are termed in the Chart **the Labirynth** the soundings are irregular, particularly Near the islands where I met with a Coral Bank which seemed to bar the passage between those, and the coast of the great island. The western sides of the Labirynth islands are environed with very extensive

Reefs, on which the surf beat very high and deterred me from examining so close as to Perceive the west entrance of **Mc Pherson Strait,** which is hid amongst the Islands. **The North Centinel** bears from the South island of the Labirynth W. b N. distant 6 leagues, it is low, covered with trees, surrounded with an extensive Reef, which is dry at low water, and it is inhabited by the same race as the great island, it cannot be seen above eight leagues, and the Bank of soundings extends only five miles west of it ; those Circumstances points out the necessity of Keeping a good look out, when Approaching it, in hasy weather. **Rutland Island** which is seperated from the great Andaman, by Mc Pherson Strait, is very Mountainous ; it Rises with a Steep ascent from the Strait to a height which may be seen fourteen leagues in clear weather, and then Slopes gradually, to southward, to a range of low land, which divides it from the southern promentory, which is Moderately high. To avoid the Shoal extending from this extreme ships ought not to Approach it closer, than two Miles, and it will be Necessary to Keep the same distance from **the Twins** to avoid a Rock, which is hardly visible at high water both those dangers will Appear in the Chart.

Having examined both **Duncans passage,** and what is termed in the Chart, **Manners Strait,** I can recommend them as safe, the former for Ships passing to eastward, but the latter for those that intend to touch on the east Coast of the great Andaman, as that rout will shorten the distance and there being tolorable Anchorage all the way through the Strait, **The Cinque islands** which form the east side, are high and may be seen nine or ten leagues in clear weather. From those to Mc Pherson Strait, the soundings are Regular with a bold Shore.

Mc Pherson Strait, considered as an Harbour possesses Many Advantages, it is abundantly supplied with excellent fresh Water by the Rivulet Marked in the Chart ; it is well sheltered from the force of both Monsooms ; is open both to eastward and westward and the stream of the tide which is regular will facilitate the entrance or departure of Ships. But with all those Advantages, it has One very material defect, which is a want of tenacity in the Ground Which forms the bottom ; it consists principally of Coral, which frequently ruins Cables, and course sand, with a very small portion of Clay in some particular Spots ; upon the whole, it will be considered as bad Anchoring ground, except in the eastern entrance near the Rivulet where the ground is oozie, but this part is too much exposed to the N. E. Winds to come under the discription of a good harbour. This Strait is evidently what Captain Buchanan give[s] the name of **Mc Pherson Bay,** and the Harbour four leagues northward **Port Cornwallis.**[4] The intermediate part of the coast is bold, the soundings are regular but extend no further than two and three Miles, from Shore, it trends N. b. E. the land is moderately high near the shore but mountainous in the interior part.

Port Cornwallis is situated on the east coast of the Great Andaman in latd. 11° 39′ N. it is seven leagues distant from the south extremity of *Rutland* Island, six from *Manners* Strait and the *Cinque* Islands, and four from *Mc Pherson* Strait. Those marks will clearly distinguish it coming from southward, and the Archipelago will be a no less certain guide from northward, it bears from the south island W. 20° So. distant Six leagues. The outter entrance of the harbour is contracted by **Ross Island,** to the breadth of one mile, which leaves the channel sufficiently wide for Ships to work, but perhaps too broad for the entrance to be effectually defended from that Island, which is well situated for the purpose. The north part of the Island ascends in a Steep Ridge to the height of 56 feet perpendicular above the level of the sea, is from 30 to 60 to feet broad at top and extends southward about 400 yards ; The soil is a rich mould mixed with a number of large Stones which would Answer well for building and the shores are covered with Coral which will Afford Chunam. After passing Ross Island the harbour Opens, but is again contracted by **Coral Ledge,**[5] the passage in, suffers a third contraction, between **Mask Island**[6] and **Command Point,** Which from the real entrance of the harbour and it, is no more than 780 yards broad. The major part of *Mask* island is low having only one small rising on it Command Point is a Peninsula projecting about 200 yards, it rises steep from the sea to about 100 feet perpendicular height, and is difficult of ascent, it is thinly covered with Ebony,

[4] Now known as Port Blair. The existing Port Cornwallis is much further North.

[5] Now Blair's reef.

[6] Now Chatham Island.

wild fruit trees, and a Variety of others common to the Island, the soil Appears good, with a number of large stones some an uncommon concretion of a great variety of small ones of different colors. By casting an eye on the Plan of this harbour your Lordship will perceive the Advantages that will result from the reciprocal situations of *Command* Point and *Mask* Island for its defence, when ships or a floating Battery properly disposed behind either, are added to those it certainly would be extremely difficult if not Absolutely impracticable for an Enemy to force the passage. *Command* Point would not require a very numerous Garrison, being naturally strong ; it is very Steep towards the sea and might be rendered inaccessible ; the present impervious state of the country behind, will effectually secure it in the rear; and *command* point will cover any works which it might be thought necessary to construct on *Mask* Island. It is hardly possible to conceive a more secure and perfect harbour, than all above *Mask* Island, and it is large enough to contain above fifty sail of the Line, where they would lay perfectly sheltered from all winds and sea ; and though there is seven feet rise of tide; there is no stream, to incommode ships under repair. It's situation renders it easy of access in either Monsoon, and ships may quit it at all seasons ; and here it is proper to Observe that the harbours of this Island are better situated for the holding a constant intercourse with Calcutta than any others whatever.

To supply a large Fleet with water the latter part of the dry season, it will be found necessary to construct Reservoirs to collect and preserve it ; for after a very laborious search, only three scanty Brooks were found, where the soil was of such a nature, as to absorb the whole before it reached the sea, though tolorable Rills a hundred yards above high Water mark, but if Reservoirs or Wells were constructed in the Beds of the Rivulets one or two hundred yards from the Shore, I have no doubt but they would be found abundantly productive for every purpose, by digging a small well about two feet deep, the Viper and Elisabeth were supplied with the quantity wanted from one of the Brooks. But should there be a scarcity of Water, even after the Construction of Reservoirs, which I think highly improbable ; at the Rivulet in *Mc Pherson* Strait, only four leagues distant, any number of ships might water with great convenience and expedition at any season.

The face of the Country of the Great Andaman is very uneven, being principally an Assemblage of ste[e]p Ridges with Ravines Swamps or Valleys between them. Few places would admit of being cultivated in the European stile with a plough but the steepest hills would be productive by adopting the Malay mode of cultivation, that at Acheen particularly where the steep hills in that neighbourhood, to the tops Afford excellent crops of Rice, Sugar Canes, and yams ; the Ridges in the vicinity of Port Cornwallis, are easier of ascent which will facilitate the cultivation.

The Soil is various in the different parts of the island ; Black rich Mould, white and dark colored Clay light sandy soil Clay mixed with pebbles of different colors, red and yellow Earth, etca. but the most general is black rich Mould. At Interview Island and Port Campbell, there are several white Cliffs which Appear to have been originally clay with a mixture of sand, and at presant hardening into stone, but easily cut and possibly would answer for building. Contiguous to Mc Pherson Strait, where it is mountainous, there is a great portion of rocky Ground, some of which has a very metallic Appearance, the Specimens are marked 2 and 3 the latter Appeared to me tin ore but it seems to be of that soil which is distinguished at Junk Sailon by the name of dead Ore, which is not productive, but it is considered an indication of good Ore being near it, There is also a soft Kind of free stone containing a shining yellow Spar, resembling gold Dust, the Specimen is marked 4. On a rock in the Archipelago, I found the Stone marked 5, which takes a fine polish and is extremely hard ; the Major part of the rock was of the same texture. The shores without exception are lined with Coral, with some sandy beaches at high water mark.

The coast and harbours abound with a variety of Fish, but having no other tackle except hooks and lines, we caught only Rock Fish Snappers, yellow Tails and Cat Fish in muddy ground ; besides those we saw shoals of Pamphlet, etca., which might have been caught by more expert fishermen with Nets, we found plenty of excellent Oysters at Port Campbell and a few in Mc Pherson Strait ; shell-Fish of various sorts are to be had in all the Reefs ; we also saw Turtle but they did not seem to be numerous.

As the Great Andaman is in a perfect State of Nature, I conceive the productions will be found to differ little from those of the Continent adjacent, It is overgrowen with a very great variety of trees, underwood ground Rattans, Alloes etca. Many of the trees I could perceive to be of the same sorts, which I had before seen on the Malay coast; *viz*., Pine the Oil and Dammer trees Chingre and Bendy, some of the trees I am confident will Answer for Masts and I have little doubt but others will be found fit for Plank and crooked Timber; but it requires more experience than I have, to pronounce with certainty, what will be the quality of the timber while the tree is growing; some Specimens I have brought, of excellent qualities, Ebony is to be had in abundance, and there is a tree of an immense size, measuring thirty feet circumference, which Appears to be a very rich Die Wood, and as it may become a Valuable article of trade, I have brought a sufficient quantity to make full trial of it, the specimen is marked 1. Besides those vegitable productions already Mentioned there is Hemp or an excellent substitute for it, Which will Appear by the Bow Strings and Nets made by the Natives.

While I was on the Coasts of the Island, the N. E. wind was predominant Varying to and from the land in the day and night; on the west coast it generally blew parallel to it in the day, and from N. E. in the Night. At Port Cornwallis we had regular land and sea breezes, the former from N. W. commencing about ten at night, and continuing till Nine or ten in the Morning; the latter from N. E. set in generally about eleven in the Morning and continued till sunset; those winds will greatly facilitate the entrance or departure of Ships. There is no doubt but the S. W. wind prevails from May to September; but I do not think, that Monsoon, will be found so Violent, as it is on the Malabar coast; for the winds will not meet With so much Obstruction from a narrow stripe of land like the Great Andaman, some parts of which are low quite a cross, as they do from the Peninsula of India with the range of the Gauts parallel and but a small distance from the line of the coast; I can say from the experience of passing that Island twice, pretty close, during the S. W. Monsoon that the winds were more moderate than they are at the same distance from the Malabar coast. Those circumstances incline me to think that it cannot be more difficult to work off the west coast of the Great Andaman than it is to gain an Offing from the Malabar coast; and that it will not be difficult nor dangerous for ships to enter or quit Port Andaman during that season. The consideration of that harbour being only ten leagues distant from the North extremity of the island, will make it Appear easier Accomplished, and with hardly a shaddow of danger, for the harbour Might be kept Open to run in should there be Occasion, until the ships gain sufficient Offing so as to be certain of weathering the Island. As Port Andaman is more contiguous to Calcutta and the coast of Coromandel than the other harbours of the Island, the above statement appears necessary in Order to discriminate, which May be the most Advantagous possession. The general passages from Calcutta or the Coast of Coromandel to Port Cornwallis, will exceed those from the same places to Port Andaman five or six days and the returns in either Monsoon, will have nearly the same difference. In every other respect except being situated nearer the coast and Calcutta, Port Cornwallis Appears preferable to Port Andaman considering both as refitting Ports, for His Majesty's ships.

During my stay on the Coasts and in the harbours of the great Andaman, I never experienced pleasanter Weather, generally a clear sky in the day, with very few exceptions, heavy but not unwholesome dews in the Night, with cooling breezes both Night and day, and seldom above an hours calm between the sea and land winds even in the harbours. We had no other complaints in either of the Vessels except the remains of disorders contracted at Calcutta; Considering its nearness to the equator it may certainly be deemed, a cool, healthy climate. The Narrowness of the Island, and one or other of the Monsoons constantly blowing across it; few places can be better ventilated, and being so great a distance from the continent, those winds must be perfectly pure.

The Natives from their features color and hair appear to be descended from Africans; and there is **an Account in the Annals of Goa** which adds probability to this conjecture. Two Portuguese ships with African Slaves, bound to Malacca, were lost on their passage thither, which may have first peopled the Great Andaman by being wrecked on that Island. They are probably in the rudest state

of any Rational Animals which are to be found. Both sexes go perfectly Naked, have no other houses than sheds about four feet high, and seem to depend principally upon shell Fish for their subsistance Which they gather on the Reefs at low Water ; it also Appeared that they catch Turtle and Hogs, their huts being Ornamented with the bones of those Animals painted red ; in One we found fragments of earthen Pots, and near it a piece of a human skull ; the former has probably been driven there in a Burman Canoo, of Which we found the remains ; the latter left by Accident for it did not Appear as a thing Attended to. Their greatest stretch of ingenuity Appear in the construction of their bows, Arrows, Fishgigs Nets and Canoos ; and considering that their tools are only Shells they are tolorably finished. The only Appearance of civilization was their being formed into tribes and some Attention which they paid their Chiefs which were generally painted red. They seemed to have very deep rooted prejudices against strangers ; and constantly expressed either fear or Resentment when ever they saw us land. Except at Interview Island, we were attacked at every place we visited, which very Much circumscribed our excursions but being prepared, in all our skirmishes with them when they were invariably the Aggressors, We had only One man Wounded. By the kindest treatment I could devise when they came on board, and dismissing them with presents, I endeavoured in vain to promote a friendly intercourse with them ; their behaviour was so excessively wild and contradictory, that I found it impossible to judge of their Motives with certainty. Examining the upper branch of Port Cornwallis, the day before I quitted it, on our way from, and Return to the Vessels we saw several Women fishing on the Reefs ; passing one of the points pretty close, a single man run down and shot his Arrows at us, and as I perceived he had but few I let him expend them all Without interruption, only One of his Stock struck the boat ; he was then joined by an Old Woman a young Woman and a Boy, when they Attacked us with Stones. The women as well as the men were perfectly naked except a String round their Waists, With a small ornamental Tassel hanging to the fore part. The Old woman when she could not make her stones reach the Boat, expressed her fury by carrying indecency to the highest possible pitch. As there was no danger to Apprehend from their Attack and wishing to learn something characteristic of them, I threw a knife on shore and Made signs to the man to pick it up, to see what effect it would produce ; on taking up the Knife, he immediately proclaimed peace by throwing down his stones, the women followed his example and Advanced to the Boat With as much confidence as if they had done nothing to offend us. They continued about an hour with us, and were highly pleased with some Knives Nails, etca., and the man Appeared quite overjoyed With a small hatchet which he exercised on several trees With the Appearance of great satisfaction hallooing to us to Observe his dexterity.

Those rude savages were at last so pleased that I had nearly persuaded them to come into the Boat. They followed us about two Miles along a very Rugged Rocky Beach expressing Attention, and sat down on the point Where we quitted the shore with indications of regret at our departure. This instance of good Nature inclines me to think that it would not be very difficult to establish a friendly intercourse with them, and that with proper Attention and Management they might be made useful to Settlers. Those who Visited the vessels gave some Coffries I had on board the Viper, very pressing invitations, by signs, to Accompany them on shore. The compliance with such a Request Might be a Speedy Means of promoting an intercourse with them.

Having finished the survey of this admerable harbour I quitted it March 12th to examine to the North part of the Archipelago Agreeable to your Lordships instructions. There is a continuation of high land four leagues to Northward of Port Cornwallis, a little beyond Where it terminates there is a considerable Inlet but it is too shoal to admit large Ships With convenience, from this part of the coast to the North end of the Archipelago there are several More Inlets, Which will Appear in the General Chart ; it would have taken a long time to have examined them With Minute Attention, and from a Cursory survey, their Appearance was not so promising as to require it, at present ; they in future however may become useful as means of communication With the interior part of the Island. I think it not improbable but some small branches of One of them May communicate with Port Campbell but there being no stream of tide there, if a communication, it must be small and shallow.

The Archipelago consists of two pretty large Islands, six of smaller size and several Islets. Between the two largest there is a tolorable harbour Which was not particularly examined; the Islands of the North and south Extremes are low, but there are several high Ridges towards the center of the Archipelago and **Round Hill** Which is expressed in the Chart May be seen nine or ten leagues distant.

Diligent Strait, Which is formed by the Archipelago and the great Andaman, has very regular soundings in the south part, decreasing gradually in depth towards the North. The Narrowest part of the strait, is between **Strait island** and round Hill, where the sounding are very irregular and the bottom mostly coral rock. The shoal extending from Strait siland is very dangerous having deep water close to it; the North part of that Island ought not to be Approached closer than One Mile and a half to avoid the Danger. After passing to Northward of Strait Island two miles the bottom in general is soft but With spots of coral Where the Water is shoaler.

Wherever the bottom is coral I have Observed that the soundings are generally Very irregular and danger ought Always to be Apprehended; for there are sometimes small Rocks which may not be discovered by a very diligent search, and by their vegitating, become [e]very day More dangerous, until they discover themselves, at the surface of the water, in such situations a good look out from the Masthead near should be omitted and a Boat ahead sounding if the Weather permits, diligent Strait and the west end of Mc Pherson Strait particularly require this caution.

The extent of the Bank of soundings With the various depths, and difference of ground we had on it, will Appear in the **General Chart;** and to it I shall refer the Navigator for such nautical information as I have been to Collect.

The Currents Were so trivail [*sic*] on both the west and east coasts, that it is unnecessary to say any thing further than that they had a southerly tendency, Which it is probable continues With the Northern Monsoon and shifts with that periodical Wind, this I have Observed in other tracks Where such winds prevail.

Having executed your Lordships instructions relating to the Great Andaman to the best of my judgement, I left that Coast **March 21st** and landed on **Barren Island the 24th. The Volcano was in a violent state of eruption,** bursting out immense Volumes of smoak, and frequently showers of red hot stones, some were of a size to weigh three or four tons, and had been thrown some hundred yards past the foot of the Cone, there were two or three eruptions while we were close to it, several of the red hot stones rolled down the sides of the Cone and they bounded a considerable way past us. The base of the Cone is the lowest part of the Island, not exceeding twenty yards perpendicular hight above the level of the sea; it rises with an Acclivity of 32° 17′ to the height of 1800 feet Nearly which is the elevation of the other high parts of the Island. From its present figure it may be conjectured that the volcano first broke out Near the centre of the Island rather towards the W., and in a long process of time by discharging, consuming and undermining has brought it to the present very extraordinary form, of Which a very correct perspective by **Lieut. Wales** will impress a distinct idea. Those parts of the Island distant from the Volcano are thinly covered with blasted shrubs and trees. It is situated in land [? Lat.] 12° 15′ No. and fifteen leagues east of the North Island of the Archipelago and may be seen 12 leagues in clear Weather; a quarter Mile from shore, there is no ground With 150 fathoms line. The volcanic Specimens are marked No. 15 Which I imagine do not contain sulphur, but I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that Sulphur May be had in Abundance from the Malay coast, Acheen particularly, Where the average price is six dollars pr pecul of 133 lbs.

From Barren island I explored southward for **a Danger**[7] only noticed in some Charts, and as it relates to the safety of the Navigation of the Great Andaman, I was resolved if possible to find it; and was Assisted in the discovery by a memorandum from **Captain Lindsay** of its latitude and supposed distance from the Andaman; Which he took from **Captain Hannah** who had lately seen it, I struck soundings on a **Bank** which environs it **March 25th** in the Night, and worked to windward

[7] Now known as the Invisible Bank.

on it till noon the 26th to gain the north extremity of the Bank, and afterwards traced both edges of the shoal and ascertaned the position of the Ledge of Rocks, which are even with the water.

This Danger has been frequently seen, but no Notice is taken of the extensive Bank, which surrounds it, Which, with due Attention to the Lead, will warn ships time enough to avoid it. It is situated in 11·07 N. and bears from the south extreme of Rutland Island E. 14° S. distant 47 leagues. It is of small extent with high Breakers on it, and the Rocks are just to be seen After the surfs break The water did not Appear the least discolored on the Bank Which is very unusual. Our Stock being at this time Almost exhausted several of the people having disorders, who were much in want of Medical Assistance and the Viper Absolutely requiring a main mast and yard I resolved to proceed directly for **Prince of Wales Island** where I knew all our wants could be supplied. I Arrived there **April 2d.** and the 22d. of the same Month the people were sufficiently recovered to return to their duty, and the Vessels were provided with such things as they had been in want of. I took the Opportunity of our stay at that place to make out a sketch of the survey which I left with **Mr. Light** to be forwarded to your Lordship together with a letter on the subject. It may not be improper to inform your Lordship that I saw there a french gentleman, **Chevalier Boneron, who had been on the coast of the Great Andaman in that ship which carried off two of the Natives.** One he relates died of his wounds and the other suddenly at Pondicherry; by his Journal Which I saw in Mr. Lights possession, it Appeared that they made the east coast to northward of the Archipelago, coasted from thence to the north end went through **Cleugh's Strait** and kept sight of the west coast, as far as Interview island; but that they discovered neither Bay nor harbour, that would Afford shelter to ships Several parts of the Journal were sealed down, relating to Cocheen China and Johore, The last is a place of consequence, just within the east mouth of the Strait of Malacca, With a tolerable Harur known by the name of the Straits of Sincapore.

I quitted Prince of Wales island April 22d. and arrived at **Acheen the 1st of May.** No country in the world perhaps, affords a more beautiful and fertile prospect than the coast of Pedier and Neighbourhood of Acheen; there are very rich and extensive plains and the hills though very steep, are partially cultivated to the tops, affording excellent crops of Rice, Sugar Canes and yam's; besides those the country produces a great quantity of Pepper and an astonishing variety of excellent Fruit, Bullocks Goats and Poultry are good and to be had in Abundance. Few places will be found to excell Acheen for the refreshment of a Squadron. The Country is excessively populous and considerable part of it is in a State of rebellion. Last year, the king was shut up in his Fort, for five months, and owed his safety to the fidelity and gallant behaviour of **Mr. Huaw** who commands his Vessels. He forced several of the Enemys Posts, on the Banks of the River and opened a communication between the Road, and the Fort Which soon Obliged the Rebels to retire. He I believe is the only instance of an European possessing the intire confidence and managing all the business of a Malay Prince. I was assured by that gentleman that it was a most favourable crises, to Make an Alliance or Obtain a possession from the king of Acheen, for he sees that it would add to his strength and security against his rebellious subjects.

From Mr. Huaw's Account I expected to have found a tolorable harbour between **the Islands Brasse and Nancy,** Which would be a most favourable situation, but on examination I found it intirely exposed to the S. W. winds. —From thence I intended to proceed to **Siddoo** but very bad Weather Obliged me to return to Acheen Road to wait for a more favourable Opportunity. The 7th of May the weather having a settled Appearance, I made a second Attempt, and got so near it in the evening, that I expected to have got in the Morning following; but the S.-W. Monsoon very unexpectedly broke in during the Night With great violence; which put the vessels in a very perilous situation, We were Obliged to carry a pressed sail to keep the vessels off a lee shore, deepening and shoaling our Water Alternately in a Rocky bottom, the squalls were frequent, and excessively hard with heavy rain and a very high sea. At day light we found ourselves less than two Miles from the shore, on Which there was a dreadful surf. The wind at this period being more southerly Admitted of our returning to Acheen Road, by way of **the Surat Passage.** I continued in the Road till the 13th when the Weather had a settled Appearance, and then made a third Attempt. The 14th the

weather again became very bad, there being a quick succession of hard squalls with heavy rain and a high sea, Under such unfavourable circumstances, and there being little probability of being able to effect it during the S. W. Monsoon, I considered it my duty to Return to Calcutta; and I bore away at 9 in the Morning to that effect.

A Table of Observations relating to the Survey shall be delivered as soon as I can connect [? correct] and finish them with another Copy of **the General Chart, and Plans of the Harbours** agreeable to Your Lordships Orders.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that in the performance of this service we have been so fortunate as Neither to loose a Man a Boat or an Anchor.

It is my duty to Acknowledge that I have reason to be perfectly satisfied with the Gentlemen Who have been employed with me on this duty having chearfully performed Whatever was requested of them. Acting **Lieute. Wales** has the sole Merit of the Views I must also Acknowledge the great aid I have Received from **Mr. Retchies Remarks** Notwithstanding his short stay, and the bad Weather he had to encounter, he shows in his Chart, a probability of the existance of Harbours and Straits, Where I have Actually found them. **Captain Buchanan** by More favourable Weather and a closer Approach is more Minute in his Discription of some parts.

I am, with the greatest Respect, My Lord, Your Lordships Most Obedient humble Servant,

Calcutta, (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

June 9th, 1789.

Captain Blair withdraws.

Ordered that a Letter be Written to Captain Blair by the Secretary Acquainting him that the Governor General in Council is highly Satisfied With the Investigation Which he has made of the points committed to his Survey at the Andaman Islands and will communicate his Sence of it to the Honble. Court of Directors to whom a Copy of Mr. Blairs Report and of the Charts which Appear to have been made with Much Neatness and accuracy will be transmitted by the next Dispatch to Europe. Capt. Blair is desired to have Copies prepared of them to remain at the Presidency.

Captain Blair should be informed also that the Governor General in Council considers his reason for discontinuing his Attempts to examine Siddoo Harbour as fully sufficient After the Success Which Attended the first and most Material Object of his Survey.[8]

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SCREETORE.

THE above word is occasionally found in old Anglo-Indian documents in the sense evidently of a writing case, or desk, or box containing *inter alia* writing materials. It is not in Yule's *Glossary*.

It is no doubt connected with the existing English auctioneers' word **escritoir** for a fancy writing table (*bureau*), which is perhaps old French for **écritoire**, a horn or other receptacle for ink. The following are quotations for its use.

1669. — "(Goods imported into Achin) ffrom Siam Tinne, Coppar, China Wares, Rice and **Screetores** both plaine and lackared, etc."— *MS. Account of India*, by T. B. [ateman, of the first batch of "Pilots" sent to India], p. 158.

1685. — "The Seamen landing a Small **Scritoire** with y^e boat in which were Gold Mohurs and Rupees to y^e value of R. 2063:9 for account of Mr. Charles Chamberlan and R. 3307:11 for account of Mr. Alford of Madras, the said **Scritoire** dropt into the sea, striking on y^e Shipp's Side broke ye **Scritoire** and the money dropt out into y^e Sea." — Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges*, I. 182.

1700. — "I have sent a Small Sandall **Screwtore** for a Pallakeen." — Catharine Nicks, *letter* in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges*, II. 260.

1756. — "Soon after found a Small **Escrutore** with 2 Gun Flints and a File in it, with Which we Soon kindled a Fire. This gave us all great Spirits and Indeed I thought the People would Never think they had Candles enough, a light Box of which was Found with the **Escrutore.**"— *MS. Account of the Wreck of the Doddington*, by Evan Jones, p. 7.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[8] [*Note.* — On the 21st August 1789 was considered a letter from Capt. Blair (mentioned in the above report) transmitted from Prince of Wales Island and dated the 19th April. This letter is already printed with the *Miscellaneous Papers* — *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 323. — ED.]

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.[1]

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

NO one can be long in Burma without hearing of the Nats, and every book on the Burmese — from the writings of the most learned scholars and most competent observers to those of the butterflies of literature, who flutter through the country and write about it — contains more or less elaborate and more or less accurate notices of them, and still it has always been most difficult to say definitely what the word actually means, or what the Nats are really supposed to be. Perhaps the most nebulous ideas of all on the subject are those of the persons who openly or secretly believe in them, and yet the Nats pervade all Burma and are in one form or another held in awe by all the native population, Burmese or otherwise by descent, whether Buddhist or Pantheistic by faith, whether civilized or savage, whether enlightened so far as Oriental wisdom can teach or entirely ignorant. The subject for study thus opened up is very wide, very complicated, and to the student of anthropology of some importance. It is to the elucidation of one prominent phase of it that I now address myself.

As a further preliminary note, I may say that the following sketch is made in the hope of arousing further interest in this subject in residents in Burma, who can do much towards clearing away difficulties and uncertainties by further research into details, now that the facts of the subject are laid before them in a definite sequence. I have, therefore, made no attempt to adopt a scientific orthography, but have adopted that in ordinary use among Europeans and best understood. Also I would note for their benefit, that many of the names and titles to be found used in reference to the Nats themselves, or to the historical personages on whom the stories about them are fathered are merely Burmese transcriptions of Pali, and in a few cases, of Sanskrit words. Every Nat has probably in addition a personal name among the people which should be worth unearthing.

Examples of Pali or Sanskrit titles are the following :—

Burmese vulgar pron. in Brackets.	Pali, except where marked Sanskrit.
Anawrathâ (Nawyetà)	Anuruddha.
Athingayâ	Asaṅkhya.
Dâyakâ	Dâraka.
Dûtiyâ	Dutiya.
Eyâwun	Erâvaṇa.
Hanthâwadî...	Haṁsâvatî.
Mahâgîri (Mâgayè)	Skr. Mahâgṛiha (P. °ghara).
Mahâthàmbawâ	Mahâsambhava.
Màthîrithû (Màthayêthû)	Mahâsirisûra.
Nagâ...	Nâga.
Nagarît (Nagayit)	Nâgarâja.
Narabadîsîthû (Neyâbadî°)	Narapati Jâyasûra.
Narathêngâ (Neyâ°)...	Narasiṅga.
Narathû (Neyâthû)	Narasûra.

[1] In the *Journal of Indian Art* for the current year there is an account by myself of a series of coloured drawings of the *Thirty-Seven Nats* illustrated by 12 chromo-lithographed plates and I have in preparation an elaborate monograph on the subject which will be largely illustrated.

Burmese vulgar pron. in Brackets.	Pali, except where marked Sanskrit.
Nawrathâ (Nawyetâ)	Anuruddha.
Sîthû	Jâyasûra.
Sûlamani	Chûḷamani.
Thagyâ	Skr. Çakra (P. Sakka).
Thênga Yâza	Siṅga Râja.
Thîhâthû	Sîhasûra.
Thîrikettayâ...	Skr. Çrîkshêtra.
Thîriwundâ	Siṛivaṇṭâ.
Uzenâ	Yôjana.
Yahàn	Skr. Arahanta (P. Arahâ).
Yâzadarît (Yâzadayit)	Râjâdhirâja.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the European literature on the general subject, although I have collected a goodly number of valuable references to Nats, either detailed or casual.

The following is a tentative list, taken from my private library, to show how numerous they are and how well worth collecting together, with others that may exist, so as to form a foundation, on which to build a comprehensive and authoritative account of the unorthodox beliefs of the inhabitants of Burma :—

1800. — Symes, *Embassy to Ava in* 1795, p. 447.

1801. — *Asiatick Researches*, Buchanan's *Religion of the Burmas*, VI. 179, 186 to 194, 205 to 218, 231 f., 237 to 239, 242 to 244, 246, 267 ff.

1829. — Crawfurd, *Embassy to Ava in* 1827, pp. 69, 162 f., 163, 200, 229 ; Appx., 27, 29 f.

1833. — Sangermano, *Burmese Empire*, 6 ff., 22 ff., 26 ff., 39 ff., 116, 134 f.

1839. — Malcom, *Travels in South Eastern Asia*, 2 vols. : I. 104, 234, 292 f., 307 ; II. 369.

1853. — Wayland, *Memoirs of Judson*, 2 vols. : I. 113 ; II. 341.

n. d., 1855. — Yule, *Mission to Ava in* 1855, 27 n., 54, 235 n. on Nats, 241 f.

1864. — Phayre, *History of the Burmese Race*, in J. A. S. B., 17 ff.

1873. — Browne, *Hist. Acct. of Dist. of Thayetmyo*, 30 ff.

1873. — Phayre, *History of Pegu*, in J. A. S. B , 38.

1875. — Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. Sakko.

1876. — Macmahon, *Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, 122, 151.

1880. — *Brit. Burma Gazetteer*, 2 vols. : I. 397 ; II. *s. v.* many places, such as Prome.

1882. — Shway Yeo (Scott), 2 vols. *The Burman, His Life and Notions* : I. 276 ff. on Nats.

1882. — Mason, *Burmah*, Theobald's Ed., 2 vols. : I. 486 ; II. 571.

n. d., 1885. — Forchhammer, *Reports*, Arakan, 51.

1886. — Bigandet, *Life and Legend of Gaudama*, Trübner's Ed., 2 vols. : Chief references, II., 524, 43 n. ; I., 17 n., 19 n., 77 n., 123 n. Other references, I. 4 n., 5 t. and n., 17 ff. t., 25 n., 27 f. n. and t., 32 n. and t., 36 n., 38 n. and t., 49 n., 60 t., 87 t., 90 n., 119 n., 219 n. and f. n. for Man Nat, 84 n.

1886. — Scott, *Burma*, 105, 174.

1890-1894. — *Indian Antiquary*, XIX., 1890, p. 438 n.; XXI., 1892, pp. 216, 317, 381 important; XXII., 1893, p. 5, 161, 362; XXIII., 1894, p. 26.

1891. — Taw Sein Ko, *Memo. of Tour in Amherst*, etc.: for Popo Nat, 17.

1892. — *Census Report*, Imp. Ser., India, Vol. IV., 1891, p. 68 ff., 91; Appx., 14, 18, 21, 30, 31 f., 35.

1893. — Macmahon, *Far Cathay and Farther India*, 95 ff., 181, 195, 200 ff.

1893. — Oertel, *Report on a Tour in Burma*, 17.

1893. — Stevenson, *Burmese Dict.*, *s. v.* nat: *s. v.* Thagya.

1893. — Cuming, *In the Shadow of the Pagoda*, 47.

1893. — Taw Sein Ko, *The Spiritual World of the Burmese* in the *Transactions*. Ninth Int. Cong. Orient., I. 174 ff.

1896. — *Karen Dict.*, *s. v.* na.

1897. — Bode, *Sâsanâvaṁsa*, 35.

I shall, instead, commence my investigations with **a statement made by an educated Burman,** or more strictly native of Burma, in a letter to me which is of much interest in the present connection. He wrote: — "I have to state that Buddhism and Brahmanism have certain beliefs in common, in consequence of stories handed down from father to son. The wild tribes which have not received the Religion of Gaudama [*i. e.*, Buddhism] are quite as strong in this primitive faith. Not only has every human being, but also every conspicuous object and every article of utility, a guardian spirit. When people die it is said that they become spiritual bodies, requiring spiritual food, and in order that these spirits or Nats may not harm the living, the latter make certain customary offerings to them. Some persons, who have familiar spirits, make annual offerings to the Nats, and before making an offering a small bamboo or plank house is built in a grove or near a mountain, wax candles are lighted and minor offerings are made. These festivals are generally performed in Upper Burma. When the ceremonies are over, a pot of water is poured out slowly on to the ground, while repeating certain prayers.

"During the reign of King Anawrathazaw [the great conqueror and Buddhist reformer of the Pagàn Dynasty who reigned 1010-1052 A. D.] the people in Pagàn worshipped the Nats daily. They used to build a small bamboo structure called a Nat-house in front of their own houses and placed offerings in it daily. Whenever the King saw these miserable little Nat-houses, he used to order his officers to destroy them, and had all the figures of the Nats collected into one place and tied together with chains. The figures of these Nats are still to be found in Pagàn in a cave there. When the people came to learn about the order of the king directing the destruction of their Nat-houses, they obeyed it, but they hung up a cocoanut in their own houses to represent them and as an offering to the dispossessed Nats. The figures of the Thirty-Seven Nats are still to be seen near the Ngyaung-ù Pagoda at Pagàn [in Upper Burma]."

The value of this letter to my mind is that it comes from a native of Burma with a mind untinged with European ideas, who rather neatly betrays his origin to be Talaing by his reference to the cocoanut. The letter puts the whole question very fairly. **The Nats are in fact supernatural beings derived from three separate sources.** The supernatural beings of the Buddhists, celestial, terrestrial and infernal, derived from the old Brahmanic cosmogony of India. The tutelary spirits that fill the Earth and all that is thereon, man himself and all the creatures, objects and places amongst which he lives and moves and has his being, derived from the ancient animistic pre-Buddhist beliefs of the people. The ghosts and spirits of the departed. In such a hierarchy as this there are, as there plainly must be, many Orders, and the object of our present study, **the Order of the Thirty-Seven Nats, belongs to the category of ghosts or spirits of departed heroes,** except in one instance, — the chief of the Order, Thagyâ Nat, who springs from ancient Indian Brahmanic ideas.

Now, not only are all the Thirty-Seven Nats, excepting Thagyâ Nat, ghosts of departed heroes, but they all, except one other, purport to be **the spirits of persons either themselves royal, or**

directly or indirectly connected with royalty. The stories, as now commonly current, are also not necessarily fastened on to persons very long since dead. **The majority of them were alive between the XIIIth and XVIIth Cent. A. D., and some less than 200 years ago.** One was well known to the early Portuguese settlers and was often mentioned in their accounts. I need hardly point out that this is a strong indication of the stage of civilisation to which the modern Burman has reached.

I may here say that **each of the Nats has his or her own cult,** *i. e.*, an appropriate ceremony or festival, and an appropriate place and time for performing it, which is in every case of interest to the student, but the point is outside the present enquiry.

Though everybody knows of the Thirty-Seven Nats and everybody talks about them glibly enough, I found that the books passed them over, so far as details were concerned, and I had much difficulty in hunting up vernacular information on the subject, or in procuring named pictures and images of them. In the end I managed to procure **some outline legends and a complete set of images carved by Burmans in teak-wood,** which I believe is unique, unless a collection which I heard was to be sent to the Copenhagen Museum in 1895 has been placed there. I propose to explain now a series of illustrations made from the images in my possession with the aid of the information thus picked up at odd times from various Burmans and my subsequent researches. Quoting so trustworthy an authority as Taw Sein Ko, I would note that "as a rule, images of Nats are uncouth objects, generally made of wood, with some sort of human countenance. Those of the 'Thirty-Seven Rulers' are being carefully preserved within the precincts of the Shwêzîgôn Pagoda at Pagàn." My specimens are, however, I am glad to say, fine examples of indigenous art.

The following is **a list of the vernacular information** in my possession:—

Books.

1. *Mahâgîtà Mêdanîgyàn.* Pp. 117-179 : Disquisition on the Thirty-Seven Nats. List at p. 118. Woodcuts : on front cover, No. 10 Aungzwâmagyî Nat ; on p. 179, Thagyâ Nat. Published at Rangoon, B. E. 1253 (1891).
2. Bound MS. in Burmese. "The 37 Nats."

MSS. Unbound.

3. MS. A. — List with very brief notes.
4. MS. B. — List with more copious notes.
5. MS. C. — List with very brief notes.
6. MS. D. — List with notes on each.
7. MS. E. — Fragmentary notes on Nats Nos. 22 to 31 inclusive.

Drawings.

8. A set of elaborately colored drawings on a *parabaik* (native paper) book of all the Nats : no names or descriptions.
9. A bound set of pencil drawings of the 37 Nats with names and descriptions and occasional notes.
10. A bound set of fine pencil drawings of the 37 Nats with names and notes on each.
11. A bound set of rough tentative pencil drawings of the 37 Nats with names.

But there must be much more vernacular information available somewhere, for Taw Sein Ko informs us that there is a **Book of Thirty-Seven Odes** attached to the cult.

One prominent fact came to my notice from an examination of the data available, *viz.*, that the various lists procured from all sorts of independent sources, were so nearly the same, both in the names of the Nats themselves and in the order in which they were given, that it may be taken for granted that there exists what may be called **an authentic list.** I have, therefore, taken that one, which is to be found in a pamphlet containing a popular work, the *Mahâgîta Mêdanîgyàn*, printed at Rangoon in 1253 B. E., *i. e.*, in 1891 A. D., with a woodcut representing Aungzwâmagyî Nat, No. 10, on

the front cover, as my model and the most likely to be authentic. In numbering my images I have followed the numeration given therein, and I may add that my numbering has been accepted by the competent Burmans to whose criticism it has been subjected.

I now give what may be called the Authentic List : —

The Authentic List of Nats.

1. Thagyâ Nat.
2. Mahâgîri Nat.
3. Hnamàdawgyî Nat.
4. Shwê Nabê Nat.
5. Thônbàn Hlà Nat.
6. Taung-gnû Mingaung Nat.
7. Mintarâ Nat.
8. Thàndawgàn Nat.
9. Shwê Nawrathâ Nat.
10. Aungzwâmàgyî Nat.
11. Ngâzîshin Nat.
12. Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin Nat.
13. Taungmàgyî Nat.
14. Maung Minshin Nat.
15. Shindaw Nat.
16. Nyaung-gyin Nat.
17. Tabin Shwêdî Nat.
18. Minyè Aungdin Nat.
19. Shwê Sippin Nat.
20. Mèdaw Shwêsagâ Nat.
21. Maung Pô Tû Nat.
22. Yun Bayin Nat.
23. Maung Minbyû Nat.
24. Màndalê Bôdaw Nat.
25. Shwêbyin Naungdaw Nat.
26. Shwêbyin Nyîdaw Nat.
27. Minthâ Maung Shin Nat.
28. Tîbyûsaung Nat.
29. Tîbyûsaung Mèdaw Nat.
30. Bayinmàshin Mingaung Nat.
31. Min Sîthû Nat.
32. Min Kyawzwâ Nat.
33. Myaukpet Shinmà Nat.
34. Anauk Mîbayâ Nat.
35. Shingôn Nat.
36. Shingwâ Nat.
37. Shin-nèmî Nat.

The **qualifications for admission into the authentic list** are such as might be expected : — great prominence, strong personality or striking performances during life; or one of the sudden, cruel, startling deaths or tragic, terrifying fates only too common in Burman, as in all Oriental, history.

Why the orthodox number of this Order of Nats is fixed at 37 is an interesting question. It has no doubt something to do with the 33 occupants of the Tâvatiṁsa (Trayastriṁça in Skr. and Tâwadênthâ in Bur.) Heaven of the old Indian and now Burmese Buddhism. The Pali word Tâvatiṁsa means "belonging to the 33," and the 33 compose an Order of supernatural beings with Çakra, *i. e.*, Thagyâ, as their head, just as he is head of the modern Burmese Order of the 37 Nats. In another view, which is a confused reference to the old Indian idea of the changing personality from time to time of the chief of a Buddhist heaven, every one of the 33 is a Thagyâ, and in this view the head of the 37 Nats is one of the Thagyâs for the time being.

What I may call the natural grouping of the Nat stories historically, as will be seen later on, supports the view that the Order of 37 is a national reference to the old Order of 33, made in consequence of that attitude of mind which has induced the Burmese to fit all the classical names of the localities of Indian Buddhism on to territories and places of note within their own ken. Referring to the "Authentic List" I find that **the stories group themselves thus**:—

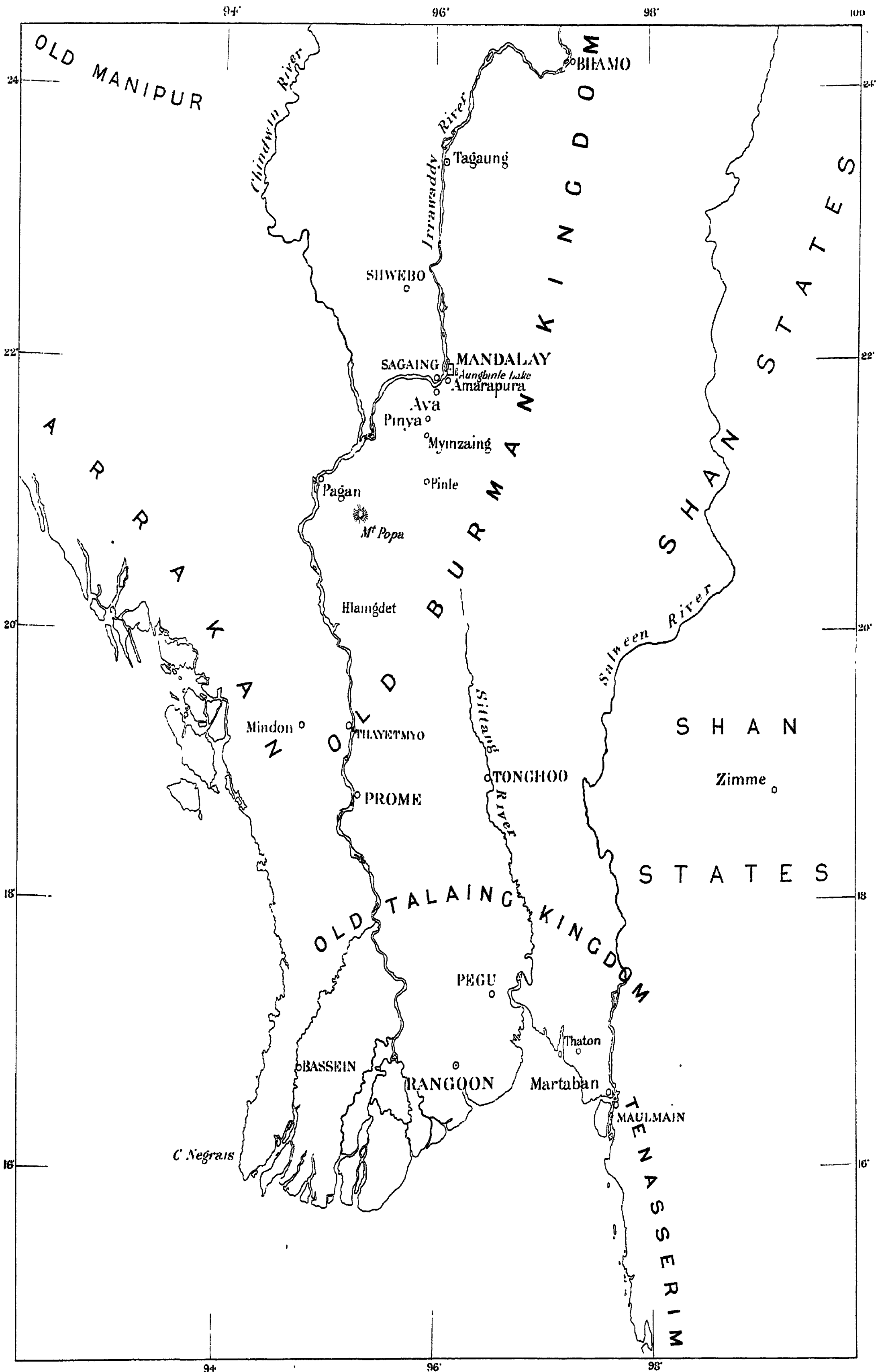
Group I.	2 to 5	13 to 14	37
Group II.	16	24 to 30	36
Group III, ...	7 to 12	19 to 20	...
....	31 to 32	34 to	35
Group IV.	6 8	17 33	...
Group V.	15 18	22 to 23	...
Odd Nats	1 (Thagyâ)	......	21

There are two ways on this plan of accounting for the four in excess in the Order of 37. In the first place Nos. 35, 36, 37 are women with no particular story and more or less obviously thrown into the set. The story of No. 21 has no connection with any of the others. In the second place Group V. relates to Nat stories of persons presumably alive in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries A. D., and so they must all be very modern inventions or attributions. In either case these Nats and their stories may be looked upon as thrown in to make the required number up to 37. It is also to be observed that the last four Nats are all women, whose stories may have been invented to make up the number to 37. But this is necessarily all conjecture, and I give it merely as a theory.

Taw Sein Ko has another way of accounting for the number of what he calls the "indigenous pantheon" of Burma. "It consists of 34 Nats [*i. e.* (?) Thagyâ and his 33], but the number 37 has attained a popular fixity because **the book of odes chanted when offerings are made to them consists of 37 odes,** a number of the Nats having more than one ode devoted to them. The odes are strictly speaking short autobiographical sketches in metre, recited by mediums [*natkadaw*] when they are possessed and are somewhat moral in their tendency inasmuch as they impress on the audience the sin of treason, rebellion and assassination. In the case of Nats who were members of the royal family they give a succinct account of their genealogy."

Taw Sein Ko also classifies his 34 Nats thus: — 6 ancient heroes and heroines, 14 royalties, 12 officials of State, 1 "dealer in pickled tea, who traded with the Shan and Palaung States in the north-east of Burma;" and female white elephant [*i. e.*, apparently Thagyâ].

We have now got so far in our enquiry as to have ascertained that the Thirty-Seven Nats are spirits of departed royalties of Burma or of their connections, and therefore before proceeding further I must ask attention to **a very brief outline of that portion of the exceedingly complicated history of Burma, which is covered by the stories connected with the Thirty-Seven Nats.** I must, however, remind my readers that there are large portions of territory forming part at various times of what has been known to us as the Burman Empire, which are not concerned with these Nat stories, such as the Shan States, Tenasserim, Arakan and Manipur. In explaining the history I regret that I shall be forced to mention names and places which are uncouth and unfamiliar to most European ears, but still I hope, with the aid of the map prepared for the purpose, to make my story clear and perhaps even interesting.


94°
96°
98°
100
24
24°
22°
22°
20°
20°
18
18
16
16°
OLD MANIPUR
Chindwin River
Irrawaddy River
BHAMO
Tagaung
OLD BURMAN KINGDOM
SHWEBO
SAGAING
MANDALAY
Aungbinle Lake
Amarapura
Ava
Pinya
Myinzaing
Pinle
Pagan
Mt Popa
Hlaingdet
ARRAKAN
Mindon
THAYETMYO
PROME
Sittang River
TONGHOO
SHAN STATES
Salween River
SHAN
Zimme
STATES
OLD TALAING KINGDOM
PEGU
Thaton
BASSEIN
RANGOON
Martaban
MAULMAIN
C Negrais
TENASSERIM

There are three separate races which have had a hand in forming the Dynasties with which we are now concerned: **the Burmans, the Shans and the Talaings.** As races they have occupied territories roughly as follows:— the Burmans the valleys of the Irrawaddy and the Sittang above Prome and Tonghoo ; the Talaings the deltas of these two rivers below those points and of the Salween; and the Shans all the country in the hills to the Eastwards of Burma. The Talaings are an altogether Far Eastern people allied to the races populating Annam. They are all mixed up in the formation of the many dynasties that have held ephemeral sway over the whole or part of Burma, and have constantly ousted each other as ruling races for a time in practically all parts of it. Also at times there have been **over-lords and subordinate kings** holding more or less independent power together in the various chief towns or capitals, and these are all alike "kings" in the popular estimation and memory, a puzzling fact that has always to be kept in mind in attempting to grasp the facts of Burmese political history.

As in all Oriental history, the Burmese dynasties commence with two long lists of **legendary kings of Tagaung,** as the first general capital, followed by a long **dynasty of Prome and later of Pagàn,** chiefly also legendary in the earlier portions, and alleged to be directly connected with the last of Tagaung. This Burmese dynasty is said to have commenced almost with the Buddhist era in 483 B. C. and to have lasted till 1298 A. D., when it gave way to the **Shan dynasty of Pinyâ and Myinzaing.** The Shan kings of Burma, however, claimed descent from, and close relationship with, the Burmese kings of Pagàn, whom they had ousted. Just before this period the great conqueror of the Pagàn dynasty, commonly known as Anawrathâzaw, wrested Pegu and Thatôn from their Talaing rulers about 1050, and all Burma came under the sway of the Pagàn dynasty till its fall. The Shan dynasty of Pinyâ never held the Peguan territory of the old Pagàn kingdom, and from it there broke off **the Shan dynasty of Sagaing.** Both the Shan dynasties thus set up gave way to **the Burmese dynasty of Ava** between 1352 and 1364, the members of which claimed descent from all their predecessors, *i. e.*, from the Burmans of Tagaung and Pagàn and from the Shans of Pinyâ and Sagaing. They in turn gave way to the **Burman king Bayin Naung of Pegu** in 1551, who became Overlord of all Burma, reigning both in **Pegu and Ava. This general dynasty** lásted till 1751, when it was turned out for a short time by a **Talaing dynasty of Shan origin,** which had succeeded in ousting the Burmese from Pegu in 1740. They in turn were ousted from all Burma by what is generally known as **the Alompra dynasty,** claiming an apocryphal royal descent from Tagaung, in 1757, of which the last member was King Thibaw, deposed by the English in 1885. This dynasty reigned successively at Shwebo, Sagaing, Ava, Amarapûra and Mandalay.

The Burman conqueror Bayin Naung of Pegu claimed royal descent thus. On the break up of the Burman dynasty of Pagàn in 1298, the discontented Burmese nobility formed a chief nucleus of power at Tonghoo and a minor one at Prome, which led to the foundation of **the Burman dynasty of Tonghoo.** This took its rise about 1313 and culminated in Tabin Shwêdî, who conquered Pegu from its Shan dynasty in 1540, setting up the Burman dynasty of Pegu, which lasted as such till 1599. Of this the great monarch was the conqueror Bayin Naung. Tabin Shwêdî and Bayin Naung were relatives, both claiming descent from the Burman dynasty of Pagàn.

The story of **the Talaing dynasties of the Delta at Thatôn and Pegu** is wrapt in much obscurity, but they are said to have lasted from 573 A. D. to about 1050, when they gave way to Anawrathâzaw of Pagàn. On the break up of the Pagàn dynasty, a Shan dynasty was established at Martaban and Pegu in 1287, and was that which was destroyed by the Burman Tabin Shwêdî in 1526. It may be interesting to note here that it was Tabin Shwêdî's dynasty at Pegu that was known so well to the early European travellers and settlers in Burma, and it was his race of Tonghoo that was known to them as the kings of Brahma or Burma.

Now the system of the great overlords of Ava and Pegu was to govern outlying provinces by means of tributary kings. Thus, Tabin Shwêdî set up subordinate kings at Ava, Prome, Tonghoo and Martaban. Bayin Naung, reigning at Pegu, did much the same thing, and so did the kings of the general Burman dynasty which succeeded him with Ava for its capital. So that when one hears in legend or

story of a king of Prome or Tonghoo, one has always to ascertain if he was really the king thereof or only a member of a tributary line more or less independent of its overlord.

What therefore has to be carried in the head for the right comprehension of the Nat stories is much this. There were legendary Burman kings at Tagaung, followed by a connected Burman dynasty at Prome and then Pagàn from 483 B. C. to 1298 A. D., followed in its turn by two contemporary Shan lines at Pinyâ and Sagaing up to 1364. With the last two was a contemporary Burman line at Tonghoo from 1313 to 1540, which at that date became absorbed into the Burman dynasty of Pegu. The Shan lines of Pinyâ and Sagaing became merged in the Burman line of Ava, which was upset by the Burman dynasty of Pegu in 1551. This then became a general dynasty of Pegu and Ava from 1581 to 1751, giving way to a Shan dynasty of Pegu, which was soon conquered by the last Burman dynasty of Alompra, lasting from 1757 to 1885. There was also a Talaing dynasty of Thatôn and Pegu from 573 to 1050, when the country became tributary to the Burmese Pagàn dynasty till 1287, when a Shan dynasty was set up at Pegu till it was ousted by the Burman Tonghoo line in 1540. Pegu then became merged in the Burmese Ava dynasty till 1740, when for 17 years a second Shan line was established there, giving way finally to the Alompra dynasty in 1757.

The Burma of this history is not a very large territory, and these lines of kings occupied capitals not far apart. Tagaung and Shwebo are to the North. Then come Ava, Sagaing, Myinzaing, Pinyâ, Amarapûra and Mandalay, almost within a stone's throw of each other. Not far South lie Pagàn, Tonghoo and Prome. The rest, Martaban, Thatôn, Pegu and finally Rangoon, which, though it has long been a veritable Mecca for Buddhists, was never really a native capital, are at no great distance apart to the extreme South. At all these places are signs and buildings innumerable, including inscriptions by the hundred, of the dynasties that once held sway in them, all in a more or less useful state of preservation. Both the ruins and the inscriptions await the hand of some fortunate future explorers, who will find themselves aided in their efforts by a great number of local *thamaings* or monastic chronicles, of a general accuracy by no means to be despised.

I have been obliged thus to go into the outlines of Burmese history, as without this much knowledge of it, it would be impossible to understand the stories of the Thirty-Seven Nats and the innumerable references, both correct and incorrect, to local history contained in them. **For the elucidation of the stories themselves I shall now divide them into five groups,** more or less connected with each other, excepting from the groups the Nats who are not directly or indirectly connected with historical royal personages. The two exceptions are Thagyâ Nat, No. 1, a purely mythological personage as already explained, and Maung Pô Tû Nat, No. 21, who was a trader killed by a tiger near Pinyâ, during, I suppose, the period when it was a capital, *i. e.*, between 1298 and 1364 A. D.

I shall next proceed to describe the stories in each group as they are told, and explain briefly their historical references, after which I shall explain the illustrations, group by group.

Group I., which may be called the Duttabaung Cycle, relates to the old legendary Burman dynasty of Tagaung and Prome, and centres about that old-world hero of Burma, King Duttabaung of Prome, ostensibly carrying us back to the days about the foundation of the Buddhist Era in the VIth Cent. B. C.

Group II., or the Anawrathâzaw Cycle, purports to relate to the immediate surroundings of the Conqueror Anawrathâzaw of Pagàn in the XIth Cent. A. D., but in reality it wanders about in a confused kind of way amongst his immediate predecessors and descendants.

Group III., or the mixed Ava Mingaung and Pagàn Alaungsîthû Cycle, is meant to relate to the Burman dynasty of Ava (1364-1551) in the XVth Cent. But the stories have become so confused in their references as to equally relate to the days of Alaungsîthû of Pagàn, a great name in Burmese history, and his successors of the XIIth and XIIIth Cent.; to the much earlier kings of Pagàn of the VIIIth Cent.; and to the Shans of Pinyâ in the XVth Cent.

Group IV., or the Tabin Shwêdî Cycle, relates to the great Tabin Shwêdî of Tonghoo and Pegu himself, and the contemporary subordinate dynasty of Prome in the XVIth Cent.

Group V., or the Bayin Naung Cycle, relates to even later dates connected with Baying Naung of Pegu and Ava and his successors of the Ava-Pegu dynasty (1581-1751) in the XVIth and XVIIth Cent.

I would draw special attention to the exceedingly modern nature of many of these stories. The centuries B. C. and the VIIIth and even the XIth Cent. A. D., might be legitimate dates for legendary stories of spirits; but the bulk of these tales belong to the period contained between the XIIth and XVIIth Cent. A. D., so late a date as 1558 being well authenticated for one story, and the still later date of about 1620 being hardly doubtful for another. Even so recent a Conqueror as Tabin Shwêdî, reigning from 1530 to 1550, during the reign of our own King Henry VIIIth, and well known to the earlier European settlers in Pegu, who actually fought for and against him in considerable numbers, is himself a prominent Nat.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 116.)

1789. — No. III.

FORT WILLIAM, **15th July, 1789.**[8] Read the following Letter and its Enclosure from Captain Blair.

Capt. Blair, 14th July.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — The Right Honourable the Governor General having been pleased to Communicate to me the Distination of **the Ranger and the Viper,** I Conceive it a Duty incumbent on Me to Make Such propositions as may have any tendency to forward the wishes of Government, under this idea, I have the honour to inclose you for his Lordships inspection, a List of such People and Stores as the Ranger will be capable of Carrying and which will be highly useful on the first establishing the New Settlement. Should his Lordship Approve the List, and be pleased to Authorize me I shall take the Necessary Measures to procure the Artificers at a Short Notice and Collect the Stores, Provisions, and Grain.

Was his Lordship resolved to Colonize it I should beg leave to recommend that some People Might be sent for from the Malay Coast who are particularly dexterous in clearing an uncultivated Country. Those I particularly allude to, are known by the name of **Oran Lauts,** who are a quiet inoffensive people, laborious, and Capable of that great variety of work, which Occurs in a New Settlement, they are excellent Fishermen, are very conversant in the qualities and uses of Trees, they Cut them down and transport them with great address, and occasionally Convert them into plank, by splitting and dubbing them, they also understand cultivation, and they construct their **Prows, Canoos** and houses with great Neatness. There are small Colonys of these People on different Parts of the Peninsula: their Manners Customes and Religion are entirely Different from the Malays, and live always Apart except the Men who are hired for a Certain time. I am convinced they may be induced to come to the new Settlement for Monthly wages, and an Assurance of being sent back at a specified time, and it is reasonable to Suppose, that good pay and kind treatment, with some Deference to their prejudices might induce them to emigrate with their familys, which would be a Most Valuable Acquisition, and would be the quickest means of bringing the Country into a State of Cultivation.

It is also necessary to inform his Lordship that **the King of Savoy claims a soverignty over the great Andaman and Adjacent islands,** and that a Present to that Prince Might procure a grant, which would evade the force of any possible claims that may be made by the French or other Nations of prior possession.

Calcutta, I have the honor to be, etca.,

July 14th, 1789. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

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[8] On 19th Aug. 1789 Kyd wrote to the Council giving his opinion of the specimens (vegetable and mineral) which Blair brought from the Andamans.

No. 3. Captn. Blair, Dated 25th Decr. 1789.

My Lord,—Conformable to your Lordships Orders of the 16th of September I quitted Calcutta the 17th. During the passage hither, which was more tedious and tempestuous than I expected, by which I lost a great part of my stock, and a small portion of the Provisions were also damaged. I arrived here the 28th of the same month, when the Artificers, Laborers, and as many as could be spared from the Vessel, were immediately sent to clear the Ground on the east end of **Mark Isld.**[9b] towards the small Eminence, noticed in the Plan of that Port; finding it a very commanding situation, **a Redoubt** was begun on it, the 7th of October.

The 14th a **Party of the Natives** landed on the Island not withstanding every thing except firing at them, was done to prevent them, which, agreeable to your Lordships Orders I was, if possible, determined to avoid; but as they immediately began to plunder the Cutter, which was then hauled on shore, and the probability of their stricking a panic in the minds of the timid Artificers and Laborers which might have been attended with very unpleasant consequences, I found it necessary, to make use of some force to dislodge them; in the conflict one of the Sepoys was wounded, and in their flight two of the Natives were taken. The first, a lad of 16, was caught by the Jolly Boat, after eluding it for a considerable time, by his dexterity of swimming and diving alternately; and after receiving a pistol Ball through his nose which also destroyed one of his eyes, he had the gallantry to shoot an arrow, while swiming, at the person who inhumanly wounded him. After another was caught I stopped all further pursuit. By the most tender treatment of the two Priseners, they in a few days eat whatever was given them and seemed as well reconciled to the seclusion from their friends as could be expected; the youngest, once attempted his escape but was caught before he got into the water. As a means of gaining a knowledge of their language and customs I determined to keep them till the arrival of the commanding Officer of His Majesty's Squadron.

The 25 of October judging the Redoubt to be tenable against any incursions which the Natives might make, the British Colours were hoisted on it, and saluted by the Ranger, which was returned with three Volleys by the garrison.

The Viper arrived the 27th by which Vessel I received intimation from the Secretary to Government, that I might expect His Majesty's Squadron here in Novr. or December. A working Party from that vessel was employed, to clear the most convenient watering Place and excavate a small reservoir for the convenience of the Kings Ships.

By November 19 having a sufficient number of the Rangers Guns mounted in the Redoubt, for its defence, also the People and stores housed; I judged it expedient and agreeable to the spirit of your Instructions, to dispatch the Ranger, to the Island **Carnicobar,** for Plants, Coconuts, stock and such Vegitables as that Island affords; she returned here December 4th with an abundant supply of most of the Articles that I expected, and two chinese gardeners, who are employed in cultivating a spot for a second garden.

December 7th I dispatched the Viper to cruize off **Cape Negrais,** for His Majestys Ships, and to remain on that station ten days, or until as many Turtle were turned on **Diamond Island** as she could conveniently carry, and then return here for further Orders.

The Experiment Cutter arrived the 18th from Calcutta, with accounts of His Majestys ships having left that place, two days previous to her departure I immediately dispatched the Ranger to cruize off this Port, for the Commodore and conduct Him in.

The Honble. Commodore Cornwallis, with His Majestys ships Perseverance and Ariel arrived the 19th instant, since which period I have acted under his Orders, and given Him every assistance and information within my power.

From the Commodore I had the honor to receive your further Instructions dated Novr. 28th. which I shall strictly attend to.

[9b] For Mask Isld. = Chatham Isld.

It gives me unspeakable satisfaction to perceive that the Honble. the Commodore and the Captains under his command, consider this admirable Port, fully equal to what it has been represented in my Report to your Lordships.

Since my arrival I have bestowed considerable attention to the cultivation of a Garden, which already fully proves the productive qualities of the soil.

In consequence of your Lordships last Instructions and the acquiescence of the Commodore, I inclose an account of the quantity of Provisions necessary for the number of Natives of this Establishment, for six months, on the departure of the Ranger, which I expect will be tomorrow, there will be left in store Provision for two months and a half, which induces me to recommend the utmost dispatch to **Lieut. wales,** who will conduct the Ranger to Calcutta, whose abilities are fully equal to the charge. I must also beg leave to express my intire approbation of the conduct of **Lieut. Thomas** and **Mr. John Roberts.** The state of health of **Mr. Leuis** the surgeon, which has suffered from his late indifferent lodging, makes it necessary for him to proceed to Calcutta, and it also induces me to send the sick in that Vessel; his ability and strict attention to the Patients on shore and on board both Vessels deserve my warmest acknowledgements.

I have the honor to be, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Balir [Blair].**

Chatham Island,
the 25th Decr. 1789.

Ordered that the Indents presented for the Supplies required at the Andaman Islands, be passed, and that the several Articles be provided as soon as possible.

Read a Letter from the Marine Pay Master.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Be pleased to obtain me an order on the Treasury for Sicca Rupees Twenty Thousand, to enable me to comply with Lieutt. Wales's Indents for Stores and Provisions for the Ranger, and to issue two months impress to the Commanders, Officers and Crues of **the Lord Cornwallis and Juno, Pilot Schooners** Ordered on foreign Service.

I am, etca.,
(Signed) J. Price, Marine Paymaster.

Fort William,
Marine Pay Master Office,
the 3rd Feby. 1790.

Agreed that an Order on the Treasury be issued, in favour of the Marine Pay Master, to the Amount of Sa. Rs. 20,000 for the Services specifyed in his application.

1790. — No. II.

Fort William, 19th February, 1790. Agreed that the Secretary be directed to write the following Letter to Lieut. Blair, on Duty at the Andaman Islands.

Capt. Blair, 19th Febry. 1790.

To Lieut. Archibald Blair, on Service at the Andaman Islands. Sir, — I was favored on the 31st of last Month, upon the Arrival of **the Ranger Snow** at this Presidency, with your Letters of the 19th November and 7th of December which were laid before the Governor General in Council, who has directed me to acknowledge, at the same time the Receipt of your address to his Lordship of the 25th of the month last mentioned.

The Board direct me to express their Satisfaction with the Report you have sent of the Healthiness of the new Settlement at the Andamans and the Progress you have made in cultivating the Ground.

His Lordship does not think it necessary at present to furnish you with any new instructions, depending upon your attention to those already given you and confident that every proper Step will be taken on your part to conciliate the Natives and the Company's possession of the Islands, and to provide for the increase of the Agriculture, but his Lordship has thought it important that the Ranger should return to you, as soon as possible with the Supplies required in your Indent, according to the enclosed List, in addition to which I further transmit to you the Note of the Sums paid by the Marine Paymaster to the officers of the Vessell.

His Lordship is pleased with the approbation you have expressed of the conduct of Lieut. Thomas and Mr. John Roberts and of Mr. Lewes, the Surgion whose ill State of Health preventing his return to the Andamans, **Mr. Alexander Gibb** has been appointed to Supply his Place and proceeds to this Station in the Ranger now dispatched Copy of the Orders to Lieut. Wales is enclosed.

I am, etc.

Fort William,

The 19th February, 1790.

1790. — No. III.

Fort William, 19th March, 1790. Ordered that the following Letter be written to Lieut. Blair by the Secretary.

To Lieut. Blair. 1790.

To Lieut. Archibald Blair — on Service at the Andamans. Sir, — **His Majesty's Sloop Atalanta** being on her departure from hence to the Andaman Islands, I transmit to you by this conveyance a Duplicate of my Letter Dated the 19th Ult.

The Commodore of his Majesty's Squadron having requested that Tools[10] may be sent down for the use of the Squadron, these have been furnished, and put on board the Atalanta His Excellency has further proposed that Sheds may be erected upon **Chatam Island** for the Men to work Under, and clear away the ground for a Garden for the use of the Sick, and **Captain Delgarno** has been instructed to point out the most proper Places according to the extent of the Place which the Governor General in Council may chuse at present to adopt. His Lordship has desired Me to say that this extent should be calculated by the wants of the Ships that may be at the Island, or expected during the Season.

I am, etc.

Fort William,

19th March, 1790.

1790. — No. IV.

Fort William, **31st March 1790.**

The Secretary Acquaints the Board that Messrs. Bayne, Colvins and Bayett have Applied to him for an Order for Payment of the Allowances due to the Estate of Mr. Lewis who was Surgeon at the Andamans.

The Allowance to be paid to Mr. Lewis not having been fixed at the Time of his Appointment which was ordered on the 5th of last September the Board now determine that the Amount shall be regulated by the Sum allowed to the Surgeon at Prince of Wales Island.

Ordered that the Civil Paymaster be directed to pay the same from the 5th of September to the Day on which Mr. Lewis returned in the Ranger from the Andamans.

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[10] Felling Axes 10
Pick Axes 50
Hand Hatchets 100
Spades 30

1790. — No. V.

Fort William, 23rd April 1790.

Read a Letter from Lieutenant Blair, at the Andaman Islands [dated 7th April, 1790].

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Be pleased to inform the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, that I am at present engaged on **a Survey of the east Coast of the great Andaman** and that I intend to prosecute it as far as the north extremity of the Island, and down to **Interview Island on the west Coast,** if the weather will permit. The Viper will than be dispatched for Calcutta, to bring a supply of Provisions which the late increase of the Establishment by the Ranger makes necessary.

Should any Discovery be Made from the present period until the Viper is dispatched worthy the immediate attention of Government I shall not fail in communicating it; at present it would be retarding the Service unnecessarily to give a detailed Account of what has been done since I left Chatham Island, as **Captain Kyd** has been engaged in the same pursuits and now proceeds direct for Calcutta.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Honble. Companys Snow Ranger In the Entrance of an Inlet in Latd. 13° 19′ N.[10a]

April 7, 1790.

1790. — No. VI.

Fort William, 30th April 1790.

Read Letters from Captain Blair, received on the 28th Instant.

No. 1. Captain Blair, 13th April 1790.

My Lord, — I was honored with your Lordships Orders of February 19th from your Secretary by the Ranger, which arrived at **Port Cornwallis**[10b] the 8th Ultimo; that Vessel also brought a Supply of Provisions for six Months, for the Original Establishment, which Arrived in good Order.

As your Lordship has been pleased to send an increase of fifty four men it becomes a necessary measure to enlarge the Stock of Provisions, for which purpose I now dispatch the Viper and inclose an Indent for such species of Provision, as it would be difficult to procure in this Neighbourhood the bad State of the Hull of that Vessel is another inducement, to send her to Calcutta for repair. Her return hither in the S. W. Monsoon, will prove the possibility and the time Requisite to make a passage during that Season.

Having instructed Lieutenant Wales to carry on the most Necessary work, I left Port Cornwallis the 18th Ultimo to Prosecute the Survey of the Island, and wrote your Secretary the 7th instant by Captain Kyd who accompanyed me to the Place, where that letter was dated. Since the Departure of Captain Kyd I have made a cursory **Survey of North East Harbour,**[10a] of which I have the honour to send your Lordship a Plan, its situation, and being in the vicinity of plenty of good fresh water, its capacity, Safety, and the appearance of the Neighbouring Country all tend to make it an Object desiring your Lordship's consideration.

The Advanced State of the season renders it improper to detain the Viper longer on this coast, and also induces me to return to Port Cornwallis by the same rout, to make some Observations at the North end of the Island, and to reexamine **Dilligent Strait,** this, with what has been already done, will enable me to make a tolorable correct General Chart of the whole Island and its dependances, which I shall transmit to your Lordship as soon as possible.

On my return to Port Cornwallis, I shall proceed or dispatch the Ranger to **Prince of Wales Island,** where a supply of Rice can be procured, and some of those useful People, **Oran Lauts,** may

[10a] The present Port Cornwallis.

[10b] *I. e.*, the present Port Blair.

also be prevailed on to accompany me, for Monthly Wages, a measure Your Lordship recommends in your Instructions to me of September 4th, 1789.

The Natives have been perfectly inoffensive at Port Cornwallis (except in One triffling instance) since the departure of the Commodore, they still avoid intercourse with us, but a little more experience will convince them of our good intentions and Remove their deep-rooted prejudices.

One of His Majestys Sloops was provided with a Spar for a topmast for trial and since their departure I have discovered that **Pune** is in great abundance and seems of excellent quality, which is the timber most used for Masts in India.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that the general behaviour has been so good that I have only had occasion to inflict one slight Punishment since our first Settlement.

I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that my constant endeavours shall be used to fulfill the wishes of Government in the Surveying Branch as well as the clearing and cultivation of the Ground ; the trials in the latter warrant me in asserting that the Island will be very productive in Grain and Vegitables.

I have the honor to be, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Interview Island,
April 13th, 1790.

Ordered that the Plan sent by Captain Blair of the North East Harbour at the Andamans be deposited in the Office.

The Secretary reports that Orders have been sent to the Master Attendant to have the Viper Surveyed, and that such Repairs as are necessary to this Vessell should be completed without Loss of Time.

No. 2. Captn. Blair, 14th April 1790.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — Be pleased to inform the Right Honble. the Governor General in Council, that the Provisions specified in the enclosed Indent together with the Stock in Store at the Settlement, and what I shall be able to procure from Prince of Wales Island, will be sufficient for the Consumption of the Establishment to the end of October.

I am, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

April 14th, 1790.

An Indent for Provisions for the Natives of the Establishment of Port Cornwallis :—

Doll	100 Maunds
Ghee	34 ditto
Salt	34 ditto

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Interview Island,
April 13th, 1790.

The Secretary reports that a Copy of this Indent has been sent to the Naval Store Keeper with Directions to Supply the articles therein mentioned.

1790. — No. VII.

Fort William, 19th May 1790.

Read the following Letter from Lieutenant Blair at the Andamans [dated 22nd April 1790].

To the Right Honorable Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor General, etca., in Council.

My Lord, — I did myself the honor to write your Lordship from Interview Island by the Viper which was Dispatched from thence the 13th instant to Calcutta for a Supply of Provisions.

On my return hither I found **His Majesty's Sloop Atalanta Captain Delgarno** and from him I received Orders from your Secretary which I shall strictly attend to.

Lieutenant Wales who I had left in my absence informed me of the loss of Our **four Fishermen** the 3rd Instant. The 6th two of the Bodys were found, with evident marks of inhuman barbarity having been exercised in putting them to death, and I am affraid my Lord, they are not the first **Victims who have suffered by those barbarous Savages.** Before there were only Suspicions, but now too certain proofs of their inhuman cruelty.

I am happy to inform your Lordship that this unfortunate Event, has not depressed the Spirits of the Settlement so much as might have been expected, but it will circumcribe our operations as a greater degree of caution will be necessary.

I propose to dispatch Lieutenant Wales with the Ranger to Prince of Wales Island for a Supply of Rice, but shall detain her some days after the departure of the Atalanta and postpone that Service should any Visible alteration take place in the disposition of the Natives.

I am with great Respect, etca.,

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Chatham Island,
22d. April 1790.

1790. — No. VIII.

Range III. 53.

Fort William, 30th June 1790.

The following Letter was written on the 28th Instant to Lieutenant Blair.

To Lieutenant Blair at the Andaman Islands.

Sir, — Your Letters of the 7th, 13th, 14th and 22nd of April have been laid before Government, and I have received their Orders to reply to those Parts of them that require an Answer.

13th April.

The Viper which now returns to you arrived here on the 28th April. The repair that she wanted has been given to her, and she takes the several Articles that were desired by your Indent.

The Sketch which you mention to have sent, of your Survey of the North East Harbour of Andaman was received, and if any Observations or Instructions should be thought necessary in consequence of it, you will have them in Course. Your General Chart of the whole Island will be acceptable, and the Board depend on your furnishing them with it as soon as you have had leisure to compleat it.

It is wished that you should send round to Bengal when an opportunity offers a specimen of the **Poon Wood,** fit for Masts, which You notice to be in abundance on the Island, that some judgement may be formed of its Quality compared with that of Timber of the same species, that is procurable in other parts of India.

14th April.

The Provisions specified in the Indent, forwarded in this Letter have been put on board the Viper.

22d. April.

The Governor General in Council was concerned to hear of the loss of the four fishermen, who had been sent round from Bengal. You would of course consider whither some marked notice of such Barbarity exercised by the Natives of the Islands upon these inoffensive People might not be of general use to our establishment at the Andamans, by preventing similar acts of Savage violence in future and affording Confidence to the new Settlers in their Security, But in this case his Lordship relies on your doing the best that a General View of circumstances in our present situation at the place, may point out.

Particulars of the advances made on account of the Viper and a list of the Articles provided for the use of the Vessel as well as for the supply of your Establishment are enclosed with a Copy of the sailing Orders given to **Lieutenant Roper.**

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servt.

Fort William,
28th June 1790.

The following is a Copy of the Account that was sent with the above Letter: —

Stores supplied for the out fit of the Snow Viper Bombay Cruizer Lieutenant George Roper Commander in the Months of May and June 1790.

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Europe Canvas No. 1	3 and 1 Yd.	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 2	42 and 4 do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 3	6 and 16 do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 4	4 Bolts	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 6	2 and 6 do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 7	3 Bolts	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 8	2 and 8 do.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Vittery	" — 40 do.	...	...	...	...	...	..
Sheet Lead	......	...	...	...	1	1	26
Leather backs ... ... hide	½	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chalks	......	...	...	...	...	1	9
Anchor with Stocks	1	...	...	...	5	1	10
Do. Do.	1	...	...	...	5	2	25
Europe Shieves and Pins	......	...	...	...	...	...	14
Do. Hawser... ... ... 8½ Ins.	1	...	...	...	17	...	21
... ... 8 "	1	...	...	...	16	1	25
... ... 5 "	10 fms.	...	...	...	...	2	13

			No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Europe Rope	4	Ins.	25½ fms.	...	...	...	...	3	15
	3	„	1 and 65 Do.	...	...	...	4	...	21
	2½	„	1 and 21 Do.	...	...	...	2	1	15
	2	„	4 and 97	...	...	...	6	1	15
	1	„	66 fms.	...	...	...	...	1	18
Europe Ratling	12	tha.	2 Coils	...	...	...	1	2	18
	9	„	1 Do.	...	...	...	...	2	1
	6	„	2 Do.	...	...	...	...	3	11
Turpentine Oil	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	...	4
Europe Shieves and Pins	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	...	15
„ Linseed Oil	...	...	......	...	...	...	1	...	...
Yellow Oaker	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	2	19
White Lead	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	2	...
Red Oaker	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	...	19
Europe hand Lines	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...
Horn Lanthorns	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Twine	...	...	......	...	...	...	...	1	8½
Single Blocks	10	Ins.	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ „	8	Do.	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Double Do.	10	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	9	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Spunyarn	...	...	......	...	...	...	4	...	...
Paint Brushes	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Log Lines	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. double Bunting	...	...	1 and 30½ yds.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Glass Binnacle Lamps	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Half Hour Glasses	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Minute Do.	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Quarter Do. Do.	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Nails of Sorts	......	...	...	...	2	19	...
Chest Locks	6	...	...	..	...	...	...
Pump Nails	......	...	...	..	...	4	...
Scrapers	10	.	...	...	...	..	..
Hand Saws	2	...	...	.	..	...	...
Files	2	...	...	...	..	...	...
Carpenter's Adze	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Caulking Irons...	4	...	...	...	..	...	...
Hand Hatchets...	6	...	...	..	...	...	..
Hand Bill	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fermer Chessel	1	...	.	..	.	...	...
Socket Do.	1	...	..	.	...	..	...
Helve	1	..	...	...	...	...	...
Sail Needles	80	...	..	...	...	...	...
Bolt Rope Do.	20	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bilboe Bolt	1	...	...	..	...	...	...
Shackles	11	...	...	..	...	...	...
Old Canvas	60 yds.	...	...	...	..	...	...
Log Reel	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Spar 9 Ins. ... ...42 feet	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
7 " ... ...42 ..	1	...	...	...	..	...	...
Wax Candles	......	...	30	...	...	...	...
Dungaree	pe. 10	...	...	...	.	...	...
Grease	......	2	...	...	...	...	...
Earthen Pots	4	...	...		...	..	...
Fine Cotten Thread	......	...	1	5	...	...	...
Earthen Potts	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chunnamb	......	70	...	...	...	...	...
Short Commar Planks	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Soondry Posts	4	...	...	...	...	...	...

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Country Dammer	......	2	...	...	...	...	...
Firewood	......	32	...	...	...	...	...
Sissoo Knu [? knee]	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Timber	ps. ½	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burning Reeds ...Bundle	20	...	...	...	...	...	..
Sheathing Boards	250	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cut Do. Do.	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cotton	......	...	18	8	...	...	...
China Damer	......	16	...	...	...	...	...
Jarrel Planks	23	...	...	...	...	...	...
Soondry Phoils	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Provision Stores supplied the Viper Cruizer.							
Salt Beef ...Tierces	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Pork ,,	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rum 2 half Leaguers ...Gallns	174	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coarse Rice	......	140	...	...	...	...	...
Fine Do.	......	8	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Doll	......	2	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Ghie	.. ..	2	...	...	...	...	...
Coarse Ditto	......	10	...	...	..	...	...
Oil	......	2	...	...	...	...	...
Cocoanut Oil	......	1	...	...	...	...	..
Course Cotton Thread	......	...	3	...	...	...	...
Soops	6	..	...	..	..	...	...
Dry fish	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
Biscuit fine	......	6	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Coarse	......	10	...	...	...	...	...
Split firewood	......	70	...	...	...	...	...
Half Leaguers	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gunny Bags	99	...	...	...	...	...	...

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Duppers	2	...	...	..	...	...	...
Packed Jars	7	...	...	..	...	...	...
Salt	......	6	...	...	...	...	...
Bread Casks	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Military Stores supplied by Colonel Deare Commissary for the Viper Cruizer.							
Cannon Powder... ... ... Barrl.	4	..	..	...	...	...	...
Grape Shot for 3 ps. do.	100	...	...	...	...	...	..
Funnel Cartridge for Do.	300	...	...	...	...	...	...
Musket Cartridges ... ... Barrl.	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fuzee Ditto ... ... Do.	1	..	...	...	...	..	...
Cartridge Cases for 3 ps. do.	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Billy Pouches	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cotton Match	¼ md.	or	10	...	...	...	...
Cartridge Paper	½ Ream	...	...	...	..	...	...
Cutlasses	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pole Axes	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fuzees...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rowtee...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bell Tent	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
One Medicine Chest refitted.							
Provision Stores *sent on the Viper for the use of the Natives on the Establishment at Port Cornwallis.*							
Coarse Doll	......	100	...	...	...	...	...
Do. Ghee	......	34	...	...	...	...	...
Salt	......	34	...	...	...	..	...
Gunny Bags	67	...	...	...	...	...	...
Packed Jars	17	...	...	...	...	..	...
Europe Tard Seizing Lines	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Tard Seizing Lines	15	...	...	...	...	...	...

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Europe Marlines	24	..	...	...	...	...	...
Tarr	2 Bars.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Single Blocks ... 4 Ins.	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " " ... 5 "	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " " ... 6 "	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " " ... 7 "	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Double ... 4 "	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Buffaloe Hides	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sheathing Boards	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Country Topsail Sheet Blocks ...10 Ins.	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hambro Lines	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal Hides	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pump Spears	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pump Boxes	4	...	...	...	..	...	...
Brass Hinges	8 pr.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Europe Deep Sea Lines	6	...	...	..	...	...	...
Padlocks	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brass Box Compasses	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Red Baize	1 pe.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leather Buckets	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
Iron Screws	96	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gunny Bags	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sewing Needles	50	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bees Wax	......	...	5	..	...	...	...
Fishing Net	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boiled Dammer	......	1	...	...	...	...	...
Scissors	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coil Rope ...2½ Ins.	1	1	26	..	...	...	...
" " .. 2 "	1	...	38	8	...	...	...
Soap	......	1	...	...	...	...	...

	No.	Md.	s.	c.	C.	qrs.	lb.
Paintstone and Mullar	1	...	...	...	...	..	...
Steelyard and Pea	1 ee.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Copper Pots with Covers of sizes	6						
Do. Dishes	2	1	17	14	...	..	...
Frying Pans	2						
Tank Bucket	1						
Copper Teakettle	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fishing Lines of Sizes	18	...	...	...	...	..	...
Palm Irons	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Plane Irons	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hand Bills	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Boat Anchor	1	...	...	...	1	...	6
Fish Hooks	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
Speaking Trumpet	1	...	...	..	...	...	...
Green Paint	......	...	20	...	...	...	...
Black Ditto[11]	......	1	...	...	...	..	...

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD PINDHARI.

THE object of these notes is to bring forward a new derivation of the word Pindhari for the consideration of the learned. At first I thought my solution was a final one, but as I have continued my enquiries I have gradually lost that feeling of certainty, and I now offer it as a very plausible answer to the problem. Before entering on the results of my own research, I must first clear the ground by showing the weakness of the etymologies hitherto proposed.

Under Pindarry, Sir H. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 538, says:—"The etymology of the word is very obscure." Of that fact there can be little or no doubt. We may pass by with a smile, as Yule does, Mr. H. T. Prinsep's attempt, *History of the Political Transactions*, Vol. I. p. 36, to connect the word with the Pandoor of Campbell's lines in the "Pleasures of Hope:"

> "When leagued Oppression pour'd to Northern wars"
>
> "Her whisker'd pandoors and her fierce hussars."

Yule offers three solutions, two of which he deems "not very satisfactory" and the third "a possible suggestion merely." These are:—

1st.—From pendhâ, a drink for cattle and men prepared from *holcus sorghum*, the allusion being to the dissolute drunken habits of the men.

2nd.—From pendhâ, a bundle of straw, and hara, one who takes, the men having been originally collectors of forage.

[11] [The remainder of the List refers only to what supplied for the Viper Cruizer and mentions only those items already entered above.]

3rd. — From pind parnâ, to follow, to stick closely to any one.

To these may be added,

4th. — "The term was taken from the Beder race."

5th. — "Pindârâ (*pind*, lump of food, *âr*, bringer), a plunderer, a pillager (among the Marâṭhâs)"

The first of these derivations is founded on a note in Sir John Malcolm's *Central India*, 3rd edition, Vol. I p. 433, and although vouched for by Karîm Khân, Pindhârî, it seems to me one of those popular half-jocular derivations, with which natives of India so readily stave off enquiry on a subject of which they know nothing. This derivation is also accepted by the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 684, under Pindarry. As to the seed or grain referred to, from which a drink is made, may it not be the *indigofera linifolia* (Retz), which according to the Imperial Institute Journal for 1893, p. 341, is called *pandhari pati* in Bombay and *pandhi* in Nâsik? The seed is said to be eaten in time of scarcity and famine.

The second explanation is found in H. H. Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms*, p 414, under *Pendhârâ.* He alleges as a plausible etymology, on the strength of the Marâṭhâ spelling, that the word is most probably from *pendhâ*, a bundle of grass, and *hârâ*, one who takes. The justification for this analysis is, that originally the Pindâri marauders or plunderers were nothing more than collectors of forage attached to an army.

The third suggestion thrown out by Sir H. Yule is even more fanciful than the other two, which are, as we have just seen, very fantastic, and hardly more than, as Professor Wilson himself says, "plausible conjectures." Thus it is quite evident that he, for one, was very little impressed by Karîm Khân's idea of connecting the word with *pendhâ*, an intoxicating drink. The fifth entry, which is Mr. Shakespear's version, *Dictionary, Hindustani and English*, column 555, is even less worthy of acceptation, for it involves the hybrid result of joining on a Persian affix *ârâ* to a purely Sanskrit root *pind;* and moreover ignores the real Marâṭhâ form of the word, which is *Pendhârî*, see Baba Padmanji's *Compendium of Molesworth's Dictionary*, p. 354. In short, it is no more than idle guessing of no scientific value, about on a par with Zephaniah Holwell's derivation of *begam*, the Turkish feminine of *beg*, a lord, said by him to be from *Be*, without, *gham*, grief.

We come now to the fourth entry on our list. It is asserted, without any doubts or reservations, by Dr. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*, edition of 1885, Vol. III. p. 216, that Pindari or Pindhari comes from the name of the Beḍar tribe. "It is from this race, the Bandara Wantu of the Telag, that the name Pindara comes." I beg leave to doubt this.

As to the first half of the matter there is no doubt; it is quite clear that there was and is a Bedar race. According to Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*, they are found in Chitaldrug of Maisûr, Vol. III p. 423, and are the rulers of a small state. Sandûr, in the west of the Ballârî district, Vol. XII p. 208; they also ruled formerly at Shorapur, a tributary state now absorbed into and forming the south-west corner of the Nizam's territory, Vol XII. p. 423. There is much about the Shorapur Beḍars, according to Hunter, in Meadows Taylor's *Story of my Life*, 2nd edition, pp. 210. 211. The Census of 1891, *Census of India*, Vol. XIII. p. 305. shows that there were 52,387 Bedars in the Madras Presidency, described as "formerly hunters and soldiers, and it is this caste which formed a considerable and valuable contingent to the armies of Hyder and Tippu." In 1881, Willmott and Syed Hoosain, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*. Vol. I. pp. 333. 341, there were 121,803 Bedar (Beydar) in the Shorâpur, Râichûr, and Lingsâgar districts of the Nizâm's Dominions.

There are many references to these Beḍars in native histories. They are mentioned often by Khâfî Khân, and the celebrated rulers of Sagar. Pem Nâyak and Pariyâ Nâyak, were of that caste, Râm Singh Munshî's *Gulshan-i-'ajâib* (Letters of Nizâm-ul-mulk compiled about 1161 H. (1748), British Museum Addl. MSS. No 26,236, fol. 63*b*, names this tribe when writing of an attack on Atnûr, a hill fort some twenty-five miles west of Gulbargah (in the Nizam's Territory). In the *Ma,âsir-ul-umarâ*, Vol. I. p. 587, under Ḥusâm-ud-dîn Khân, we find that in the reign of Bahâdur Shâh (1707-1712) the Beḍars (spelt with a Hindî ḍ) gave trouble in Udgir (in the Nizam's Territory, about 110 miles N.-W. of Ḥaidarâbâd (Willmott and S. Hoosain, Vol. II. p. 736).

But my objection to accepting Beḍar as the origin of the word Pindari or Pindhari seems to me quite unanswerable. So far back as 1748 I find both words, Beḍar and Pindhari, used in one sentence by Râm Singh Munshî in the work already referred to. The passage is on fol. 63*b* — "*Mufsidân-i-Bedar wa Bedgar wa Pândharhâ*, [illegible] *ân makân* [*i. e.*, Atnûr] *râ wiqâyah-i-khûd sâkhtah*, "The turbulent men of the Bedar and Bedgar and

Pândhars have made this place into their refuge." If the two names were in use side by side, but applied to different bodies of men, how could the one word have been derived from the other?

Balfour's authority, so far as he quotes any, is **Coleman**, which I take to be C. Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, 4to, 1832, wherein on p. 293 we are in turn referred to a work *Origin of the Pindaries*. This I identify with *Origin of the Pindaries* by an Officer of the H. E. I. Co.'s Service, 8vo, London, 1818. The relevant passage is on p. 118, but the author throws no light on the meaning of the name, and the extent of his historical research is seen when he attributes to Muḥammad Qâsim, Firishtah, who died in 1623 at the very latest, statements about the Dakhin wars of 'Âlamgîr between 1680 and 1707. In reality he is quoting Bhîm Sen's *Nuskhah-i-dilkushâ* through Jonathan Scott's *History of Dekkan* without naming his authority.

I come now to the solution that I have to bring forward. It is in short that the word **Pindari** (or more strictly **Pandhâri**) comes from **a place or region called Pândhâr or Pandhâr.** The word has been formed by adding to this place-name the *yâe-nisbat*, or the *y* of connection. Thus the word would mean, according to me, "a man belonging to or coming from the region called Pandhâr." To prove my case I must make out two things, 1st, that there is or was a region known as Pandhâr; 2ndly, that the Pindhari marauders had some special connection with such a region.

First then for the evidence as to a place called **Pândhâr.** From Bhîm Sen, *Nuskhah-i-dilkushâ*, British Museum, Oriental MS. No. 23, fol. 162*a*, when describing the march in 1707 of 'Âlamgîr's son, A'ẓam Shâh from Aḥmadnagar to Âgrah, we learn that Chîn Qilîch Khân (afterwards Niẓâm-ul-mulk) stopped behind in Burhânpûr, *wa Muḥammad Amîn Khân az Pândhâr farâr ikhtiyâr namûdah, nazd Chîn Qilîch Khân raft*, "And Mhd. Amîn Khân absconded from Pândhâr and returned to C. Q. Kh." The next stage arrived at by the army was the pass of Tûmrî, north of Handiyâ on the Narbadâ. Thus this Pândhâr must lie somewhere between Burhânpur and Handiyâ. Again Kâmwar Khân, *Tazkirah-i-salâṭîn-i-chaghtaiyah*, referring to the same event, says "*wa az manzil-i-Pândhâr, kih shash kuroh az Burhânpur fâṣilah dârad*, "And from the stage of Pândhâr which lies six *kos* from Burhânpur." Kâm Râj also, *A'ẓam-ul-ḥarb*, fol. 95*b*, under date of 23rd Muharram 1119 H. (25th April 1707) informs us that Râo Dalpat, Bundelah, was told off to see in person to passing the carts and baggage through the defiles of Pandhâr. All three writers, Bhîm Sen, Kâmwar Khân and Kâm Râj were with A'ẓam Shâh's army.

We have another citation to make from Kâmwar Khân under the date of the 13th Sha'bân 1132 H. (19th June 1720) where the locality of the battle between Niẓâm-ul-mulk and Sayyad Dilâwar 'Alî Khân is given as the *Kohistân-i-Pândhâr*, "the hill-country of Pândhâr." Mîrzâ Muḥammad, *Târîkh-i-Muḥammadî* (year 1132 H.) says Dilâwar 'Alî Khân was killed at the *village* of Pândhâr in Khândesh. Other sites for the contest are Ratnpur in the Makrâe territory (Khâfî Khân, Vol. II. p. 875), Qaṣbah Khandwâ (Rustam 'Alî, *Târîkh-i-Hindî*, fol. 240*b*), and Husainpur (*Târîkh-i-Muẓaffarî*, my copy, p. 181, and the *Asiatic Miscellany*, Calcutta, 1785, Vol. I. p. 328). These places are all to the north or north east of Burhânpur, between it and the Narbadâ, and therefore in the region that I say was called Pandhâr.

Next as to modern evidence of the name Pandhâr, which is unfortunately rather hard to find. It does not appear on the map attached to the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, nor is it on the map of the Central Provinces, scale 16 miles = one inch, corrected up to 1872; while Sheet No 8 of the Revenue Survey, on which the name ought to appear, does not seem to have been issued. But on the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 54, there is a Pandhâr river flowing from north-west to south-east and entering the Taptî opposite Chândnîpur, a station on the G. I. P. Railway. This place is east of Asîrgaṛh and about 11½ miles N.-E. of Burhânpur. On the river is a place marked Gaṛhî, and possibly it also may have been called formerly Pandhâr. There is also a Puckee Paundar on Sheet No. 6 of a map of the Râjputânah States issued by the Government of India in 1859. This village lies 17 to 20 miles N.-E. of Burhânpur.

Having adduced what is, I hope, satisfactory evidence that a place or region existed between Burhânpur and Handiyâ on the Narbadâ, known in the 18th century by the name of Pandhâr; I now proceed to show a close connection between the Pindâris and this very region, now included in the Nîmâr and Hoshangâbâd districts of the Central Provinces.

H. T. Prinsep, Vol. I. p. 36, says that in 1794 **the Pindharis** obtained lands in the valley of the Narbadâ. Burun, Pindhâri, died at Asîrgaṛh (some 16 miles north of Burhânpur) about 1800, and afterwards Karîm Khân, another of their leaders, obtained grants from Sendhiah in the valley and above the *ghâṭs* of the

Narbadâ. In *Summary of the Mahratta and Pindaree Campaign*, London, 1820, p 90, we read: "To the right of a pagoda on the opposite side of the river to Handiyâ lies the Durrah or tributary estate of Cheetoo, a celebrated leader of the Pindaries." Under "Nîmâr," the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p 330, has "The Pindharis may in fact be said to have been at home in Nimar." Their chief camps were in the dense wilds of Handiyâ, between the Narbadâ and the Vindhyâ range. In other words, their home was in the country that I say was called Pandhâr.

A curious fact is the appearance of **Pindhârî** as a caste name in the Census of 1891, both in Bombay and the Central Provinces. In the former they are described as carriers; in the latter, as earth-workers and stone-dressers. In Bombay they number 1,022, thus distributed (*Census*, VIII. pp. 219, 230, 239):

Deccan — 539 — Nearly all in Khândesh and Nâsik.

Konkan — 4 — All in Kânara.

Karnâta — 279 — All Mahomedans, 230 in Bijâpur.

In the Central Provinces (Vol. XII. pp. 162, 163), there are 397, of whom Hoshangâbâd has 233, Bâlâghâț, 110, and Nîmâr only 2.

A few words remain to be said as to the earliest proved use of the word **Pindhari** in native histories and in Anglo-Indian works. I cannot say that under this head my investigation is exhaustive; but I put on record what I have found. Yule's earliest instance, p. 539, is 1706-7, from Jonathan Scott's *History of Dekkan* (Shrewsbury, 1794, two vols. 4to). The original passage is in the *Nuskhah-i-dilkushâ* by Bhîm Sen, a Kâyath of Burhânpur, Scott's *Boondeela Officer*, who finished his book in 1120 H. (1708). But what if this author never used the word? By a strange coincidence, the very copy employed by Jonathan Scott is now in the British Museum, MS. Oriental, No. 23. On turning to the passage, fol. 156*b*, I find Peḍâ, Baḍar, پیدا بدر, that is to say, a proper name with an epithet, Peḍà, the Beḍar, a well-known man of the period, and not the word Pindârâ or Pinderreh at all; while on fol. 158*a*, پیدیا, Peḍyâ, is quite plain. This instance, then, must be rejected as founded on mistaken readings. I suspect the same would turn out to be the case with the next, if I had access to the original text of the *Nishân-i-Ḥaidarî*, but unfortunately I have no copy at my command [1]

In the *Ma,âsir-i-'Âlamgîrî*, written in 1122 H (1711) I find (edition Bibl. Ind. p. 500), under the year 1116 H. (1704-5) the words "*ba kûmak i pandar*, "to reinforce the Pandar," but I doubt the reading and expect it ought to be بیدر, *Bedar*, instead of پندر, *Pandar*. But the word Pândhara is plainly used by Râm Singh, Munshî of Niẕâm-ul-Mulk, writing before 1161 H. (1748). His *Gulshan-i-'ajâib*, B. M. Addl. MSS. No. 26, 236. has on fol. 63*b*, "The turbulent of the Bedar and Bedgar and Pândhars of that place" (*i. e.*, Atnûr in the Nizam's Territory). A still earlier instance is perhaps found in the *Târîkh-i-Muḥammadî*, under the year 1135 H. (1722-3). "Sambhâjî, *Pândhariyah*, a leading man under Râjah Sâhû, was killed at the end of the year in the ṣûbah of Bîdar in a fight with Chandar Sen, a leader of the party of the widow of Râm Râjah, uncle's son of Sâhû." This man is not named by Grant Duff, and I do not know whether the epithet means "a native of Pândhâr" or a Pindharî in our modern sense. Two other writers I have found using the word, this time without doubt in the modern sense. In the *Mirât-uṣ-ṣafâ*, B. M. Addl. No. 6540, composed about 1179 H (1765-6). fol. 115*b*, the story is told of Sendhiah's attack in 1175 H. (1761-2) on Burhânpur, and in his army were many men "*qaum-i-lajârah* (*bajârah?*) *kih înhâ mashhûr bah Pandâṛah wa Dânḍkâ and*, "Of the tribe of lajârah (possibly Bajârah, *i. e.*, Banjârah grain-carriers) who are known by the names of Pandâṛah and Dânḍkâ." [The ڑ of Pandârah is entered by a different pen; Dânḍkâ is equivalent, I presume, to Ḍâkâ, a dacoit, a robber.]

In Anglo-Indian usage the word Pindhari seems to have become known by 1786, the year in which Jonathan Scott made his translation of Bhîm Sen's book. Yule's quotation of 1784 from a vocabulary corroborates this date. I do not find the word in the Index to G. W. Forrest's *Bombay Selections*, nor in his three Warren Hastings volumes (1772-1785). If Pandârums is the same word for the same thing then R. Orme is the earliest user. In his *Military Transactions*, first published in 1763, writing of January 1760, he says, "and a greater number of foot plunderers who are called Pandarums," Madras reprint, Vol. II. p. 571. In his most elaborate index there is no entry of either Bedar or Pindharî.

[1] With reference to the doubt that I have expressed as to the use of the word *Pindhârî* in the text of the *Nishân-i-Ḥaidarî*, I find I am wrong. On page 80, line 13, of the lithographed edition (Bombay, 1307 H., 1889) I find the word *Pindârah* is employed. But Yule gives as the date the year of the events recorded (1762 A. D.), whereas it should be more properly the year in which the *Nishân-i-Ḥaidarî* was written. It was finished on the 20th Shawwâl 1217 H. (2nd February 1803).

To sum up the case for and against my contention. If it were not for a passage in Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, Bombay reprint, 157, I should have been ready to maintain that I had proved my case. My argument requires two things to make it irrefutable: (1st) a very early connection between Pandhâr and the Pindharis; (2nd) that the Pindharis had no early home or settlement outside Pandhâr. As to the first point the recorded evidence seems to go no farther back than 1794, when Sendhiah granted them lands in Nîmâr; whereas before that time the name had become fixed, and had even crept into Anglo-Indian vocabularies As to the second point, Grant Duff says, and he if anybody must have known, that "there were a number of Pindharis about the borders of Maharashtra and the Carnatic; they cultivate land in time of peace, and plunder when the country is unsettled : they have been there for some hundred years; many of them speak Hindostance and call themselves Rajpoots." Unless these men emigrated from Khândesh about 1726 (that is, a hundred years before 1826, the date of G. Duff's book), their presence in the South with the same name tends to disprove any special connection between their name, Pindhârî, and a place, Pandhâr, several hundreds of miles from their country. On the other hand, it is a very singular coincidence that men known as Pindhârîs should have been newly settled about 1794 in a country which had been known as Pândhâr for at least ninety years before they thus occupied it. Such a mere fortuitous connection between Pândhâr and the Pindhârîs is so extraordinary that we may call it an impossibility. **A fair inference is that the region Pandhâr was the original home of the Pindhârîs**, that they took their name from it, and that grants of land between Burhânpur and Handiyâ were made to them in what had always been their home country, namely Pandhâr.

W. IRVINE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

INDIAN CHILDREN'S BOGIES.

FEW Europeans probably know how great a part bogies play in the early education of native children, and how deeply the fear of **hawwâ** (ghost) and **rât kî mâṅ** (the night's mother) sinks into the little hearts. So much is the case that not even high education in after-life eradicates the terrors thus engendered.[1]

GULAB SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

THE JANEU, ITS FORMATION AND USE.

THE *janeu* or sacred thread of the Hindûs is thus made :—The four fingers of the hand are closed and a thread is wound back and front over them (? to represent the union of the four sacred elements in created things) 96 times — *i. e.*, 12 × 8, or according to the octoad, common only to the Eastern nations and the Chinese. This thread forms a strand of the *janeu*. Three of these strands are then taken together and divided into three parts, and these are then twisted to the right and made into three threads of six strands each. This is called an *agra*. Two *agras* go to a *janeu*, or aggregate of six threads of six strands each. The *janeu* is knotted together by a number of knots depending on the descent and sect of the wearer. It is worn over the left shoulder, which is a concession to Buddhism, as it was originally worn round the waist.

In worshipping the gods the *janeu* is worn over the left shoulder and held across the palm under the thumb of the left hand, while the libations are made with the right hand forward. In worshipping the *pitris* (ancestors) it is worn on the right shoulder, and the libation is made with the fingers of the right hand raised higher than the palm, so that the water pours to the right. In worshipping the *Rishis* the thread goes round the neck, and the water is poured out with both hands inwards towards the chest.

When dirty the *janeu* must be made into the form of the *swastika* or mystic cross, in the manner that children play at "cat's cradle," and then washed.

W. BUCHANAN in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

CHILD-BURIAL.

IN Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, 2nd ed., p. 136, I read that in Russia **the threshold of** a cottage has many curious superstitions attached to it, and that **still-born children are buried under it.** A case occurred in Ambâlâ Cantonments, in which a humble couple, Jaiswârâs, in, for them, comfortable circumstances, were arraigned for concealing the birth of a child. It was found buried under the threshold. It turned out that infanticide was the last thing the parents intended, for it was a first-born son, and that the infant had died about nine days after birth, and had been buried, where it was found, in order that in constantly stepping over it, the parents would run no risk of losing any subsequent children that might be born. They said it was the custom of the caste so to bury all children that died within 15 days after birth.[2]

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [An exact parallel is found in the pernicious custom of telling children "ghost stories" in Europe. No amount of education really eradicates the nervous fear thus created, that curses the lives of nine-tenths of the human race.— ED.]

[2] This is a "savage" custom for the Andamanese do the same thing.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR ON THE INDUS.

BY M. A. STEIN.

I WAS able to utilize my Ramzân vacation of January last for a **short archæological tour in the north-western districts of the Panjâb,** — a region which has been, and will remain, a field of special interest to me. I began my wanderings near **Dhêrê Shâhân** (on the railway line between Rawalpindi and Attock) where I was able closely to inspect the great site of **Taxila,** long ago correctly identified by General Cunningham. Coins of the Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers are still found there in plenty. The scanty remains above ground are rapidly disappearing under extended cultivation. But those below are fortunately safe and may yet some day prove that Prof. Bühler was right in looking upon Taxila as one of the most promising places for systematic excavations. The latter undoubtedly would be expensive, owing to the extent of the site and the depth of the débris.

From Taxila I marched up the valley of the **Harro River** where I succeeded in tracing near the villages of **Tarnâva** and **Pumbâla** a series of ancient Stûpas and monastic buildings that have so far remained undescribed. I was scarcely surprised to find that all Stûpa-mounds had been opened at one time or the other. On my way back I visited the well-known **Stûpa of Bâlâr** which forms a conspicuous landmark in the lower Harro Valley. A feature of it which curiously enough has not received proper notice in previous accounts known to me, attracted my special attention. The solid masonry near the top encloses a square chamber of cut slabs, exactly similar in construction and size to the one seen by me in the Stûpa of Takhtaband and described in my Bunêr *Report.*

I next marched *viâ* Hassan Abdal and Campbellpur to **Shakardarra,** a large village near the latter place, where about three years ago a Kharoṣṭhî inscription had been discovered. Prof. Bühler had published it a short time before his death in the *Proceedings* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna, from a cast which had been taken of the stone when it was offered for sale to the Curator of the Lahore Museum, and of which I had at the time sent him a photograph. The stone itself has disappeared since. But I was able exactly to ascertain the position, etc., of the old well from which it had been dug up and to collect other evidence of the antiquity of the site.

On my subsequent march down to **Nilâb,** the old crossing place on the Indus, I succeeded in tracing and acquiring an **important Kharoṣṭhî inscription of the Kushana period,** which had been found a short time ago near an ancient well and subsequently carried away by villagers. My search for the stone was attended with a good deal of trouble and a series of incidents which gave it quite the character of an exciting chase. All the greater was my satisfaction when I ultimately obtained this interesting epigraphical relic which mentions a date and the name of a hitherto unknown Indo-Scythian prince. The stone is now safely deposited in the Lahore Museum, to which I presented it, and the inscription will be published by me in my detailed report.

I then marched to Khairâbâd opposite Attock and after crossing the Kâbul river, visited **Jahângîra, Alladhêr, Lâhôr, Ûnd** (previously identified by me with Udabhâṇḍa, the winter capital of the Sàhis of Kâbul), and other ancient sites of Gandhâra along the right bank of the Indus. At Ṭôpî I reached the point where the Indus leaves the hills. The ruined sites on the lower spurs of **Mahâban** which had furnished so many of Major Deane's puzzling inscriptions in unknown characters, were here temptingly near and yet for the time beyond my reach; for I had not been able to secure permission to cross the border into **Gadûn** territory where most of them are situated.

I was, however, able to survey on the British side of the border **the ruins of Suludhêrî and Palôsdarra** from which some of those inscriptions had come, and to obtain useful indications as to their probable date. On a ridge of low hills known as **Imrân** which rises on the right bank of the Indus not far from Ṭôpî, I examined extensive ruins of ancient fortifications closely resembling those seen by me in Swât and Bunêr. I then crossed the river by the historic ferry of Torbêla into the Hazâra District, in order to follow up there the track of the ancient route which connected Gandhâra with **Kashmîr.** In the hills to the west of Abbottabad, snow-covered at the time, through which this route

took me, I had the satisfaction of indentifying several ancient localities I had previously searched for in vain in connection with my labours on the old topography of Kashmîr, such as the Babrahân of Albêrûnî and Kâliñjara.

A rapid ride through the central valley of **Urash** which still retains the names of the ancient **Urašâ,** brought my tour to a close. Notwithstanding the extent of the ground (circ. 240 miles) over which my marches had taken me within little more than a fortnight, it had been a holiday as instructive as any I ever had in the Land of the Five Rivers.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

CHAPTER I.

General Character of the Qorân.

IBN KHALDÛN on the miraculous character of the Qorân — Definitions of Islâm and Qorân — Translations — Muhammed, author, but not editor, of the Qorân — Maxim of "Abrogation" — Meaning of the term "Arabic Qorân" — Qorân the "Speech" of Allâh — Transcendental character of the Qorân — Qorân encourages study — The "seven readings" — Was Muhammed able to write?

Note I. — Islâm.

„ II. — The terms for Logos in the Qorân.

„ III. — Ibn Ḥazam on the transcendental character of the Qorân.

Ibn Khaldûn, one of the most intelligent and enlightened critics of the Moslim religion and history, **defines the Qorân** in the following words :—

"Know that the greatest, the most sublime and best accredited miracle is the noble Qorân which was revealed to our Prophet. Miracles, which are contrary to the laws of Nature, do not usually occur simultaneously with a prophet's inspirations, but, as is well known, follow in the wake of his annunciation. The Qorân, however, is inspiration given exclusively to Muhammed, and is at the same time a miracle, bringing its own credentials, and requiring no external verification as is the case with miracles performed by other prophets. No better guarantee can be given than the identity of the test itself with the thing tested, and it was this to which the Prophet alluded in the words : 'A prophet is only he who brings such signs as are believed in by men. The inspiration granted to me is of such character, and I therefore hope that the number of my followers will increase until the Day of Resurrection.'

"With these words the Prophet wished to convey, that a miracle of so manifest and convincing a character, while being revelation, must necessarily increase the number of True Believers, and this is what he terms '**Community of Followers.**'

"All this will serve to show that the Qorân is of all divine books the only one communicated to a prophet by word of mouth, standing as it does with regard to its verbal endowment in contrast to the *Tôrâ*, the *Gospel* and other heavenly books, which their prophetic authors received in the form of ideas. Then when returning into the state of ordinary life, they expressed those ideas in common language, and could therefore not claim any superhuman power. Our Prophet, like others, received ideas from Allâh, as we may conclude from many traditions, but he alone rendered Allâh's words, when stating that the Qorân was communicated to him orally, in the following manner (Qor. lxxv. 16-17) : 'Do not move thy tongue thereby to hasten it,[1] it is for us to collect and discourse on it (the Qorân).'

"These two verses were revealed, because Muhammed used to hasten to imbibe the [new] revelations for fear of forgetting them, and because he was anxious to know them by heart. Allâh then spared him that trouble in the revelation (xv. 9) : 'Verily, we have sent down the Reminder, and

[1] *Cf. Sûra* xx. 113.

verily we will guard it." This is what **guarding**[2] means, being one of the special characteristics of the Qorân, but not as the general public understands the term,[2] while distorting it from its true meaning.

"There are many verses which prove that the Qorân was communicated to Muhammed in the oral way, so that no one can imitate one *Sûra*. No greater miracle was vouchsafed to our Prophet than the Qorân and the manner in which it attracted the Arabs, and caused them to rally round it. If one were to spend all that is on earth, one could not unite their hearts, but Allâh has accomplished it, and thou wilt find unmistakeably what I wished to establish that the Qorân furnishes irresistible evidence of the superiority of our Prophet over others."[3]

Briefly stated **in Ibn Khaldûn's opinion the Qorân is the result of miraculous revelation accorded to Muhammed exclusively**, and in such a manner that no other human being was or will ever be able to boast of a similar privilege. However orthodox such reasoning may sound, there is one important item missing which at once shows its author's standpoint with regard to **the great question whether the Qorân is created or eternal. In the course of the following researches we shall have to consider this question which for long has stirred the Moslim world to its very depths.**

About one-tenth of the human race style themselves Muhammedans, *i. e.*, followers of the creed that Allâh is a unique Being who sent Muhammed as the "Seal" or last of the prophets to invite the whole world to believe in Him. The believers in this creed have for many centuries not been confined to one people, but comprise children of many nations and races. The cradle of the Muhammedan religion which now bears so universal a character, stood in a small territory in the north-west of the Arabian peninsula, called the Hijâz, a province important from the earliest ages as one of the commercial high roads for the gold and incense trade between South Arabia and the northern countries.

Considered as a church the Muhammedan religion is called *Islâm*[4] which means "Perfect Submission," and the Believers are described as *Moslims*. An originally small number of the Moslims has, in the course of the thirteen centuries of the existence of the creed, grown to a multitude, and is, to all appearance, still growing. It requires, therefore, but little knowledge of universal history to perceive that **the origin and development of Islâm must be of unusual significance,** and that a movement productive of such gigantic results, must be more than accidental, particularly if we consider that it spread even more rapidly than Christianity.

A traveller in the east will probably obtain a false conception of the original nature of Islâm, because its present condition differs materially from that, owing to the many sects into which it has been divided, and also to customs and rites influenced by historical, geographical, and ethnographical circumstances. It will be easily understood that a religious system, in the course of many centuries, must have departed from its primary simplicity. It is therefore necessary for any one anxious to obtain a true idea of the tenets of the Moslim belief, to study the history of its origin, even though he have opportunities of watching the daily life and the performances of religious rites in Moslim countries. These tenets are laid down in a book styled **the Qorân**[5] which is written in the Arabic language. This book, although first revealed to a single individual for the use of a small community, now belongs to the world's literature and is translated into numerous other languages. It consists of one hundred and fourteen **chapters called Sûras**[6] which are so peculiarly arranged that the longest,

[2] *Alhafz* is commonly interpreted by "learning by heart," see below.

[3] *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatremère, *Notes et Extraits*, Vol. XVI. p. 171. *sqq.*

[4] See Note I. at the end of this chapter. [5] See below.

[6] As to the etymology of *sûra* the Arab authors have built up a number of theories none of which is, however, satisfactory (see *Itqân*, p. 121). This also applies to the suggestion made by Nöldeke (and universally adopted), that the word is identical with Hebr. *shûrâh*, "row" (*Gesch. d. Qor.* p. 24). Nöldeke has overlooked the fact that the term is already used in Meccan revelations, when Muhammed hardly expected to see any of them put down in a book. What could have induced him, then, to use such a term? Just as the meaning of *sûra* runs parallel to what the Jews call *sidrâh* of the Pentateuch, it is also a corruption based on misreading of the latter. More instances of the same kind will be given below. The question is therefore connected with the other, whether Muhammed was able to read.

although not the oldest, stands at the beginning and the shortest at the end. The Moslim church, at a very early epoch, adopted this arrangement for political reasons as the official one, and allowed the chronological order, as far as could then be ascertained, as well as variations of the text, to fall into oblivion. For historical research the chronological order is, of course, the only one to be taken into consideration. Attempts to restore the same were, indeed, initiated shortly after the compilation of the book had been completed both as regards whole Sûras and portions of such, and were continued until very recently. Many questions have been solved by the improved methods of Occidental criticism, but more remains obscure, and for many there is little hope of ever finding a satisfactory answer.

It is, however, evident that the Qorân represents the Bible of Islâm. Placing the Qorân side by side with the Bible for the sake of finding points of resemblance between both, we soon see that these are limited to the circumstance that they each form the Holy Writ for large masses of Believers. With regard to the infinitely more complicated questions connected with the Old and New Testaments we should expect to be in a more favourable position as concerns the Qorân for reasons which at once indicate the vast differences between the latter and the Bible. Firstly, the Qorân was entirely composed in the first half of the seventh century of the present era, and is therefore many centuries younger than the latest portions of the New Testament. Secondly, it has but one author, and the whole period of the production of the material of which it was composed scarcely extends over twenty years. Thirdly, the collection and compilation of the sundry revelations were made by men who had witnessed the first delivery of most of them, and finally the book was hardly finished when it was covered with a mass of explanatory traditions and lengthy commentaries.[7]

The conflux of so many favourable circumstances should justify us in concluding that hardly any critical question dealing with the Qorân is left open. Unfortunately this is not the case. The assistance offered by **the explanatory traditions** just mentioned keeps within narrow bounds and does not even satisfy linguistic demands. A large number of them are quite **untrustworthy. It is therefore safest to let the Qorân explain itself,[8] and this we will endeavour to do as much as possible in the following researches.** References will, of course, be made occasionally to some of the most renowned historical, traditional, and exegetical works illustrative of incidents to which many revelations owe their existence, and also to the manner in which prominent Moslim theologians interpreted the principal doctrines laid down in the revelations.[9]

It is worthy of notice that **the Arabs, taken as a people, were the last Semitic tribe to exchange paganism for the belief in One God.** It is, however, not this circumstance which we have to discuss here, but rather the reason **why this occurred so late.** The fault certainly did not lie in the lack of acquaintance with the monotheistic belief. Arabs had not only for centuries previously been continually in contact with monotheists, but their country became in the course of time more and more narrowed in both by Jews and Christians.[10] A lively commercial intercourse existed with the Christian inhabitants of Africa, Syria, and even Byzantium. Sundry northern tribes had embraced Christianity (probably Nestorian), and fought under the banners of Greek Emperors against the Persians. In South Arabia Christians were to be found as early as in the sixth century, and Judaism had even made greater progress through the conversion of a royal house. Jews lived in the whole north-west of the peninsula as far as Medina, and the surroundings of this city were in the hands of the Jewish clans.[11] Jewish influence was so great in Medina that many Arab families not only accepted this faith but freely intermarried with Jews. Thus at the beginning of the seventh

[7] *Itq.* 908 *sqq.* gives a classification of the oldest commentators, beginning with Muhammed's own friends and their successors. *Ibid.* 918 to 954, see traditions on explanatory remarks handed down on behalf of Muhammed himself. In many cases Alsuyûti enters into a criticism of these annotations.

[8] See Sprenger, *Das Lebene u. d. Lehr d. Muh.'s* I. p. xiii.

[9] *Itq.* 893, *propædeutics* of the exegesis of the Qorân, which necessitates the acquaintance with fifteen different subjects.

[10] See the verses in I. *Hish.* p. 293; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 2nd ed. p. 238, rem. 1.

[11] See *Rev. Et. J.* vii. p. 169 *sqq.*

century in the Ḥijâz, which here chiefly comes into consideration, only the country around Mecca where no Jews and very few Christians existed — these few moreover living in very humble positions — was kept free from the influence of followers of monotheistic beliefs.

Meanwhile the reverence for the national deities was already on the wane everywhere in Arabia, Mecca included. In places with a settled population of agriculturists or growers of palm-trees one of the two monotheistic forms of belief was predominant. The spiritual tension produced in many minds by the decay of the old faith found in those places a solatium either in Judaism or Christianity which goes far to explain why Islâm was slow in taking root there. The state of things in Mecca was, however, different. Open intrusion of alien views of belief was not tolerated in this city for various reasons. Spontaneous restoration of the equilibrium was, therefore, not to be expected in a place which sheltered the ancient national sanctuary of the Ka'ba, which not only gave it a theocratic predominance over a large area, but was also a veritable source of material gain. For these reasons the crisis was bound to occur here. In other parts, as in Ṭâif and in the desert, religious matters were treated with so much indifference, that no excitement whatever was caused.

The Arabs all round had thus been familiar with Judaism and Christianity for a long time. Nevertheless, the progress made by these forms of belief was but slow and intermittent, and the reasons for this are obvious. Both creeds were anything but compatible with the condition of life in Arabia. For travelling merchants[12] and much more for starving Bedouins the Jewish dietary laws and Day of Rest were not acceptable, and the moral code of the Bible stood in sharp contrast to licentious habits against which there was no heathen prohibition.[13] For some of these reasons it proved difficult enough to gain many tribes even for Islâm. The Christian Church, on the other hand, was split up in so many sects, each stamping the other as heretics, that their quarrels were for an outsider as unattractive as their principles unintelligible. I doubt whether the converted Arab families and tribes mentioned above had ever become Jews or Christians from conviction. The proof is that it afterwards required but little inducement to make them forsake either faith for that of a national prophet who combined a simple creed with a plain ritual, and whilst taking into consideration the nature of the country and some of the sacred traditions of their forefathers, promised them tempting rewards in the life hereafter.

To gain a knowledge of Islâm, **a study of the Qorân** in the original or in a good translation should be sufficient, as all that is necessary for the comprehension of its fundamental principles is contained in that. Here, however, we encounter a great difficulty. Strictly speaking, the Qorân can only claim to be a child of Arabic literature through the language in which it is written. Although Arabic may be regarded as the most successfully investigated of all Semitic tongues, yet its substance and its poetic forms in particular in the Prophet's time present serious difficulties. If we omit northern and southern Arabic inscriptions, coherent pieces in prose dating from the pre-Islamic epoch do not exist. Other literary monuments, *viz.*, songs, lived in the mouths of the people. The Qorân is written neither in poetry — in which the prosody and standard practices assist the interpretation — nor in prose. The Prophet could neither detach himself wholely from the custom of speaking in chromatic verses,[14] nor did he at once succeed in discoursing in calm oratory. He chose a new theme. The Qorân does not praise love, woman, combat, sword, steed, or camel, but a stern and awful Being invisible and indescribable. Thus the Qorân appeared so foreign to everything with which Arabic thought was familiar, that the ordinary vernacular was inadequate to express all these new ideas. To study the Qorân, therefore, a totally different course must be pursued from that which would be taken for the comprehension of a poem. Dictionary and grammar will in most cases be of assistance

12 Al Jâḥiz (died 255 H.) explains on this basis the name of the Qoreish (cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 3138, fol. 267) as "derived from trading and profiting (التجارة والتقريش); this is their grandest title and their noblest parentage which Allâh has extolled in His Book." See also Tabari, p. 1103 to 4. — Al Baihaqi (fol. 25) brings a tradition on behalf of Ibn Abbâs, according to which *Qoreish* is derived from a sea monster called *algarsh*. See also Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, I. p. 231 (I. Hish).

13 See Nöldeke, *Beitraege Zur Kenntniss*, etc. p. 183 *sqq*. *Die Beduinen als Betrüger ihrer Gläubiger*.

14 See below.

in making a literal translation, but must fail to disclose the spirit which pervades the book. When discussing the very oldest revelation we shall have an opportunity of seeing how the first breath of Islâm has been misinterpreted by wrong translation. It is the knowledge of the original sources that can alone throw a light on what often appears at first obscure and meaningless. One of the principal difficulties before us is therefore to ascertain, whether an idea or an expression was Muhammed's spiritual property or borrowed from elsewhere, how he learnt it, and to what extent it was altered to suit his purposes.

There is no lack of **translations of the Qorân**, many of which have been made by very able scholars.[15] None, however, can claim anything like perfection, and if we must for ever abandon the hope of obtaining a version in which all the mysteries of the book should be explained, the fault lies with the author alone. In the first place we are not able to gauge the real signification of many words in use at that time, and which have been embodied in the Qorân. Secondly, our knowledge of the language does not enable us to grasp all the idioms of an orator who purposely used uncommon as well as foreign words and who also changed the meanings of Arabic words or of such differing in dialect.

Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the manifold difficulties repel rather than encourage the study of the Qorân, especially as it is monotonous to read in spite of its bombastic rhetoric. The later and longer chapters in particular are indescribably tedious, and offer a hard task even to the most enthusiastic student. This is no doubt the reason why researches into the Qorân are at present more than duly supplanted by other branches of Arabic literature. Yet there is much to be done in this field. The sources, in particular, from which Muhammed drew, have not yet all been discovered. Only by investigation will it be possible to understand, how an intelligent man with a training gained autodidactically and by stealth, was able to create from the fragments of older creeds not only a new one, but also to endow it with many features of a universal religion. It is the monotheistic basis which secures a prolonged existence to the frail building in spite of many prophecies to the contrary. Never has a people been led more rapidly to civilization, such as it was, than were the Arabs through Islâm. We are not a little indebted to them for the preservation and interpretation of some of the treasures of Hellenic wisdom, but it is very doubtful, whether the Arabs would ever have trodden the paths of science, had they not been forced to do so by the Qorân.

Although Muhammed is the author of the Qorân he did not leave it to his disciples in the form of a book, but in fragments of various lengths on all kinds of writing material. Now the question arises whether he was prevented by death from compiling the revelations into a book, or whether he purposely omitted to do so, preferring to entrust them to the piety and memory of the faithful. The latter appears more probable for several reasons. The amount of the revelations themselves are so frequently styled "Book" in the Qorân that Muhammed seems to have deemed any special arrangement superfluous, and he took no steps to ensure such being made when he felt his death approaching.[16] A more important reason was Muhammed's wish to leave himself freedom to alter or suppress verses which became unsuited to changing circumstances. The advisability of such procedure must — and this is a most striking proof of the systematic manner in which Muhammed acted from the outset — have dawned upon him at a very early epoch, as even in one of the first revelations he inserted a clause alluding to words which Allâh might have caused him to forget.[17] Now this may

[15] I only mention the two latest translations which mark a great progress in this field. The best English one is E. H. Palmer's (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. VI. and IX.) with an excellent introduction. I have frequently followed this translation, but marked places in which I disagree with it. The palm, however, belongs to Fr. Rückert's (posthumous) German version: *Der Koran in Auswahl übersetzt* ed. A. Müller. This translation is hard to beat, because it gives everything the general reader requires, and in the most attractive form. The notes attached to it form a valuable appendix. For more critical purposes the Qorân will always have to be read in the original.

[16] See the well known tradition *Shahrast*, p. 11.

[17] S. lxxxvii. 6 (see below ch. III.); xvi. 103; ii. 100. The commentators (Al Baghawi) on the last quoted passage admit that the heathens (Al Beidh. adds: and the Jews) had said that Muhammed one day commanded a thing which he forbade the next day, and commanded the opposite. Sprenger, III. p. xxxvi., only makes weakness of memory and negligence on the part of Muhammed's followers responsible for occasional omissions, but the three verses quoted leave no doubt, that it was done on purpose. See also Bokh. X. 46.

appear mere cant, if nothing worse, particularly as Muhammed on two other occasions endeavoured to justify his action by special revelations (Q. xvi. 103 : ii. 100). Yet if looked at more closely, the liberty which the Prophet reserved to himself of **abrogating some revelations** in favour of others is so closely connected with one of the fundamental principles of Islâm, that Believers must regard it as a divine institution. The ritual of the Moslim church, following the example of the Christians (*e. g.*, S. Matth. xv. 11), is built upon the rules of *abrogating* and reforming such laws and customs practised by Jews, Christians, and pagan Arabs, as either favoured pagan interests, or were incompatible with the life in Arabia. Of those primarily retained to assist in forming a ritual, many were also eventually abrogated and, from political motives, replaced by others, Muhammed being ignorant of the differences between Biblical precepts and rites, or customs of Rabbinical origin. The explanations Moslim theologians offer for such measures is simply this, that Allâh, when giving precepts to certain peoples, had already made up his mind to abrogate the same after a certain period.[18] The alleviation of the ancient *vendetta*[19] by allowing a fine, the abolishment of the sanctity of the Sabbath, the redirection of the *Qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca,[20] the adoption and subsequent revocation of the fast of *Ashûrâ*,[21] are statutes entirely different in origin and gravity, but thus placed on the same level. Of the attitude of the Christians towards such theories no account is to be found, but the objections of the Jews were set at naught by the contention that they had themselves made alterations in the law. The substitution of certain Qoranic verses for others better suited to the circumstances was therefore warranted to some extent by precedent. When reproaching the Jews for altering their law Muhammed overlooked the fact that this had been done on the basis of tradition with a tendency to make the ritual, if anything, more strict rather than otherwise, while his own *naskh* was chiefly dictated by reasons of policy or unforeseen events. At any rate an acquaintance with the rules of abrogation is incumbent on every Moslim, as it forms a special branch of Qoranic lore.

When the Prophet died the possibility of change in the revelations ceased, and the Moslims were confronted with **the necessity of uniting in one volume** all they could collect either from the fragments mentioned above, or from their own recollections. When they had accomplished this they found themselves in possession of a tangible Testament — a guide for future generations. The Qorân was the Palladium which accompanied the armies, and it is only necessary to recall the role it played in the battle of Siffin (A. H. 37) between the Khalif Aliy and Muâwiya, the governor of Syria, to recognize its importance. Although the appeal of the latter to the sacred book was vague and contributed but little to the settlement of the quarrel between the Commander of the Faithful and his lieutenant, which was personal rather than religious, the mere aspect of the Book was sufficient to compel submission even from the head of the state.[22]

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[18] Ibn alNaḥḥâs (died 338 H.), كتاب الناسخ والمنسوخ fol. 1, introduces his work thus: The differences between abrogation (النسخ) and innovation (البدا) consists in the circumstance, that the former restricts people from things that had been lawful before, and permits what had been unlawful, with a view to benefit mankind. It was known to Allâh already at the time of command that He would abrogate it after a certain period. Such was the case with the alteration of the Qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca, further with Qor. lviii. 13, with the law of Sabbath, which was not binding for other nations. — Very minutely and (as Nöldeke has already remarked), in an exaggerating manner, the subject of *naskh* is discussed in *Itqân* (pp. 514 to 527). Al Suyûti distinguishes five questions with several subdivisons, and also mentions the protest of the Jews against it on the ground of its being a *badâ* (p. 515). Similar are the remarks of Ibn Ḥazm on the same subject كتاب الناسخ (ed. Bulaq 1301 together with the تفسير of Jalâlain) II. p. 169: "The *naskh* assumed the character of divine law, as among some branches of Adam's descendants it was considered lawful for a man to marry his sister, and besides this, working on Sabbath was forbidden, but this law is now abrogated by Islâm."

[19] Qor. ii. 173-175; see also Note III.

[20] Qor. ii. 138-9; v. 98.

[21] *Itqân*, 515; 523; Muslim, I. p. 310 *sq.* Urwa describes the *Ashûrâ* as having been observed by the Qoreish, but see Sprenger, III. 58 rem. Muslim, *ibid.* corrects the statement just mentioned saying that the Ashûrâ was a day reverentially kept by the Jews (with another Isnâd see Bokh. ed. Krehl I. 472). According to Ṭabari p. 1287, who mentions no authorities, the Jews celebrated it "in remembrance of the exodus from Egypt." Another instance of *abrogation* with regard to fasting see Qor. ii. 180 *sq.*, and Muslim, *ibid.* p. 315.

[22] See Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I. p. 227.

The difficulty of interpreting many essential parts of the Qorân was soon apparent. It was written in the vernacular, and frequently styled by the author "Plain Arabic Qorân."[23] This assurance should have been superfluous, if the book had been composed in plain Arabic; yet it is repeated three times. In reality much that is in it is not Arabic[24] at all, and this does not apply to the vocabulary alone.

If the revelations were delivered in "plain Arabic,"[25] and yet many of them remained unintelligible, this was evidently designed as a further proof of their divine origin. The dogmatic portions in particular continued obscure, owing chiefly to the large number of foreign words and new meanings pressed into service. In many cases sayings, actions, customs, decisions, and even the silence of Muhammed were quoted to suit emergencies, and in this way arose **the traditional supplement of the Qorân which is called Sunna,** and which is regarded as authoritative by the majority of the Moslim world. Political differences, combined with the formation of religious sects, were productive of views which disagreed even on fundamental doctrines. The following will serve as an instance. In one of the earliest revelations (lxxxv. 21) Muhammed speaks of the "Noble Qorân on a well preserved tablet." Theological controversies arose in connection with this sentence, and one of the most important dealt with the question: **was the Qorân created, or was it [an] eternal [attribute] ?** The orthodox school maintained the latter theory, whilst a class of men with philosophical training — the Mu'tazilites — came to the conclusion that besides Allâh no other eternal Being could exist. They therefore declared the Qorân to be created. This, of course, caused a great stir among those who held that the divine character of the Qorân was impaired by such a theory, and with the aid of the official authorities the latter party ultimately remained victorious. How the supporters of the dogma of the non-creation of the Qorân came to form their theory is well illustrated by an abstract from one of the most popular manuals of Sunnite beliefs, and is as follows[26]: And He whose Highness is great speaks with *one Speech;*[27] this is an attribute [to Him] from eternity; it has nothing to do with letters and sounds. It is [further] an attribute which repudiates silence and bane whilst Allâh the most High speaks with it commanding, prohibiting and narrating; and the Qorân is the *Speech of Allâh not created,*[28] whilst written in our copies, preserved in our hearts,[29] and recited[30] with our tongues, heard with our ears, and is not a [transient] state in this [attribute]." — It is easy to perceive the difficulty experienced in

[23] Not until the narrative period (see ch. V.), but then rather frequently. The oldest passage is xxvi. 195. The phrase occurs particularly often at the beginning of *Sûrâs, e. g.*, xliii. 1; xli. 2, 44; xii. 2; xlii. 5, etc. S. xiii. 37 حكما عربيّا. The definition of Al Ashari (Kit. al Luma'. *Cf.* Spitta, *Al Ashari*, p. 86) p. 126 with regard to Qor. xxxix. 29. قرانا عربيا غير ذي عوج بلسان العرب الأمّيين "in the undistorted language of the unlearned mass" is orthodox rather than critical. See also *Itq.* pp. 281, 315. The commentaries furnish innumerable cases of the contrary.

[24] *Itq.* p. 315.

[25] مبين *cf.* Sprenger, II. p. 352, *rem.* 2.

[26] Najm'uddin Abu Ḥafs Omar b. Muhammed al Nasafi (1088-1142) ed. W. Cureton, London, 1842, p. 2. The treatise has been translated into English by Prof. Macdonald in the *American Journ. of Semit. Languages and Lit.* Vol. XII. p. 111 *sqq.*

[27] Not "word" as generally translated, which is rather Biblical. *Cf.* Is. xl. 8. See also note II. Al Nasafi's follows here the Asharite doctrine which is vigorously combated by Ibn Ḥazm, Al Milal, f. 151vo.

[28] In order to prevent misunderstandings Sa'd alDin Al Taftazâni (died 721 H.), the commentator of Al Nasafi's work, explains this as follows (fol. 25vo): According to the teachings of the Doctors the Qorân follows the Speech of Allâh. It is to be said 'the Qorân is the Speech of Allâh which (the latter) is not created,' but it must not be said 'the Qorân (itself) is not created,' lest some one might too hastily think that the transport of the Qorân into sounds and letters is without beginning, as the school of Ḥanbal (founder of the most reactionary of the four high schools) assumes . . . . He who says that the Speech (of Allâh) is created, negatives Allâh the Almighty.

[29] With this the words of Ibn Khaldûn (p. 2) must be contrasted. Al Ispahâni in his *Kitâb Muḥâḍarat al'adbâr* (fol. 315vo) says that Omar gave hundred Dinârs to every one who knew the Qorân by heart.

[30] Prof. Macdonald translates: "repeated" which would be مكرّر in Arabic; Al Taftazâni has, however, مقروّا "read," which is not only much more appropriate, but belongs to the root of قرآن. Still better would be مقرّا "confessed."

trying to demonstrate philosophically what had already been laid down dogmatically. The Qorân is the *Speech of Allâh*, and this *Speech* is so closely connected with His nature that to declare it an item of creation and consequently perishable seemed to the orthodox school to clash with very essential doctrines of the Qorân which repeatedly asserts the "truth" and "perfection" of the Speech of Allâh.[31]

What makes the dogma of the eternity of the Qorân remarkable is that Abul Ḥasan Al Ash'ari, the man who may be called its father (died 324 H. in Baghdâd), after having been an ardent follower of the Mu'tazilite school, suddenly changed his attitude, and adopted the opposite view.[32] This circumstance as well as the general victory this theory subsequently gained through Al Ghazâli,[33] the greatest genius of Moslim scholastics, shows that it would be rash to stamp the dogma of the non-creation of the Qorân as a mere fad of orthodoxy. In reality there is very little religious feeling in it at all, but it is the result of so one-sided and exaggerated a development of the monotheistic idea, that it all but touches the other extreme. Neither is the identification — according to the Asharite doctrine the *juxtaposition* — of the Speech of Allâh the spontaneous outgrowth of Islâm. On the contrary it actually departs from the pure monotheism as preached by Muhammed, and is indeed nothing more or less than the transplantation of the idea of the Logos, which in the earlier centuries of the Christian era caused so much bitter strife within the Church, on Islamic soil. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that Muhammed should have become acquainted with it both in the Jewish and Christian interpretations. By introducing it in the Qorân under not less than *three* names[34] he has shown distinctly how to deal with a hypostasis of the divinity which appeared desirable enough to be introduced as a spiritual constituent of his theology whilst, being but a tool in the hand of Allâh, it could be accorded the rank of a created being.

As a consequence of the exalted origin of the Qorân, Moslim theology has developed the theory of the I'jâz, viz., the esoteric quality of the Qorân to exclude any other being beside Muhammed from being favoured with the power of producing a similar book or even part of it. The theory rests on a series of revelations in which unbelievers both in Mecca are challenged to show ten or even one *Sûra* like Muhammed's. Since the *I'jâz* of the Qorân is not dependant on the question of its being created or not, all classes of believers hold it as an inviolable dogma, only differing in minor points.[35] Muhammed could safely defy Arabs all round as well as Jews and Christians in Medina and elsewhere to try and preach in exactly the same manner as he, because every would-be imitator was bound to lack either the knowledge or the faculty, or the audacity of mixing up truth with fiction, or the pathos, or was unwilling to acknowledge the conditions upon which the inspiration was based. The Qorân could as little be imitated as Muhammed's individuality which gave it its stamp. He was so conscious of this fact that he could boast (*S.* xvii. 90): "Say, if mankind and *jinn* united together to bring the like of this Qorân, they could not bring the like, though they should back each other up." The more of the Qorân existed, the less fear there was of its being copied, and Muhammed dared therefore, when in Medina, to taunt the Jews with their inability to produce anything similar.[36] The Qorân is unapproachable as regards convincing power, eloquence, and even composition,[37] and this is in so far of great importance for Islâm in general, as it afforded Muhammed the means of pluming himself with a miracle which otherwise was denied to him. A miracle was the one great desire of his life, and the assurance that the Qorân *is* a miracle, is repeated *ad nauseam* through nearly the whole book. Tradition has, it is true, collected a large number of other miracles[38] performed by Muhammed, but none equals the greatest which is the Qorân itself.

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31 Qor. vii. 133; xi. 120; x. 36; xl. 6.

32 See Kremer, *Geschichte der herrsch. Id.* pp. 35 and 128.

33 *Ibid.* p. 45, Al Ghazali Aqîda; *cf.* Iljâm, p. 43.

34 See Note II.

35 See Note III. and above the concluding paragraph in the abstract from Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena.* The various theories on the nature and branches of the Î'jâz are broadly discussed. *Itq.* pp. 628 and 744 *sqq.*

36 Nöldeke, Q. p. 44, overlooks the fact that Muhammed addressed himself also to the Jews who ridiculed the Qorân from other points of view than the pagan Arabs did.

37 Note Al Ash'ari's, *cf. Shahrast*, p. 75, and Ibn Ḥazm, *l. c.*

38 Mosl. ii. 204 *sq.* Ibn Ḥ. fol. 122vo; of I. Khald. *ibid.* p. 169, on the nature of the miracle. The Arabic term for the same (المعجزة) is a participle active fem. of the same root and conjugation, of which اعجاز is the infi-

The exalted character of the Qorân — very minutely described in the great collections of traditions as well as in other works under the special title "High Qualities of the Qorân" — received its ecclesiastical interpretation in various practical regulations, which not only embrace the manner in which the book is to be treated for liturgical purposes, but extend also over the handling of the copies. A tangible basis for such regulations was given by the Prophet himself in the words (*S.* lvi. 76): "Behold it is a noble Qorân (77) on a well preserved tablet (78), none but the pure may touch it." — Although Muhammed only used these expressions metaphorically, the doctrine of the church took them literally and prohibited persons from touching a copy of the Qorân otherwise than in a state of ritual purity.[39] The writing[40] and reading of the Qorân are likewise regulated by strict rules. — According to the Qorân (lxxiii. 4) the reading is to be performed in a chanting manner[41] and a tradition which is, however, not well founded, gives Muhammed's advice to read it with the *I'râb*, (*i.e.*, grammatical terminations[42]). To carry the Qorân into an enemy's country,[43] is strictly forbidden; likewise to sell it to an infidel.[44]

We must not be surprised to find **the Qorân regarded as the fountain-head of all the sciences.**[45] Every subject connected with heaven or earth, human life, commerce and various trades are occasionally touched upon,[46] and this gave rise to the production of numerous monographs forming commentaries on parts of the holy book. In this way the Qorân was responsible for great discussions. and to it was also indirectly due the marvellous development of all branches of science in the Moslim world. — This again not only affected the Arabs but also induced Jewish philosophers[47] to treat metaphysical and religious questions after Arab methods. Finally, the way in which Christian scholasticism was fertilised by Arabian theosophy need not be further discussed.

Spiritual activity once aroused within the Islamic bounds, was not confined to theological speculations alone. Acquaintance with the philosophical, mathematical,[48] astronomical and medical writings of the Greeks, led to the pursuance of these studies. In the descriptive revelations[49] Muhammed repeatedly calls attention to the movements of the heavenly bodies, as parts of the miracles of Allâh[50] forced into the service of man[51] and therefore *not* to be worshipped.[52] How successfully Moslem

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native. The word does not occur, however, in the Qorân. To what extent نسخ and اعجاز appeared to outsiders as chief dogmas of Islâm, is shown in Jehûda Hallêvi's *Kit. Alkhazari*, I. p. 5. The Moslim Doctor who speaks there, expounds his faith from the Mu'tazilite point of view (see ed. Hirschfeld, p. 12).

39 Mu'attâ, p. 67. *Cf.* Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 52.

40 Al Nawawi, *Tibyân*, p. 272.

41 *Ibid.* 112.

42 Al Baihaqi from Abu Hureira in منار الحق by Al Ushmûni, p. 15; *Itq.* pp. 236, 879; according to Al Isfahâni, fol. 313vo. Abu Bakr recommended the same.

43 Mu'aṭṭâ, p. 163; I. Hzm, fol. 182vo, Tibyân, p. 274.

44 Tibyân, *ibid.*

45 *Itq.* 762; *cf.* 739 *sq.* The three chief sciences are توحيد, تذكير, احكام

46 *Itq.* 768.

47 A reflex of the dogma of the اعجاز is also visible in mediæval Jewish poetry. It seems to be a kind of protest against the same, though deprived of its ecclesiastical character, if Jewish poets in Moslim Spain, whilst adopting Arab forms, boast of their ability to imitate the same in Hebrew; see Ḥarîzî, *Taḥkemôni*, Introduction.

48 *Itq.* 767.

49 See ch. VI.

50 *E. g.*, *S.* xli. 37. Muhammed denounced those who studied astronomy for other than sacred purposes. *Cf. Mishk.* xxi. ch. 3, pt. 4.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Itq.* 766. *Cf.* Sprenger, III. 531. To judge from the Qorân, Muhammed's ideas of astronomy were those which were current in Arabia at his time, and show at any rate that he did not belong to the unlearned mass. He was acquainted with the retrograde movement of the planets (lxxxi. 5-16). He speaks of the zodiac which he calls by its Greek name *burûj* (πύργοι) *S.* xv. 16; xxv. 62. Of constellations he mentions the Scales (lv. 7); of single stars the Sirius ("the hairy one")', liii. 50. This word is an interesting specimen of popular etymology, but see Hommel in *Z. D. M. G.* XLV. p. 597. If the name occurs in pre-Islamic poems, this does not warrant its being "*uralt.*" Muhammed further speaks of the stations of the moon (x. 5; xxxvi. 39), arranged for the calculation of he seasons. The sun runs in a sphere prescribed for him, and is occasionally eclipsed (*ibid.*). According to a tradition related by Bokh. III. 305, Muhammed on the occasion of a total solar eclipse, said that it did not cause the death of any man; yet he recited special prayers during the eclipse, Muslim, i. 246; Tirmidi. (ed. Cairo, 1292) i. 110; *Mishk.* iv. ch. 51. Tradition, of course, makes him a great astronomer. According to Al Baihaqi *Itq.* 932) Muhammed knew by the aid of Gabriel the names of the stars which Joseph saw in his dream. *Cf. J. Q. R.* X. p. 108. — As to his medical learning see ch. VIII.

peoples of all races pursued **the study of astronomy** is shown by the fact that for centuries they were its principal supporters. Even now many Arabic names of stars and technical terms are in use. Mediæval astronomers in Europe were pupils of the Arabs, and the last Muhammedan astronomer, who was at the same time one of the greatest,[53] only died about twenty years before the birth of Copernicus.

In the same manner the Qorân gave an impetus to **medical studies**[54] and recommended the contemplation and study of Nature in general.[55] The very necessity for a better understanding of the Qorân itself impelled Moslems and particularly those who were not natives of Arabia to study its language.[56] Renan[57] has shown that **the beginning of linguistic research among the Arabs** was due neither to Greek influence nor to that of Syrian Christians. These studies resulted in the production of an unrivalled grammatical and lexicographical literature as immense as it is minutely worked out, and upon which our knowledge of the Arabic language is based. Linguistic pursuits were followed by literary pursuits. — Moslim scholars had the good sense not to allow the treasure of songs which had come down from pre-Islamic times to fall into oblivion, but collected them reverently and accompanied compilations with annotations, most welcome to readers of old poems. Not less important were these endeavours to settle questions connected with the forms from which the poems were composed, and they thus produced a most extensive literature on prosody.[58] For many centuries after, Arabic prosody furnished the forms in which the best productions of mediæval Jewish poetry both in Hebrew and Arabic[59] were written. Even in the development of Arabic poetry itself the Qorân marks a very important phase. In pre-Islamic Arabic short ditties were the recognised medium for conveying public opinion from mouth to mouth. The forms of poetry had become so firmly established in the minds of the people, that even Islâm could not alter them, though it succeeded in revolutionising all else. As regards the theme of the poems, however, the effect was different.

When entering upon his mission, Muhammed could not incline favorably towards poetry. Although conscious of its beauties, its fictitious character and low moral standard clashed with the stern truth in the revelations of Allâh. He also feared the effect of a smart epigram on his cause, and this fear was eventually justified.

We can well believe him, when, on behalf of Allâh, he says that he was not gifted with poetic skill, neither was such talent proper for him.[60] So little, however, could he detach himself from traditional forms,[61] that when he first commenced his addresses, he scarcely did more than drop the metre, whilst observing various standard rules and above all retaining the rhyme. This last habit in particular[62] eventually caused some dogmatic disquietude, as it did not harmonise with the character of the Qorân as an eternal attribute. Ash'arite opinion declared it unlawful to recognise in the Qorân, rhymes in an æsthetic sense, or the so-termed **saj'**.[63] This gave rise to a discussion as to which *saj'* stood for its own sake and which did not, but non-Ash'arites only saw an embellishment of the language. Yet Muhammed did introduce poetic features into the Qorân in the form of comparisons, aphorisms, figures of speech, and parables,[64] but this passed unnoticed, whilst

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53 Ulugh Beg. 54 *Itq.* 767 with reference to Q. xvi. 71, where honey is mentioned as a medicament.

55 See ch. VI. 56 *Itq.* 764 *sq.* 57 *Histoire des langues Sémitiques,* Vol. I. p. 378.

58 See Brockelmann, *Geschichte dar Arab. Literatur,* p. 100 *sqq.*

59 Apart from the poems composed by Arab Jews before and at the period of Islâm, many were written in Arabic by later Jewish poets. The Jews in all Arabic speaking countries have composed innumerable liturgical poems in the vernacular as late as the 17th century.

60 See Qor. xxxvi. 69 and the commentaries, and Nöldeke, *ibid.* p. 28 *sqq.* Tradition attributes two verses to Muhammed which he is said to have composed in a battle when his toe was slightly wounded, as follows :—

Thou art but a toe that bleeds
And thou didst suffer in the fight of Allâh. — *Mishk.* ii. p. 401.

According to other traditions he praised the poems of Labîd, whom he nevertheless condemned to hell. He is said to have been very partial to the verses of Omayya b. abi-lṢalt. Traditions on the subject are collected by Sprenger, I. 110 *sqq.*

61 *E. g.,* ذَرْنِي "let me." *S.* lxxiii. 11 ; lxxiv. 11 ; lxviii. 44. See ch. III.

62 On the influence of the rhyme on the composition of revelations see Nöldeke, *ib.* p. 30.

63 *Itq.* 695 *sq.* 64 See h. VIII.

the attention of the faithful was concentrated on the above mentioned theological quibbles. They only noticed the *saj'*, because it was easily seen and very familiar to them. Some anxious ones feared that it might impair the *i'jâz*, since it could be imitated. The *saj'*, moreover, was the form in which the pagan augurs rendered their oracles.[65] Muhammed himself is said to have deprecated the practice in the maxim: "(This is) more *saj'*-like than the *saj'* of the augurs" (or some poetry is like magic).[66] It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that when the Meccans heard him make use of the same form of speech, they took him for an ordinary augur or a poet endowed with little talent and a peculiar madness of his own. He was naturally incensed at being styled a poet, and thus placed on a level with augurs and bards, who sang of foolish and profane things. He protested energetically against these insinuations, declaring that he was neither a poet nor mad.[67] When he had acquired some secular power, however, and could count among the believers a poet, although not an eminent one, he was wise enough not only to abstain from reviling such bards, but to employ their talents on his own behalf. He provided new themes for them, which by their novelty contrasted favorably with the worn out burdens of the heathen songs, although lacking their grace and charm. They impressed many by their moral sentiments, rather than by their artistic merits, but as they appeared at an opportune moment, the effect was considerable. Moslim traditionists relate a good deal about poetic competitions which took place, and from which, of course, the Muhammedan bards emerged victorious. Although discretion must be used in dealing with these reports, yet it is quite intelligible that elegant verses on hackneyed themes might be supplanted by others less graceful, but composed for the glorification of Allâh, and real or imaginary self-sacrifice in the service of his prophet. Their strength lay in their idealism, though the proportion of this may have been but small.

Muhammed thus inaugurated **a new era in the songs of the Arabs**, and became indirectly the father of Arabic sacred poetry, which boasts of more than a few fine compositions. Great and small events, which concerned the Moslim community, were immortalised in verse, and although not all of these are authentic or of great poetic value, they have no slight claim on our interest. Entire phrases are borrowed from the Qorân. This being the case not only in the verses of Ka'b b. Zuheir[68] and the Medinian Ḥassân b. Thâbit[69] and many others[70] but even in the celebrated and glowing panegyric the "Burda" of AlBusîrî,[71] written six hundred years afterwards. The following few quotations from this poem show how thoroughly it is impregnated with the spirit as well as with the language of the Qorân:

[65] *Itq.* 697. [66] *Mishk.* ii. 422. [67] See ch. III.

[68] The famous poem styled after its beginning بانت سعاد has frequently been printed, lastly in Nöldeke-Müller, *Delectus*, p. 110. *Cf.* Brockelmann, *l. c.* p. 39.

[69] The best part of the polemical poetry of early Islâm was attributed to Ḥassân, who was made its chief representative, although many poems handed down under his name are of doubtful authenticity. I reproduce one of these poems in translation, because its language is in such close touch with the diction of the later portions of the Qorân, that Ḥassân, provided he is the author, could only have composed it in his declining years. The song runs as follows (Diwân, ed. Tunis, p. 23):—

He (Allah) has crowned him with glory in order to exalt him; yea, the *Occupant of the Throne* is praised, but this one is extolled (*Muhammed*).

A *prophet* is come to us after we had lost hope in the long absence of messengers, whilst idols were worshipped on earth.

He is a brilliant, guiding light, and shines like a polished sword from India.

He has *warned* us against the *fire of hell*, and has *promised paradise*, and taught us [the doctrines of] *Islâm*; now we praise Allâh.

And thou art the God of creation, *my Lord and Creator*; this I will declare as long as I live among men.

Thou art extolled, Lord of mankind, above the praise of those who worship other gods beside thee; thou art the highest and most revered.

Thy nature is benevolence, and omnipotence, to thee we pray for *guidance and thee we serve.*

For Allâh's recompense, for every one who adores Him alone, is the shelter of Paradise where he shall live eternally.

The last verse but one contains an almost literal quotation from Q. i. 4. — A versification of the tenets of Islâm by Muh. b. Al Ḥasan Al Shaibâni (died 189 H.) is without poetic value. The work exists in numerous MSS. and has been printed, Cairo, 1863.

[70] See *Delectus*, pp. 3, 4, 18 *sq.*, 51 *sq.*, etc. [71] Ed. Rahlfs, Vienna, 1860, vv. 138-140 (p. 16-17).

"How many an impetuous opponent in dispute about Muhammed have the words of Allâh overpowered, and how many an ardent litigant has been convinced by his evidence.
Regard as satisfactory signs[72] that the Ignorant at the time of universal nescience[73] possessed knowledge, and also that he acquired education in the desolate age.
I have devoted to him this poem of praise in the hope of obtaining forgiveness for the sins of a life spent in writing songs and courting the great."

Although the Moslim liturgy, in contradistinction to the Jewish and Christian prayers, did not lend itself to the chanting of songs during service,[74] the **Burda** is looked upon as inspired by the Prophet himself, and the reading of it is recommended as a means of salvation. This naturally applies with even more force to the study of the Qorân itself, whilst to copy it or to write a commentary on it, is, according to orthodox tradition, a sure passport to Paradise. The religious motive coupled with the necessity of clearly understanding the Qorân proved an important factor in the development of an immense literature treating of every imaginable point connected with it. Besides commentaries on the whole book or portions of it, representing every shade of theological or sectarian doctrine, there exist glossaries, works on orthography, and on the art of writing and reading the Qorân. In one of the earliest revelations,[75] Muhammed is told that *ease* should be granted to him.[76] From the expression used for this word (*nuyassiruka*) the title of a work is derived, which is styled "Book of facilitating the cognizance of the seven fashions of reading the Qorân" by Abû 'Omar Othmân Al Dâni.[77] The Qorân was supposed to have been revealed in the dialect of the clan of the Qoreish of which Muhammed was a member; yet believers of other tribes allowed idioms to creep in, which subsequently led to friction. To rectify this Muhammed is said to have declared that the Qorân was revealed to him in seven readings,[78] and the believers were to recite it in the easiest manner. It need hardly be mentioned that there is nothing real in the number seven, whilst it is intelligible that the various Moslim tribes differed as to the pronunciation of many words or changed expressions used by Muhammed for idioms of their own.

It was, however, necessary to dogmatise the "**seven readings**" in order to bring them into harmony with the nature of the Qorân as the "Speech of Allâh." From the linguistic point of view it is regrettable that the practice of reading the Qorân in sundry dialects had to be abandoned. The Khalifa Othmân was obliged to settle this question in so radical a manner, that by cancelling all other readings, except the Qoreishite, the difficulties of dialect were abolished for ever; but whilst promoting religious unity he did away with a most important medium for our enlightenment on the problem of old Arabic dialects.

To the Qorân we also indirectly owe **an immense literature of biographies** of Muhammed, as well as of his contemporaries, but many of these works are distinguished by religious zeal rather than by trustworthiness. The same may be said of numerous works of tradition (**Ḥadîth**), and evolving from the latter, Muhammedan history in general.

It need hardly be demonstrated that **the spread of the art of writing** throughout the Moslim world is also greatly due to the Qorân. Though writing was not unknown in Mecca before Islâm, it was only practised by a few of the more enlightened, such as Waraqa, the cousin of Muhammed, who had embraced Christianity, and had copied parts of the New Testament in Hebrew square characters.[79] Among modern authors on Muhammed the opinions as to his ability to write are divided

[72] *Cf.* chapters IV. to VI. [73] On the term *jâhiliyya* see Goldzibher, *Muhammadan. Studien*, p. 219 *sq.*

[74] See *Salâḥ Al Mu'min* by Al Ḥâfiz Taqî aldîn Muḥ b. Tâj aldîn fol. 2^{vo}: "What is told of the Prophet's objection to rhymed prayers." As to the prohibition to regard the Qorân as work of poetry even with respect to *saj'*, see *Itq.* 695 *sq.*

[75] lxxxvii. 8. [76] Repeated liv. 17, 32, 40, v. (16 and) 17 omitted in Palmer's translation.

[77] Died 444 H., see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* Vol. VIII. p. 292 *sqq.* On *taisîr* see *Itq.* 515, as subdivision of *naskh.*

[78] See Bokh. III. 394 *sq.*, tradition according to two different authorities. — *Cf.* Nöldeke, Q. p. 39. Lane translates "dialects." *Itq.* p. 113 enumerates thirty-five methods of explaining them.

[79] Bokh. III. 5, 380. Sprenger, I. 128, is to be corrected into *bil'ibrâniyyati.* I. I. 121 only says that Waraqa *read* books (قد تتبع الكتب).

Within the Moslim world it is regarded as heresy to assert that he was able to write. This rests on a late Meccan revelation which refutes a charge made by unbelievers that Muhammed preached from notes dictated to him every day.[80] His reply was that the revelations were miracles, but a little later he added that he was "not able to read *before*, nor to write." This is as good as an admission, and from the same we may safely conclude that he *could* read and write. To learn the Hebrew characters was not very difficult, and it is hghly probable that he made himself acquainted with them when travelling in Syria. It is, however, an established fact that Muhammed was able to write in Medina, though not very fluently, but it is hardly credible that he should only have learnt it when over fifty years old. Apart from the traditions dealing with the matter it appears to me that the disfigurement of many Biblical names and words mentioned in the Qorân is due to misreadings in his own notes made with unskilful hand.[81] Finally he encouraged the art of writing by decreeing that I. O. Us. and bills of sale should be given in writing, according to what "Allâh has taught."[82] Muhammed himself appointed Zeid l. Thâbit to act as his secretary, and controlled all revelations and letters which Zeid wrote down on his behalf. The oldest ("Cufic") copies of the Qorân which we possess are indeed written in characters of very primitive shape so that they are difficult to read without practice. Arabic penmanship, however, speedily improved and there are now few alphabets which rival Arabic in elegance and neatness. Now the settling of the Mâsôrâ of the official text (the language of which was considered classical in every respect) was another and a very strong inducement to make linguistic investigations, and thus, from whichever point of view we look at the book, we see how irresistibly it has steered an intelligent nation some way along the channels of civilization. Arab culture and learning represent the bright side of the Middle Ages. On the other hand it must be said that there is so much conservatism in the teachings of the Qorân, and it is besides so clearly stamped with the individuality of its author, that it must necessarily deter Moslims from reaping the full benefit of modern European education. This is, however, beyond the sphere of the present observations which only endeavour to sketch in outline the significance of the Qorân in the world's literature. Everything connected with it causes it to outstep the limits of a religious Testament of one nation or creed, and the interests we have to follow in dealing with it critically, are as manifold as are the ties which link us directly or indirectly with the Islâmic world. Our sciences, our languages, certain terms used in daily life show more Arabic and also Qoranic words than the world at large is aware of. The person of Muhammed himself forms the focus of several universal proverbs.

There is yet another reason which makes **the Qorân** appear familiar to its readers, *viz.*, **its close relationship to the Bible.** It is that ancient book which speaks through the mouth of the "Seal of the Prophets." With all his shortcomings he has *mutatis mutandis* something of the self-abnegation and enthusiasm of the Prophets of the Old Testament. If one reads the addresses of the Qorân, particularly those of the later *Sûras*, at every word one is tempted to say : this is Biblical. Still one must be careful not to make such a statement indiscriminately. Thus much is certain that, before entering upon his first ministry, Muhammed had undergone what I should like to call a course of Biblical training. This, of course, did not consist of systematic study nor regular instruction from teachers, but was much rather from gathering here and there sayings, tales, prescriptions, warnings, laws, morals, and parables, and supported by occasional notes gleaned by stealth and learned in seclusion. Clothed, then, in Arabic speech, adapted to the views, customs, and wants of the country the originals of the revelations are frequently hidden beyond recognition. This autodidactical method

[80] Q. xxv. 6; xxix. 47. Both passages belong to the latest Meccan revelations (legislative period). *Cf.* Sprenger, II. 377 rem., *Ibid.* pp. 398-402, the question whether Muhammed was able to write is discussed with the assistance of traditions bearing on the question. Sprenger is convinced that Muhammed was an expert penman, but he is surely mistaken that the initials of S. xix. — or any others — belong to Muhammed (see ch. XIII.).

[81] See above rem. 6. Sûra written in square characters סורה could easily be misread from סדרה. The name of Kôrah is in the Qoran *Qârûn* קרון misread from קרח which is all the more possible as ח was written חר (see Mishna Sabbath xii. 5); פרעו in a similar way misread from פרעה; גלות for גלית. See Al Tha'alibi, Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 9558, fol. 63vo. راس الجالوت الجالوت راس اليهود

[82] Q. ii. 282-283, the art of writing thus emanating from Allâh, *cf.* xcvi. 4; xxiv. 33.

of studying accounts for nearly all the peculiarities of the Qorân. It influenced Muhammed's ideas and affected his style. The Qorân thus betrays Biblical colouring even in those portions, in which Muhammed expressed views which were undoubtedly original, or when he promulgated laws, which grew out of the incidents of the day.

In dealing with so delicate a subject it is not easy always to find the narrow path of truth, and to keep from attributing too much or too little to the man who was one of the greatest reformers of all ages.

Appendix to Chapter I.

Note I. — Islâm.

Sprenger (*Leben M.'s* I. p. 69 ; III. p. 500) endeavours to identify the term *Islâm* with the faith of the *Ḥanîfs*, although a sect bearing this name, and possessing a holy book styled *Suḥuf* never existed. Some modern Muhammedan authors, imbued with Western ideas, seem to dislike the time-honoured explanation of *Islâm*. Thus Syed Ameer Ali (*Life and Teachings of M.* p. 226) renders *Islâm* by "striving after righteousness." This translation is seemingly well founded, since it is supported by a rather old passage in the Qorân (*S.* lxxii. 14): "And that[83] of us are some who are Moslims, and of us are some who transgress, but those who are Moslims[84] (*faman 'aslama*), they strive after righteousness."

The learned author's definition, however, only reflects the theoretical and moral side of the question, which is limited to the initial stage of Islâm. If we follow up the development of the term Islâm in the Qorân, we find that it gradually assumed a practical meaning which was eventually retained by the Moslim church. In Meccan revelations *Islâm* only occurs once, *viz.*, xxxix. 23: "He whose breast Allâh has expanded for *Islâm*, is in a light [issuing] from his Lord, but woe unto those who harden their hearts, etc." Again in connection with "expanding the breast" *Islâm* appears for the second time in the Medinian revelation, vi. 125, but it gradually becomes more and more exacting. In *S.* iii. 17 (*cf.* v. 79) *Islâm* is identified with *dîn* (*cf.* lxi. 7-9), and the relation between these two synonyms is broadly discussed by Al Shahrastâni, *Milal*, pp. 25-27, and is stated to embrace the five duties, *viz.*, of testifying to the Unity of God and the divine inspiration of Muhammed, the duties of reciting prayers, giving alms, fasting in the Ramadhân, and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. — It is quite natural that during Muhammed's life-time *Islâm* already comprised the whole of the theoretical and practical constitution of the faith, since the violation of one of its branches implied disobedience which the Prophet himself denounced as tantamount to disbelief. His own final definition of *Islâm* is laid down in one of the deuteronomic revelations (*Sûra* v. 5, "the verse of the *dîn*") as follows: "To-day I have perfected for you your *dîn* and fulfilled upon you my favour and am pleased for you to have *Islâm* for religion (*dîn*)." — It would be preposterous to limit *Islâm* here solely to the moral code, standing as it does surrounded by ritual precepts. The official interpretation given to the term by the orthodox church is unmistakeably laid down in the following exposition by Al Ghazâli (*Iḥyâ 'ulûm aldîn*, I. p. 104): *Islâm* is an expression for *submission* and unquestioning obedience, abandonment of insubordination, defiance and opposition. The special seat of firm belief (*taṣdîq*) is in the heart, the tongue being its interpreter. In contradistinction to this *taslîm* engages heart, tongue and limbs in general, so that every *taṣdîq* with the heart becomes *taslîm*, connected with abandonment of defiance and denial. The same applies to the acknowledgment [of Allâh and His Prophet] by the tongue, or unconditional obedience of the different parts of the body. When compared as synonyms, *Islâm* is in general what *Îmân* (belief) is in particular. *Îmân* expresses the loftier components of *Islâm*, consequently every *taṣdîq* is *taslîm*, but not *vice versâ*." Al Shahrastâni (see above) constructs the following climax: *Islâm*, *Îmân*, *Iḥsân* ("Serve Allâh in such a manner, as if thou see Him, but although thou do not see Him, He sees thee, *ibid.*)."

[83] Palmer translates "and verily," which is, however, inaccurate, because the text has *anna*, but not *inna*.

[84] "Moslims" are opposed to "sinners" in the still older passage, lxviii. 35.

The difference prevailing between religious observance (*Islâm*) and theoretical faith (*Îmân*) has been very clearly expressed by Muhammed himself, who placed the former above the latter, although theologians declared that *Islâm* only led up to Faith. Muhammed, however, was a man of the world, and knew human nature better than these theorists. He insisted on practice and said (xlix. 14): The Bedouins say: We believe! speak: you shall not "believe [only]," but say: we practice *Islâm* (*aslamnâ*); the *Îmân* has not entered yet into your hearts, but if you obey Allâh and His Messenger, He will not defraud you of your works at all, etc. (15) The Believers (*almûminûn*) are only those who believe in Allâh and His Messengers; they are free from doubt, and fight vigorously by [offering] their wealth and persons for the [war] path of Allâh, these are the truth tellers.

In thus emphasizing the practice of the law in contrast to the expressions of faith pure and simple, Muhammed followed a Rabbinic principle which is very tersely given in Abôth, I. 16: It is not the study [of the law] which is most important, but the practice thereof (*cf.* iii. 9). — Finally see the articles in the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, I. p. 64 (*îmân*), p. 696 (*islâm*).

Note II. — The Terms for Logos in the Qorân.

On examination of Muhammed's conception of the Logos (*cf. Sûra* v. 19; 76-77), it will be found that his interpretation of the term came much nearer the Philonian idea that the Logos was an intermediary between God and the world than to any other. In this character the Logos appears in the Jewish Targûms as well as in the Talmud under the two expressions *mêmrâ* and *dibbûr*[*â*].[85] The former is frequently met with already in Onqelos, *e. g.*, Gen. iii. 8, *qâl mêmrâ; ibid.* xv. 1, as translation of *ânôkhî*, and is radically cognate to *amr* which represents the oldest form of the Logos in the Qorân. In earlier *Sûras* (lxxix. 5; lxxxii. 19, etc.) *amr* occurs in its original meanings of command, and affair respectively. This meaning it retains without any reference to God at all (xxvi. 151), even after it had assumed the individual character of Logos. This, however, did not take place until the narrative period. Thus in *S.* li. 44; xvii. 87; xviii. 48, *amru rabbî* forms the exact translation of *mêmrâ d'adônay*.

As to *dibbûr*[*â*] it is according to Talmudic view that of which angels were created, *e. g.*, Ḥagîgâ 14vo: "From every *dibbûr* which came out of the mouth of God an angel was created." — In the so-called Fragmentary Targûm *dibbûr* frequently represents the Logos, *e. g.*, Gen. xxviii. 10; Numb. v. 89, etc. With this we have to compare a definition of *amr* given in the Qorân (xvii. 87): They shall ask thee about the *rûḥ*: Say, the Spirit (*arrûḥ*) is part of the *amr* of my Lord.[86] Further (*S.* xvi. 2): He sends down the *angels* with the Spirit [which is part] of His *amr* (*cf.* xl. 15; xcvii. 4-5). In later *Sûras* Muhammed endeavoured to counteract any foreign influence on the question of the Logos, and tried to reduce the *amr* to the rank of a created being, *e. g.*, *Sûra* liv. 49: Verily everything have we created by appointment (*qadr*), so our *amr* is but due like the twinkling of an eye (*cf.* ch. VIII.)

Of particular significance is a passage in *Sûra* xix. in which the *rûḥ* (v. 17) is dispatched to Mary to announce the birth of a son. He allays her anxiety with the assurance that the boy shall be (v. 21) "a Sign unto man, and a mercy from us (Allâh), and it is an ordained *amr*" (*cf.* v. 36). In other passages the *amr* of Allâh is "done" (viii. 43; xxxiii. 37) or "measured" (*ibid.* v. 38). The more familiar Muhammed became with the *amr*, the more he made use of it for his private ends. So in the last named passage it is merely a permission given by Allâh to Muhammed to marry the divorced wife of his adopted son, and to abolish an ancient heathen custom which forbade such marriage. A complete lecture on the *amr* is *Sûra* lxv., in which the term occurs not less than eight times. Man has no influence on the *amr* (iii. 123),[87] because it is entirely under the control of Allâh (*ibid.* v. 148).

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[85] *Cf.* Grimme, *Muhammed*, II. p. 51.

[86] See Lactantius, Div. Inst. (ed. Brandt, p. 226): *Nam sermo est spiritus cum voce aliquid significante prolatus.* — *Cf.* Baur, *Christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, I, 92: "*Der πνεῦμα ist dem Logos untergeordnet.*"

[87] The verse is said to have been written when Muhammed lay wounded on the battle field of Uḥud. *Cf.* I. I. p. 571.

On the ground of these and other revelations (see also x. 3, 32 ; xii. 21 ; lxv. 1, 3) the Zahirite school taught that the *amr* was created (Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitâb almilal wal niḥal*, Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 842, fol. 166vo) in contradistinction to the Asharite doctrine which inculcated the belief in its eternity (Ibn Ḥazm, *ibid.*, Al Shahrastâni, *l. c.* p. 67). Otherwise the Spirit which is part of the *amr* (see above) must also be eternal, an axiom with which no Moslim would agree. According to later eschatological views the *amr* dwells *on* the throne of (or next to) Allâh, whilst the *'ilm*[88] (*i. e., dîn*) has its place beneath it. See the pseudonymous book *Kitâb masâil alnabiy* attributed to Abd Allâh b. Salâm, p. 11. See also Sprenger, *Dictionary*, etc., p. 68. The Sûfi conception of *amr* does not concern us here.

Another rendering of *dibbûr* (or *dibb'râh*) in the Qorân is *kalima*. It is used in the same combination as *amr*, *viz.*, " the *kalima* of thy Lord has been fulfilled (*Sûra* vi. 115 ; vii. 133 ; xi. 133 ; xxix. 20, 71 ; xl. 6, etc.), or " the *kalima* of Allâh,'' the " *kalima* of punishment " is fulfilled (x. 34, 96 ; xxxix. 20, 71). " Were the trees that are on the earth pens, and the sea [ink, *cf. Sûra* xviii. 109] with seven more seas to swell its tide, the *kalimas* of Allâh would not be spent (*Sûra* xxxi. 26)." "Abraham made it a lasting *kalima* among his posterity (*Sûra* xliii. 27) and was tried with *kalimas* (*Sûra* ii. 118).'' — Whether these verses stand in some connection with Gen. xv. 1 or not, is difficult to say. Of greater importance is the statement that the *kalima* of Allâh cannot be altered (*Sûra* vi. 34, 115 ; x. 65 ; xviii. 26 ; xli. 45), because this refers to one of the chief reproaches made to the Jews, *viz.*, that they altered the law. If the " illiterate Prophet believes in Allâh and His *kalimas*," this should be a stimulus for others to do likewise (*Sûra* vii. 158). The following (Medinian) passage (xlviii. 26, *cf.* ix. 40) has a strong Jewish colouring: Allâh has set down His *sakîna* upon this Messenger and upon the Faithful, and enjoined them the *kalima* of piety. *Kalima* has here the meaning of Hebr. *dib'brâ* as also in the (likewise Medinian) passage iii. 57, where a brief abstract of the Decalogue (Exod. xxxiv. 28, *assêreth hadd'bârîm*) is given. — The *kalima* goes forth from Allâh as a judgment in *Sûra* x. 20 ; xi. 120 ; xx. 129; xxxvii. 171 ; xli. 45, xlii. 13. (*Cf.* v. 20.)

Muhammed was well aware that the term Logos was applied to Jesus. In the Medinian repetition of the tale of Jesus' birth he therefore says *kalima* instead of "ordained *amr*" (see above) but allows angels (here plural) to announce to Mary from Allâh a *kalima*, whose name is the Messiah Jesus (*Sûra* iii. 40). Perhaps Muhammed was now less apprehensive of evil resulting from such a statement, or else he desired to exhibit his learning. He, however, cautiously repeated that Jesus is " the Messenger of Allâh and His *kalima* which He has thrown upon Mary, and the *rûḥ* is part of it," thus manifesting the identity of *kalima* and *amr* (see above and *Sûra* iii. 34; lxvi. 12).

In order to avoid misunderstanding Ibn Ḥazm here again points out that the *kalima* is a created being, and that Jesus is a *kalima* in this sense only (fol. 183vo). To discuss all passages in which the *kalima* is used in the Qorân, would lead us too far, especially as the word is also employed in the quite usual sense of "word" (*Sûra* xiv. 29, 31; xxxv. 11).

Kalâm differs from *kalima* in so far as it occurs in Meccan revelations but once (vii. 141) in the signification of "speech," and represents the distinction conferred upon Moses (Exod. xxx. 11). The *kalâm* is *heard*, and on several occasions persons endeavoured to " alter" it (*Sûra* ii. 70 ; ix. 6 ; xlviii. 15, *cf.* iv. 48). In Moslim theology it is not the *kalima*, but the *kalâm* which forms the object of discussion between those who declare it to be created or the contrary. This is in so far correct as *kalâm* (speech) includes the *kalima* (word). See also Sprenger, *Dict.* pp. 1267-8.

Still more frequently than any of the terms for Word or Speech mentioned occurs *almilla*, which is, as has long been known, derived from the Aramaic *meltâ*. The manner in which Muhammed treated this word is very significant. He owed his knowledge of the same solely to Christian sources, since the Jews did not employ it for Logos, but only for " word " or " thing." As

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88 ζνῶσις. *Cf.* Epiphanius Haer. ed. Dindorf, II. p. 49. (Anz, *Urspr. d. Gnosticism.* p. 20 *sq.*) On the various interpretations of *'ilm* by Moslim theologians see Ibn Ḥazm, *l. c.* fol. 143 *sqq.*

we shall presently see, however, Muhammed seems to have heard a similarly sounding term from the Jews, and mixed the two up. There is a marked difference in the Qorân between *milla* on one side, and *amr* and *kalima* on the other, since the former is generalized to signify "religion" which is never the case with the latter. The term was so common in Arabia, that even the pagan Arabs styled their religion *milla* (*Sûra* xxxviii. 6[89]; vii. 86, 87; xiv. 16; xviii. 19), and was, probably through Christian Arabs, also brought into Mecca prior to the birth of Islâm. In the majority of cases *milla* stands in connection with Abraham, both in Meccan and (still more) in Medinian revelations, in order to express the monotheistic belief of the Patriarch. This is to be explained either by means of Gen. xv. 1, 4 (see above) or possibly with the help of the ordination of circumcision (ch. xvii.), for which the Rabbinic term is *milâh*, whilst the Arabs used quite a different word for it. Now the orthographies *milâh* and *milla*, when written in Hebrew square characters, so closely approach each other, that an interchange is quite easy. This was still furthered by the circumstance, that in unvocalized texts *millâ* is frequently spelled *plene*, and probably this was the case in the oldest copies of the Mishnâ and Talmûd. I give this all, however, as a mere suggestion with due reserve. — As is well known *milla* is used later on in various titles of famous works on the history of religions in the same sense; see also Sprenger, *l. c.* p. 1346.

Note III. — Ibn Ḥazm on the I'jâz of the Qorân (Milal, fol. 187vo. sqq.).

The following is an abstract from the chapter on the *I'jâz* (miraculous character) of the Qorân in Ibn Ḥazm's work on "Religious and philosophical sects." He sets down *five* points of controversy.

1. Asharite doctrine teaches that the divinity of the Qorân — on the level of which men strive to place something similar — is to all eternity with Allâh. It is inseparable from him, has never been revealed to us, nor have we ever heard it (*cf.* Al Shahrastâni, p. 75, Ibn Khaldûn, *Prolegom.* p. 169 on *taḥaddi*). — To this Ibn Ḥazm opposes that according to Asharite theory the Qorân, when being recited, is not *mu'jiz* (transcendent), and can only be qualified by itself. This view is entirely heterodox, because it stands in contrast to Qor. x. 39; xi. 16. What Al Asharî defines as *mu'jiz* in the Speech of Allâh, is not expressed in *Sûras*, but it is a unity which Ibn Ḥazm has endeavoured to disprove prior to this chapter.[90]

2. The question whether the *i'jâz* is eternal or terminated after its existence had been established through the life of Muhammed is answered by Ibn Ḥazm who refers the readers to Qor. xvii. 90. It is there laid down that neither mortals nor spirits shall ever be able to produce anything similar to it.

3. Some scholastics (*ahlu-l-kalâm*) maintain the transcendent character of the *contents* of the Qorân only, but deny this quality to its composition. Ibn Ḥazm upholds the view of those who consider the one as transcendent as the other. Qor. ii. 21 speaks of such revelations [which infidels are challenged to bring] in which no allusion is made to things unseen [and which therefore must be taken for granted, *cf.* Qor. ii. 2]. Nothing must be declared miraculous in opposition to what Allâh has decreed to be so.

4. The manner of the *i'jâz* represents according to one opinion the highest degree of impressiveness. Others see in it the inability of mortals to produce anything similar to the Qorân. This the latter class endeavours to demonstrate to the former with the aid of Qor. ii. 175.

Ibn Ḥazm argues on this point as follows: *(a)* If the *I'jâz* were based on nothing but its impressiveness, it would be on a par with other human productions which occupy the same rank, but the "Signs" of Allâh go beyond the common. — *(b)* Allâh cannot be asked what He does nor why He does a thing. He can therefore not be asked why He has rendered only *this* composition of the Qorân transcendent, and has sent *this* prophet and no other person. *(c)* It is absurd to say that if the *i'jâz* included all languages, there would be no difference between Arabs and [Moslims of] foreign nations as to the knowledge of the same. Foreigners, in fact, only learn of the *i'jâz* through com-

[89] "The last religion," *viz.*, that of the pagan Arabs. Palmer translates wrongly: "any other creed."

[90] Fol. 181vo. The Asharite doctrine that the Speech of Allâh is a unity, *cf.* Goldziher, *die Zahiriten*, p. 140.

munication made to them by Arabs. To say that Qor. ii. 175 and other verses of the same kind have no demonstrative power is heresy. By picking out such verses and omitting others the opponents endeavour to shew that the Qorân is transcendent only in part. One must, in reply to this, put to them the question, whether the [other] revealed books, of which the Qorân speaks (iv. 161) are likewise transcendent [and warning] against evil and wickedness. If they admit this, they speak the truth, but they must not confuse up elegance of style with warnings against evil and wickedness. Furthermore, if the miraculous character of the Qorân consisted merely in its impressive diction,[91] it would be on the same level as Al Ḥasan, Sahl b. Hârûn, Al Jâḥiz, Ibn al Muqni' and the poetry of Imru'ulqeis. Were the *i'jâz* dependent on loftiness of style [alone], this must also become visible in any portion of a verse which [is only the case with the Qorân, and therefore] is sufficient to upset their opinion, that there are at least three verses required in order to be miraculous. If verses like xvii. 94-95 were spoken by a mortal being, no Moslim would take them as miraculous, whilst Allâh has made them so by rendering them part of his own Speech.

5. As regards the compress of the *i'jâz*, the Asharites have fixed it to be like unto the smallest *Sûra*, *viz.*, cviii. (3 verses), below which, according to Qor. ii. 21, no *i'jâz* takes place. All other Moslims believe that even the smallest particle of the Qorân is miraculous, because the verse ii. 21 does not refer to quantity, but to kind. Since every part of the Qorân is Qorân, it shares its miraculous nature.

Ibn Ḥazm concludes his remarks on the subject as follows: The truth of the matter is expressed in Qor. xvii. 90, from which we must gather that every sentence in the Qorân which conveys a meaning, is miraculous, and cannot be imitated in all eternity. For the last *four hundred and forty years* men have been unable to imitate the Qorân. An instance of double interpretation of a passage is given in *Sûra* xix. 65-66.[92] The purport of these verses is out of connection both with the preceding and following passages, each having a separate meaning. To this the various degrees of ordinary human eloquence cannot be applied. The style of the Qorân is neither that of orators, nor writers, preachers, or authors. Passages of the same character (as the just mentioned) are in the Qorân many, and make it convincingly clear that it is utterly unwarrantable to measure the Qorân by way of human eloquence.

(To be continued.)

THE FOLKLORE IN THE LEGENDS OF THE PANJAB.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 98.)

Fortune-telling in all its forms involves the intervention of a second party, but forecasts of fortune can also be sought within one's own personality, as it were, by the **interpretation of dreams**, and so dreams, their results and their meaning, play an important part in Indian folktales. They frequently occur in the *Legends*, where they are usually of the prophetic sort, a start being given to a story by the hero's dream of the heroine or *vice versâ*; an idea neatly turned to practical use in some stories of saints by making the saintly hero fix on a preceptor owing to a dream. The idea is further useful in tales about the recovery of recalcitrant followers, by making the saint terrify them through dreams. The actual method of utilising dreams in folktales is to make the hero or heroine follow them up in their subsequent waking hours, often to their great temporary tribulation. And of the familiar warning or **prophetic dream** of the western world, there is one quaint example, in which a doe is made to warn her husband, the buck, of his impending death at the hands of the huntsmen, by telling him a vividly related dream as to the details of it.

The interpretation of dreams is a form of **augury or divination**, *i. e.*, it is a means of foretelling the future from occurrences to human beings which are beyond control, though the latter terms in

[91] *Cf.* Qor. xxiv. 53, *albalâgh almubîn.*

[92] See the *Commentaries* and *Sûra* lxv. 12.

themselves imply an attempt to forecast the future from natural occurrences beyond human control that take place only in the surroundings of mankind. In the *Legends* direct references to augury and divination are few, and then only stock ones relating chiefly to **marriage ceremonies; which last may in India be best described as one prolonged effort to sacerdotally control and foretell the future.** But all over the world the commonest and most universal mode of arriving at an idea of the future from chance occurrences in the natural world around us lies in **omens** and their interpretation, and of these we are treated to a great number in the *Legends*, as might be expected. They are all, however, of the usual sort, except perhaps that it is unlucky in the Himâlayas to give milk to a warrior on the war-path. With this exception we have dished up for us the well-worn superstitions relating to the meeting of lucky and unlucky personages, to lucky and unlucky things in Nature, plants, trees, and so forth, to the flight and calls of birds, to sneezing, which, like hiccough, is a most mysterious proceeding of the animal body to the Indian mind, to accidental occurrences on mounting a horse and while walking and so on.

Following on and arising out of the notion of fortune-telling, augury, divination, and omens are the actions necessary to ensure good fortune or **luck**; the lucky things to do, and the lucky times for doing them, such as swinging during the rainy season. And as everyone is of course interested in finding these out, we are everywhere favoured in Indian folklore with a goodly array of them, and amongst lucky acts may be mentioned as noticeable, that of mounting a horse with the left foot, a curious instance of giving a semi-religious sanction to an act that is otherwise right from a practical point of view. The sole use to which the "science" of **astrology** is put in the *Legends*, is to ascertain auspicious times and moments.

In folktales the main use of the idea of **ill-luck** is to fill up the tale by introducing a great number of incidents, describing all the misfortunes which fancy can call up as happening to the hero or heroine; but the thousand and one precautions taken in practical life against incurring misfortune are based upon far more serious considerations than this. To the Indian peasant mind **misfortune is a sin**, and indicates a sinful condition in the victim thereof, defining that very difficult and much ill-used term "sin" as an offence, witting or unwitting, against the tribal conventions. The good luck of the lucky obviously benefits their surroundings, and the bad luck of the unlucky as obviously brings harm. Therefore the unlucky are sinful and, what is of supreme practical importance to them, must be punished accordingly. The amount of misery and suffering arising out of this "correct argument from a false premiss" that is being and has for ages been incurred by the victims of perfectly involuntary and uncontrollable misfortune — such as widows for instance — is quite incalculable, and a little consideration will show why it is that the nostrums for the prevention of the dreaded sin of misfortune are interminable, both in variety and number.

Another most fruitful result of the primitive view of misfortune is the idea of **ceremonial uncleanness**, an "unfortunate" condition clearly the consequence of inadvertence even to the savage, which has led to unnumbered ceremonies and customs in practical life and to many incidents in tale and story. The ceremonially unclean condition, however much it may be natural or the result of mere chance, is perceived in a dim way to be somehow sinful or the result of sin, and hence the nostrums for avoiding the consequences thereof, but when the condition is intensified and exhibits itself in a loathsome or continuous form, then to the popular mind its sinful origin is no longer doubtful. The story of that prominent, mysterious, obviously unclean, loathsome, and much dreaded disease, **leprosy**, and of the native treatment of lepers in India, will bring out all these points; and the subject of lepers and leprosy, if taken up as a folklore study, would be found to cover nearly the whole range of belief and customs among the folk. In the *Legends* we see much of it. There, the separation, isolation, and treatment of lepers is due to their uncleanness, the origin of leprosy lies in sin and in the punishment of sin, and its cure is due to **ceremonial cleansing.**

In another direction, the doctrine, so to speak, of ill-luck has led to very serious practical consequences, a fact which is clearly brought out by an incident in the *Legends*. The birth of a daughter is announced to Râjâ Sarkap just as he had lost his great gambling match. "Kill her," said Râjâ

Sarkap, "she has been born at an unlucky moment, and has brought me bad luck." But, as an instance where **female infanticide**, based on ill-luck, has been widely resorted to, though from a different concrete origin, the whole of the celebrated historical legend of Mirzâ and Sâhibâṅ is witness. Briefly Sâhibaṅ, a daughter of the Panjâbî Siyâls, eloped with Mirzâ, the Kharal, and was overtaken by her tribe and strangled. The subsequent feuds were so severe that it became unlucky to have daughters, and an extensive practice arose of strangling female infants in memory of Sâhibâṅ. This is an instance where folk-notions have actually affected history.

Now, the predatory portion of the priesthood has everywhere been most careful to keep alive and foster the folk-notions of sin, misfortune, and ill-luck, because out of them arises the most prolific source of all of a good livelihood for themselves. Sins must be expiated; sinful bodies must be purified; the priest is always ready to secure **expiation and purification**, and to guide the ceremonies enjoined in either case. **Ceremonial bathing**, as a result of the notion of the holiness and cleansing powers inherent in water, is the great panacea in India, and out of the holy bathing places perhaps more wealth has been transferred from the laity to the coffers of the priestly classes than from anything else that has been invented for the ghostly benefit of the people.

After providing the personages and setting the story going in a definite direction, the next thing necessary is to keep up the interest by the process known to adverse reviewers as padding and to the sympathetic as valuable **incidents.** Those in the *Legends* are, as might be expected, of the **stock description**; scraps of well-known verses or tales, or references to stock notions about this world and its affairs. From the very nature of the circumstances under which they are introduced they offer the most undiluted folklore with which the narrators are imbued, and are thus often the most valuable part of a tale to the student. Thus, there are everywhere valuable references to the miraculous origin of that puzzle to the peasantry, a pearl or precious stone, or even a bright flower. Rubies are the products of the sea, or the special gift of the god of the rivers, or more fancifully still drops of blood from the murdered magical hero or heroine. Pearls are rain-drops during a particular asterism, and both they and flowers are derived from the tears or laughter or speech, indifferently, of the hero or heroine, and so on.

A very large portion of the incidents observable in folktales are **tricks**, in the narration of which, as in that of many other contents of stories, resort is had to both plain matter of fact circumstances and to the whole gamut of peasant fancy and wisdom. There are tricks humorous and tricks malicious. There is the cruel practical joke, the mysterious supernatural tragedy, the downright cheat; even the lie direct is perpetrated by the Lady of Virtue (Sîlâ Dâî), who is held up toh onour as the embodiment of all the virtues.

References to and details of **ceremonies** of all sorts are a necessary, and frequently a most valuable, form of folktale incident, but they do not require more than mere mention in such a discussion as this. In the *Legends* we are treated to many a most interesting and instructive description especially of **marriage ceremonies,** involving allusions to equally interesting and instructive notions about marriages generally. In fact, as regards marriages, and betrothals which are their counterparts in India, a perusal of the *Legends* will take the reader over the whole subject: the beliefs, forms, ceremonies, customs and laws, and political uses; some of them throwing light on European customs of past and present times. In other directions also we are treated to allusions to, or descriptions real or fanciful of, such **practical ceremonial matters** as the adoption of girls, declaring an heir to the throne, regulating a Râjpût hunting party, the reception of guests. In sacerdotal or quasi-sacerdotal matters we have the **ceremonies of divination** by the breath, and **initiatory rites** into the sect of the Lâlbêgi scavengers and into various sects of *jôgîs* and *faqîrs*, of which the **ear-boring ceremonies** are the most prominent and of some importance, as they have led to **the use of ear-rings** of fixed sorts as signs of occupation or caste and to ear-boring customs among the women of various nations in the East as general prophylactics against evil.

In matters affecting the daily life of the people, there are **the use of ashes** as a sign of both grief and saintship, and other conventional modes of expressing sorrow, such as the breaking of bracelets and

jewellery, and the ceremonies gone through by the newly-made widow. There are also various conventional ways of conveying specific and general challenge to combat, claiming inheritance to land, blackening the face and other strange methods of inflicting disgrace. Of the daily and domestic customs which are hardly to be distinguished from ceremonial observances, there are many instances ; *e. g.*, the quaint methods of showing that the occupant of a house is "not at home," announcing a visitor, awakening a slumbering chief on an emergency, tying a knot to jog the memory, showing submission and making supplication. To show how the *Legends* reflect to the people and their ways, there is an interesting use made for story-telling purposes of the inveterate habit of village children of teasing hedgehogs.

Allusions to **popular beliefs** and the frequent introduction of incidents turning on them must, of course, be looked for. These open up so many questions of interest and debatable points, that it would only be unduly swelling this already too long category of folklore subjects, to do more here than just merely run over the recognised titles of some of those that occur in the *Legends* and have not been above classified, in order to bring them to notice, and to show how very wide is the net that is cast by this collection of tales for gathering in the flotsam of Indian folklore. Many are the beliefs relating to the animal world and their forms, of which the following are samples :— the origin of twisted and back-curved horns of various deer, the sacred, celestial, and marvellous characteristics of that favourite the horse, the sacred and supernatural nature of the peacock and the swan, the capabilities of the dreaded scorpion. Beliefs relating to the heavenly bodies are necessarily legion, and those relating to eclipses and the moon and stars find a place here, as do also the worlds outside that which man inhabits, heaven and hell and their inhabitants, *hûrîs* and such like. The parts of the human body and their uses give rise to many, beliefs, such as the correct foot to start with, the marks of hands and feet on rocks and other places both natural and marvellous, the head and the shaving thereof. We have also most interesting references to the world-wide belief in a flood or deluge, clearly in one instance more or less indirectly based on the Biblical story. And lastly there are many data for arriving at a clear notion of the peasant ideas of the Deity and the confusion of mind they are troubled with on the subject, owing to the intermixing of Hindu and Musalmân teaching in so many parts of India.

Customs having their roots in popular beliefs are from their very nature, not only perpetually alluded to in the stories of the folk, but are a productive source of incidental narrations ; *e. g.*, the aspect of the shrines as the remnant of sun-worship. Of these the old-world and universal idea of **refuge, asylum, and sanctuary,** as it is variously called, and as likely as not owing its inception and extension to sacerdotal pretensions and exclusiveness, is perhaps the most favoured in legend and folklore. In practical application it everywhere consisted of protection to strangers against their enemies, so long as they paid their way and only so long. The well-known **oriental conception of hospitality** and its obligations **is sanctuary pure and simple,** both in theory and practice. Indeed, the Indian and Eastern notion of hospitality cannot be distinguished from sanctuary, and when the Pathân treats his enemy or a guest worth plundering to the best cheer in his power, gives him a fair start, and then prepares to try and murder or rob him, he is merely doing in his way what the old heathen Greek, or for that matter the medieval Christian priest, did in his, when he granted asylum or sanctuary to the fugitive or criminal only so long as he could pay for it, and made no sort of effort to shield him or obtain immunity for him when the payment ceased. All this is pithily brought out in a passage in the *Legends*. Râjâ Rasâlû's faithless wife had successfully hidden her paramour, Râjâ Hôḍî, in her husband's house, but Rasâlû's faithful parrot betrayed him, and then we read :—"Said the parrot : 'slay not thy guest, he is as thy brother.' So Râjâ Rasâlû and Hôḍî went together to the wilds, and there, wounded by an arrow, Râjâ Hôḍî was slain."

The very widespread custom, rooted in a superstitious belief that it brings ill-luck, of **declining to refer to a husband by name** is also mentioned in the *Legends*, while on the other hand the ancient **royal prerogative of releasing prisoners**, nowadays in civilised Europe attributed solely to kindliness and mercy, is given in the directest phraseology its right attribution of an act to insure good luck. That very ancient and widespread Oriental emblem of divine protection, the shade-giving **umbrella**, is repeatedly mentioned, as might be expected, in its degenerated form of a sign of royalty and thence of dignity generally.

Indian folktales end up usually in the most orthodox manner. The hero and heroine live happy ever afterwards after the Indian fashion, which I must remind European readers is not at all theirs, and the villain, male or female, comes to an untimely and well-deserved end. **Poetical justice** is thoroughly appreciated in the East, perhaps because for so many ages there has been so little of any other description. The interest here is chiefly in the forms that **vengeance and punishment** take as an indication of the popular notions on the subject. In the *Legends* and elsewhere punishments are all vindictive and cruel, most ingenious indeed in their cruelty ; and torture is solely used as a means of expressing vindictiveness. In resorting to it there is no other ulterior motive. Enemies are cut to pieces, buried and burnt alive, shot to death with arrows, buried up to the neck to starve, in company on occasion with thorns, scorpions, snakes, and so on. There is much personal triumph mixed with the vengeance. Enemies' skulls are mounted in silver as drinking cups, strangled bodies are exposed, graves of enemies are ploughed up and walked over by the conquering hero and heroine, the ashes of victims of burning alive are sent to their mothers, and an unchaste wife is tricked into eating her lover's heart by the injured husband. Callously cruel as all these proceedings are, they may, as every reader of Oriental history knows, be fairly termed mild when compared with many that must have often been within the actual personal knowledge of the peasantry of all parts and at all times, even the most recent.

The lengths to which sacerdotal vindictiveness has often gone in India, is indicated by the well-established custom of **ceremonial suicide,** self-immolation, and self-injury, in order to bring divine or supernatural wrath on an opponent or enemy. Debased as such a custom is in its nature and object, it has given rise to another equally well established and as noble as its prototype is execrable : **the old and often exercised Rajput sâkâ or jauhar,** which meant the voluntary suicide of the women of a place, while the men went out to make the last wild sally when it was no longer possible to continue a defence.

With this, perhaps the noblest outcome of all of Indian superstition and belief, I close my present remarks, in the hope that I have said enough to show that in the *Legends of the Panjab* we have displayed before us practically the whole machinery of popular Indian story-telling. Both the actors and their actions, so far as we have been able to regard them, have all shown themselves to be of the same descriptions, and to have the same characteristics as those in Indian folktales generally, whether purely narrative or of set purpose connected with the hagiolatry or demonolatry of the people. I hope also that what has been laid before my readers has been sufficient to convince them that these *Legends*, if explored, will decisively and instructively show the value of studying them in detail to those who would dig down to the roots of folklore anywhere in the world, and would learn something of the thoughts of the folk and of the trains of reasoning, which give form to the many apparently incomprehensible and unreasonable actions observable in the every-day life of the peasantry everywhere.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 140.*)

1790. — No. IX.

Fort William, 20th August 1790.

Read a Letter that was received on the 13th Instant **from Lieutenant Blair at the Andamans Island [dated July 2nd, 1790].**

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I had the honor to address His Lordship, april 13th from **Interview Island,** by the Viper ; and april 22nd, which was forwarded to Madrass by the Atalanta ; Cince the date of the last, the Ranger has made a voyage to Prince of Wales Island and returned hither June 1st with a good supply of Rice, some Stores, and a few extra articles of Provision for the Establishment, which it is necessary

to supply, until a Bazar is established; the declining state of health of the aged Men, makes such indulgence, for the present, a matter of necessity, and points out the attention that ought to be paid, to the choice of Men for such service. The major, part of the old Men are now incapable of duty, for want of many articles of nurishment, which they have been always used to; to bear up against such a change of provision, the fatigue and indifferent fare of a new Settlement, it requires a young and Vigorous constitution. The Ranger also brought an addition to the Establishment, of **five Malay's** which I find a very useful people, and well addapted to the present uncultivated state of the country, a colony of those People would be found highly useful in clearing the Ground, when Government has determined to make this a permanent Establishment.

Cince the receipt of His Lordships Orders by the Atalanta, I have constructed a Shed for the Navy, fifty six feet long. It has been occupied by the sick from **the Vestal** which have been daily supplyed with Vegitable from the Gardens.

A few days after the departure of the Ranger, for Prince of Wales Island, **four large canoes** came into **Phenix Bay** with about forty Men Reflecting on the recent loss of our four fishermen I conceived it would be the height of imprudence to permit them to remain so near us, as an invasion in the night might have been attended with serious consequences. In the afternoon I went to examin them, when they soon discovered their hostile intention by a flight of Arrows; this induced me to bring off, three of their Canoes, which were not defended so well as I expected, from their first appearance.

His Majesty's Ship Vestal arrived here June 1st with the intention of remaining, to join the Commodore, but as her provisions begin to run short, **Sir Richard [Strachan]** has expressed his intention to me, of sailing tomorrow morning to procure a supply at Madrass, which affords me this opportunity of writing.

The Atalanta returned from Madras June 13th with some letters for the Commodore and a supply of salt Provisions for the Ships. From the tenor of Captain Delgarno's Orders I have been expecting the Commodore for sometime past, and have little doubt of seeing Him in a few days.

June 7th I had a Visit from **two young Natives** which voluntarily accompanyed Sir Richard Strachan and me to this Island Their youth and apparent innocence, prevented me entertaining the least unfavorable suspicion of them, they however decamped about midnight, and could not be found on the Island, which made me conclude that they had swam off, as the Boats Canoes, etca., were all safe and every thing quiet at a half past one in the morning. To my great astonishment, one of the Boats, was missing at day light in the morning. A very dilligent but eneffectual search, was made for her all round the Harbour A few peices of her were found some days ago, near the place where the Boys joined us. The Boat was very old and almost uncerviceable; the loss is therefor trivial; but it is a strong proof of their dexterity and cunning, and points out the necessity of a very vigilant watch.

Be pleased to inform His Lordship that I have finished **a general Chart** of the whole Island, which shall be forwarded the first direct opportunity; when I also propose to return such of the People whose constitutions are too weak for the hardships of this place.

All the Establishment being tolorably housed, the Artificers and Laborers are employed collecting and preparing Materials for the construction of a Granary, which will prevent further loss in that important article, Rice, and be preparing for the increase of the Establishment.

By the Ranger I sent a little of the **Red Wood to be forewarded as an experiment to the China Market,** the result of which I shall communicate to Government, probably about the end of the year.

By the assistance of some Carpenters from the Men of War, I have **laid the Keel of a Boat at my own expence,** which will enable me to speak with greater certainty, of the qualities of the Timber, supply my occasional wants from the neighbourhood, and occasionally carry a Packet. This I hope will meet the approbation of Government.

I am now in daily expectation of the Viper, but not particulary anxious for her arrival as I have three months Rice and almost one month Ghee. The Ranger is in readiness for sea, to dispatch where my future Orders may make it necessary.

I have the honor to be, etca.,
(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Chatham Island,
July 2nd, 1790.

1790. — No. X.

Fort William. 22nd September 1790.

Read a Letter from Captain Blair, which was received on the 20th instant by the Snow Ranger **[dated 8th Sept. 1790].**

To the Right Honorable, Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor General, etca., in Council.

My Lord, — I had the honor of your Lordships Commands by your secretary, dated June 28th by the Viper, which arrived here the 15th of July, with the Supply of Provisions that Indented for, Those, with what I have received from Prince of Wales Island, will last the Natives of the Establishment till the end of November.

I have the satisfaction to transmit by this conveyance a General Chart of the whole Island, where the heights are expressed, to give an idea of the face of the country. It is on so large a scale, that I hope it will enable your Lordship to judge of the relative consequence of the different Harbours, and afford the Navigator sufficient information for his guidance. I also transmit a more particular **Plan of this Port, a Journal of the Winds and Weather marked No. 1, a Table of Passages to and from this place No. 2.** A Return of the Establishment for last month No. 3, and an Indent for Provisions marked No. 4.

3. I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that there is now, a large portion of Chatham Island in a state of cultivation affording a Considerable quantity of excellent Vegitables, which has enabled me to supply His Majestys Ships Vestal and Atalanta; and there is now abundance for the whole Settlement. The high Grounds of the Island are all sowen and many parts already covered with excellent Grass.

4. Your Lordship will perceive in the Plan of this Harbour, **a Vista** extending 700 Yards in a southerly direction from the top of **Phœnix Bay,** towards the top of the Bay above **Navy Point,** crossing part of an Isthmus, which forms the eastern Boundary of a considerable Peninsula. This Peninsula from its situation, soil, and being well watered, is the best place for immediate Improvement and cultivation. The Vista continued quite across the Peninsula, to the top of the above Bay, with a small place of Arms, at each end, and one in the midle, would effectually exclude the Savages, from interrupting the Laborers in the work of clearing the Peninsula. That part of the Vista noticed in the Plan was cut by Partys from the Ranger and Viper with very hard Labor. I hope to have Your Lordship permission to Pay the People who were employed on that duty and the Officers who superintended the work, at such rates as your Lordship may judge proper.

5. In the inclosed Return I have put down the Wages and the monthly expence of Provisions for the Natives. The pay of the Europeans which I have not taken upon myself to determin, is marked in red, at such rates as appear to me reasonable, but submitted to your Lordships determination. They have hitherto been supplied with Provisions at my expence.

6. Repeated applications from the Detachment [of] the Artificers and Laborers induce me to solicit a supply of Cash to pay their Arrears which will a Mount to seven thousand sicca Rupees.

7. As I am convinced it will be attended with good effects I must request a further supply of five thousand Sicca Rupees to pay the Establishment monthly. Should Your Lordship be pleased to addopt this measure, I shall on the return of the Ranger establish a small Bazar to supply their wants, which will intirely remove the necessity of supplying them with several extra articles of Provision and Tobacco,

which has been hitherto done at the Company's expence I shall also endeavour to settle some Fishermen and Gardeners to bring Fish and Vegitables to market, which will tend to promote a spirit of industry, and save Government, the whole or a part of the expence incurred by those People. Several of the Artificers and Laborers, have frequently importuned me to return to Calcutta, and I have complied with their wishes as far as circumstances will permit me to do; including in the number all the Sick and Invalids. Several of the Detachment are also desirous to return which cannot possibly be complied with until Your Lordship be pleased to send a Reinforcement or a Relief; the Naque alone, is permitted to proceed, to execute the concerns of the whole, and to return with the Ranger.

8. Lieutt. Wales is charged with the delivery of four **Specimens of Timber** No. 1 is **Pune** the most approved timber for masts in India, No. 2 is well addapted for either Plank or crooked Timber, for Ships of any size, it is of a tough strong texture; I found a Tree of this species, that appeared to have fallen from age; the timber of which was perfectly sound which I considered as a proof of its durability A Boat which I am building will put its qualities to a more certain test. No. 3 will answer well for the Planks of Ships or Boats; the Tree grows straight and of a sufficient length and size for Masts and Yards. No. 4 grows in great a bundance, will answer several purposes in Ship building, and from a similar proof of its durability, to that of No. 2, it will answer well for Stockades, Piles and Beams of Houses.

9. Should it be consonant with your Lordships future Orders I shall employ one or both of the Vessels, to examine the Straits in Latd. 12° and reexamine some parts at the North and south extremities of the **Great Andaman.**

I am with great respect, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Chatham Island,
Septr. 8th, 1790.

Ordered that **the General Chart** and plan mentioned in the 2d. Paragraph of Captain Blairs Letter be deposited in the Office, that the Papers No. 1, 2 and 3 be entered after the Proceedings, and that the Indent No. 4 be sent to the Naval Store Keeper with directions to comply with it.

1790. — No. XI.

Fort William, 6th October 1790.

The following Letter was written yesterday to Lieutenant Blair by the Secretary [dated 5th Oct. 1790].

To Lieutenant Archibald Blair at the Andamans.

Sir, — I have Orders from the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the Receipt of your Dispatch dated the 2nd of July and 8th of September the former reached Bengal by the way of Madras on the 13th of August and the latter came by the Ranger which arrived here on the 20th Ultimo.

The Ranger now returns to the Andamans. The Indent which you sent by this Vessel for Provisions, etca., has been complied with and the following advances of Cash have been made to the Marine Paymaster.

To pay the amount Abstract of Wages due to the Commander officers and Crew of the Snow Ranger.	4,500
To Advance 4 Months impress to ditto	4,500
To enable the Marine Paymaster to comply with the Indents for Provisions, etca., for the Ranger Crew and for Natives on the Establishment at Port Cornwallis Estimated at	3000
Sicca Rupees	12000

Circumstances having made it of consequence that the Ranger should take her Departure from hence immediately, the whole of the repairs that was intended for her has not been completed but all that was essentially necessary has been done, and the rest may be finished when an Opportunity offers.

Your Letter of the 2nd of July not requiring a particular answer to it, I shall by the Boards directions acquaint you with their Orders on the subjects of your Dispatch dated the 8th of September.

The General Chart of the whole Island of Great Andaman, a Plan of Port Cornwallis and the other Papers mentioned in the 2d. Paragraph of your Letter of the 8th of September have been received; and, if any observations should occur thereupon, you will be informed of them. With respect to the return of your Establishment (No. 3) for last Month his Lordship instructs me to Acquaint you, that the Sudden departure of the Ranger does not allow him to give this Subject such a Consideration as would be necessary in fixing a permanent Table of Allowances. He therefore desires me to inform you that the Allowances, you have proposed, will be authorized for the present; but will be subject to such reductions and alterations, hereafter, as the Board may judge proper, when the Establishment, and the Rates of Allowances, shall be taken up more fully. In regard to your own Allowance, and that of your Assistant, **Mr. Denison,** these also are to be subject to further orders.

The Board are pleased to hear of the encreased State of the Cultivation upon Chatham Island, and are persuaded that you will give your further attention to render the Soil as productive of the Necessaries of Life as the nature of it will admit. They leave it to you to make such Compensation, as you may think Reasonable, to the Parties from the Ranger and Viper, who were employed in cutting a part of the vista extending from the Top of Phœnix Bay towards the Top of the Bay above Navy Point, as noticed in the Plan, and to give a Suitable reward to the Officers who Superintended the Work.

Mr. Gibb's Services being wanted in Bengal, the Board have appointed **Mr. David Wood** to do Duty as Surgeon at the Andamans, fixing his Allowance at Sa. Rs. 300 per Mensem Mr. Wood proceeds in the Ranger.

An Order has been given to the Marine Paymaster to advance the Sum of Seven Thousand Sicca Rupees, to enable you to pay the arrears due to the Detachment the Artificers and Laborers at the Andamans, and to advance you a further Sum of five Thousand Sicca Rupees on Account, as requested in the 7th Paragraph of your Letter dated the 8th of September, upon the subject of which I have only to add that the Board approve of your establishing a small Bazar to supply the Wants of your Establishment Depending on your taking every Care to prevent abuses and Impositions.

Time does not allow at present of our procuring People to reinforce or Relieve your Detachment, but this will be done when an Opportunity next offers.

Lieutenant Wales has delivered the 4 Specimens of Timber, mentioned in the 8th Paragraph of your letter, and an Extract of it as far as it relates to them has been transmitted to **Lieutenant Colonel Kyd.**

The Orders which you will receive from the Governor General will probably not admit of your employing either the Ranger or Viper to examine the Straits in Lat. 12 and to reexamine some Parts at the north and South Extremities of the Great Andaman. It is therefore left to your Discretion to undertake these Services whenever you can conveniently do so.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient hble. Servant,
(Signed) Edward Hay, Secretary to the Government.

Fort William,
5th October 1790.

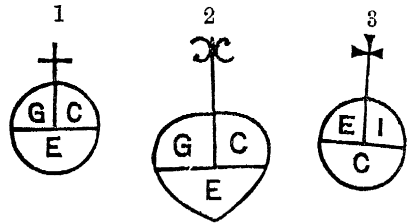
(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

COPPER COINAGE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Sir,—May I be permitted to add the following four coins to those included in my tentative catalogue? The two already published by Dr. Hultzsch were omitted accidentally, while the third, the C. C. E. coin, of which there are some varieties, and the fourth have come to my knowledge since I wrote.

I should like to add that it has been pointed out to me[1] that the letters C. C. E. are most probably a corruption of G. C. E. which were the letters stamped on the bale-mark of the London Company, and are the initials of 'Governor and Company of Merchants Trading into the East Indies.' **The Company's bale-marks** are figured as per block plates given below: (1) is from Birdwood's *First Letter Book of the E. I. Company,* p. 365; (2) is from Birdwood's *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies,* p. 107[2]; (3) is from Foster's *E. I. C. Records,* Vol. II. p. 206, for the year 1614. In Birdwood's *India Office Records,* Ed. 1890, pp. 72, 73 and 75, are several bale-marks, some perhaps not quite correct. (H. Stevens, p. 107.)



2*a*. H. 21.[3]

Ob. — Hanuman advancing to left.

R. — Linked C. (as on silver fanams of Charles II.)

5*a*. **Unpublished.**

Ob. — As No. 5.

R. — Vernacular characters with dividing line.

95*a*. **Unpublish ed.**

Ob. — Bale-mark.

R. — 1803.

96*a*. H. 22.[3]

Ob. — Elephant to left.

R. — 1808.

I have also since seen a Fallus of 1753, which is a date not mentioned in Atkins.

A. Westcott.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A FORM OF SWEARING FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD.

There is a curious form of the custom of swearing eternal friendship and brotherhood by throwing salt into a water-pot. This custom is popularly called *lôtê meṅ nimak dâlnâ,* and is recognized as a particularly solemn oath. A meeting is held at the house of some man of importance, who puts down a water-pot and small pieces of salt equal to the number of men present, and he bids each take one piece and throw it into the water-pot; and to say:—" If henceforward I show any animosity or ill feelings, may God dissolve me as this salt which I throw into the water will be dissolved.

Chaina Mall in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

THE USE OF CENSERS IN INDIA.

It is perhaps not generally known that the Jains use incense in their worship and distribute it round by means of a censer with chains, exactly similar to those in use in Roman Catholic Churches.

Our wanderings through the length and breadth of India took us, in December 1881, to Mount Abû in Râjpûtânâ, and afterwards to Ahmadâbâd, in Gujarât. When visiting the temple of Vimala Sâh at the former place, we saw about 50 Jain pilgrims—men, women, and children—who had come up from the plains below to worship there. After they had made their offerings in the innermost shrine, where, of course, we could not penetrate, all, on coming out again, ranged themselves round the *manṭapa,* or porch, of this temple, and were then censed by the attendant priest.

From Mount Abû we moved on to Ahmadâbâd, and there to our great astonishment, on certain tombs in the precincts of the Rânî Sîprî's mosque (she was originally a Hindu, but married a Muhammadan prince), the censer and its chains are sculptured in brass-relief, and the same ornament also forms the centre of the *mihrâb,* or sacred part of this mosque. This symbol is also repeated on other tombs, and on the *mihrâbs* of other mosques in and near this city. Whether this symbol occurs on women's tombs exclusively, or only in mosques built by, or called after, Royal Ladies, I am not prepared to say at this distance of time. What I have stated above is from notes taken on the spot.

The late Mrs. Murray-Ainslie in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

1 [No doubt quite correctly. — Ed.]

2 The same bale-mark is figured in *Consultations of Fort St. George,* 1681 (Pringle), in a note on p. 67.

3 *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXV. Dec. 1896.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 163.)

CHAPTER II.

The First Proclamation.

TEXT and origin of the same — Legends on the *iqra*-verse — Muhammed's mental condition — [Swedenborg and Kant —] Metaphysical elements in the Qorân — Muhammed's methodical manner — The alleged Mentor — The Baḥîra legend analysed — Period of preparation — Parable of the lamp — Development of the formulas of Unification — Exegesis of the *iqra*-verse.

Note I.— The legend of the cleansing of the heart.

In the summer of the year 612 of our era — Moslim tradition relates — a man was frequently to be seen roaming restlessly through the deserted environs of Mecca, a prey to mental disquietude. This figure still remains shrouded in mystery because of the mass of legends surrounding it. We do not know his name, although we are acquainted with those of his parents, his wife, and relatives, but we call him **Muhammed,** which is only anticipating an appellation adopted by him many years later. Nor are we able to state with certainty, why he left his home and family, and spent his time in the solitude of the desert. A day came when he ended his musings and uttered the following words:—

Sûra xcvi., v. 1. *Proclaim* the name of thy Lord who has created,
2. Has created man from congealed blood,
3. *Proclaim*, while thy Lord is the Most High,
4. Who has taught the use of the pen,[93]
5. Taught man that which he knew not.

These verses form the first part of a chapter of the Qorân which, according to the unanimous verdict of the traditionists, is the first prophetic utterance of Muhammed. No real historic proof, however, exists for it, and the truth is only vouched for by the Prophet himself, and, on his authority, by Âisha, his second wife, who was not born at that time. From their narrative which was written down many years afterwards, we must assume that no other person was present, when Muhammed proclaimed his first revelation. As the account of the incident, on which it is based, has been frequently printed, a very brief abstract of the same will here suffice.

"During my sojourn on mount Ḥîra, said the Prophet, the archangel Gabriel appeared to me, seized me, and said: *Iqra* (proclaim!). I replied: I am no proclaimer (reader).[94] The angel

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[93] May also be translated: *by means of the pen.* The phrase is, however, explained in *S.* ii. 282, that Allâh has taught man to write, see ch. I.

[94] The term بقارئ can only be translated by *reader*, which is sufficient evidence for the lateness of the tradition, as well as the ignorance of the real meaning of *iqra'*. Muhammed evidently only gave the nucleus of the tale, which was handed down in the form given to it by 'Âisha or 'Urwa. In order to justify the alleged "reading," already I. Isḥ. p. 151, speaks of a silk scarf which was brought by Gabriel, and on which the words of the first proclamation were embroidered. In the account given by Bokh. I. 4, Muhammed is not named as authority of the tradition at all. Instead of Gabriel, 'Âisha only mentions "an angel." This version seems to represent the oldest form of the tradition, although in the older work of I. Isḥ. a younger one is recorded. Much more elaborate is the version of Tabari, 1449 *sq*. Here Gabriel addresses the Prophet by the name *Muhammed*. The kernel of the tale: *he pressed me*, varies in the sundry traditions, *viz.*, Bokh. فغطّني, I. Isḥ. and Tabari, فغتّني, and in the version on Abd Allâh b. Shaddâd we find فغمّني. Other expressions are quoted by Sprenger, I. p. 298; the traditions are to be found *ibid.* p. 330 *sqq.* — When relating the adventure to his friends, Muhammed used the word *taḥannuth* to describe the condition in which he was, when the angel appeared to him. The term has caused the traditionists some embarrassment. I. Isḥ. explains it by *taḥannuf* (to profess to be a Ḥanîf), and adds a remark which is interesting

seized me again and repeated: *Iqra.* I said: I am no proclaimer. Finally he forced me to say: Iqra' bismi rabbika.''

The authenticity of this tradition has not been questioned even by many modern scholars, though it evidently referred to a dream.[95] This view, however, although shared by the late E. H. Palmer, in his otherwise excellent translation of the Qorân, and by Sir William Muir, one of the latest and best of Muhammed's biographers, requires some modification even according to the interpretation of the last named two scholars. The name of the angel Gabriel is not mentioned in any Meccan revelation at all, and was, at that period, apparently unknown to Muhammed. The composition of the miraculous tale could, therefore, not have been made till more than ten years later in Medina, when the author's recollection of the circumstances under which he made his first proclamation was largely supplemented by his imagination.

I did not translate the word *iqra'* in my rendering of the legend, although I translated it in the verse by *proclaim*, my object being to call attention to the early misunderstanding of the word by traditionists and interpreters of the Qorân as well, as by modern translators and biographers[96] of the Prophet. For the sentence in question is nothing but an Arabic version of the phrase in the Pentateuch (Gen. xii. 8 in connection with iv. 26), "He proclaimed the name of the Lord."[97]

The reduction of the first verse in the Qorân to a phrase frequently occurring in the Pentateuch[98] makes matters more simple at once. When Muhammed uttered these words, he had already broken with the past, because revocation was impossible without for ever forfeiting prophetic claims. They also throw a light on his mysterious conduct prior to the first proclamation. The view was, and is still generally held that the time spent by Muhammed on mount Ḥîra was chiefly passed in mental anguish caused by his contrasting monotheistic with polytheistic dogmas, and striving to find the truth. He is represented as a nervous and excitable man, suffering from hallucinations and epileptic fits.[99] Sprenger in particular, who will always be considered one of the most important and comprehensive biographers of the Prophet, endeavours to explain the prophetic mission of the latter from the point of view of mental sanity, and this theory he repeats in his last contribution on the subject.[100] He is inclined to identify religious mania with prophetism, especially in reference to Muhammed. The term "enthusiast," indeed, describes a man possessed by a divine spirit, and in this sense it is applied to the Biblical prophets. An enthusiast may at times perform extraordinary deeds, and, by his example, rouse others to similar actions, but only under given conditions, and when carried away by strong feelings. All Biblical prophets, Moses not excepted, took their stand on ancient monotheistic traditions, and gave forth teachings as well as warnings against wickedness, immorality, and especially against relapse into idolatry. It is impossible to create a new faith out of nothing, and least of all could a mere fanatic accomplish such a task. Sprenger's description of Muhammed's behaviour during the time of his mental struggle is pathological rather than historical, but he is surely mistaken in attributing a larger share in the creation of Islâm to the state of his nerves

from a linguistic point of view, *viz.*, that *th* and *f* interchange in Arabic. This remark is welcomed with satisfaction by Sprenger, who finds it a support of his *Hanyferei.* I believe, however, that *taḥannuth* is nothing but the Hebrew pluralis *t'eḥinnôth*, "prayers," a word very common among Jews to express voluntary devotions apart from the official liturgy. There is little doubt, that Muhammed heard this word often in Medina before he framed his report of the affair, and employed it readily on account of its strange and sacred character. Nöldeke, *Qor.* p. 67, seems inclined to give to the root حنث the meaning of "leading a solitary life" (see also Lane, *s. v.*), but if this were so, the traditionists would have little difficulty in explaining the word, whilst the signification they give it is derived from the spirit of the tradition to which it belongs.

95 Unanimously characterized as such by I. Isḥ., Baghawi, Beidh., Tab., etc.

96 Weil, Sprenger, Muir, Palmer, Krehl, Rückert, and all modern translators except Noldeke, *l. c.* p. 65, who rightly translates: *Predige!*

97 See my *Beiträge zur Erkl. des Q.* p. 6.

98 Gen. iv. 26; xiii. 4; xxi. 33; xxvi. 25, and altogether frequent in the O. T.

99 Weil, Sprenger, Muir, Palmer, etc.

100 *Mohammed u. der Korân, eine psychologische Studie*, Hamburg, 1889, p. 8 *sq.*

than was really due to them. Hallucinations and hysterical frenzy are not factors strong enough to produce so general an upheaval as was caused by this new faith. The examples cited by Sprenger[1] only demonstrate the experiences of a few hysterical women who made insignificant statements concerning their persons alone, but this cannot be compared with the gigantic results of Muhammed's religious revelations. Sprenger further refers at great length to Swedenborg,[2] who, as is well known, asserted that he was favoured by God, and endowed with the faculty of conversing with angels and spirits. We will not enter here into details of Swedenborg's mission, but we cannot refrain from asking what he has really produced with the exception of various societies bearing his name, and which certainly count but little in the general enlightenment of the world. The principal outcome of his intercourse with the spiritual world is his *Arcana cœlestia*, which Kant describes as *Acht Quartbände voll Unsinn*, and which was also the origin of the same philosopher's famous treatise *Träume eines Geistersehers*, the perusal of which is to be recommended to every student of Muhammed's career.

To those dissatisfied with Kant's evidence I offer the experiences of another sufferer from hallucinations and visions, *viz.*, the literary bookseller, Friedrich Nicolai, in Berlin. This man, whom no one will charge with having created either a spiritual or a religious revolution, read before the Academy of Sciences in Berlin an essay styled *Beispiel einer Erscheinung mehrerer Phantasmen*.[3] The description he gave of the way in which absent persons appeared to him greatly resembles those of Swedenborg. Defunct persons appeared to him, he became exhausted, and after some time fell asleep (p. 12). Several weeks after the first apparition he heard those persons speak (p. 18). Whilst undergoing medical treatment the room seemed full of human forms of all kinds moving about, and these became more and more indistinct, till they disappeared entirely (p. 19). But Nicolai was "*von Geistern wie vom Geist curirt*" by so trivial a method, that to make any comparison between his case and Muhammed's, as Sprenger undertakes,[4] impossible. Islâm is not built on phantasmagoria, otherwise a simple but utterly prosaic remedy[5] might have deprived the world of one of the greatest spiritual and social revolutions on record.

No, Muhammed's case is quitedifferent. The first revelation possesses too much of the metaphysical element to be the mere outpouring of a troubled mind and an hysterical constitution. On the other hand no one will assert that Islâm was brought into existence by the aid of metaphysical speculation. Whence came this idea? **"He who has created"** is nothing more or less than the Creator referred to in Genesis. Here as well as in the Qorân the existence of God is a postulate, as it must be in a revealed religion, and a demonstration to this effect would have been as injurious as it was beyond Muhammed's power. The belief in Allâh existed in Arabia long before Islâm, but side by side with the belief in other deities. It was, however, necessary to demonstrate his Unity, and this Muhammed endeavoured to do twice with a certain amount of logic, although not until some years later (*S.* xxiii. 93): Allâh neither had a son nor was there any god with Him; if this were so *each god would go off with what he had created, and some would have exalted themselves above others, etc.*" When concluding the same speech he repeated (v. 117), "Who worships another god beside Allâh has no proof for doing so."[6] And finally he says (*S.* xxi. 22): "Were there in both (heaven and earth) gods beside Allâh they would do mischief."[7]

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1 I. p. 215 *sqq*.

2 *Ibid*. 275 *sqq*. Sprenger even considers the profuse perspiration, from which Swedenborg used to suffer after a nervous attack as a parallel to Muhammed's condition.

3 Berlin, 1799. 4 *Ibid*. p 215.

5 See the *Walpurgisnacht* in Goethe's Faust.

6 There is nothing to deprive Muhammed of the ownership of this argument, but it appears that he had learnt it from some Christian source. His protest against the dogma of the Trinity speaks in favour rather than against the probability of his having borrowed the argument, as he regarded the beliefs in Allâh side by side with belief in the Hypostatic Union as illogical, and endeavoured to correct it. As to a somewhat similar Christian proof of the Unity see Lactantius (ed. Brandt.) Inst. Div. I. 3 (p. 8): *At si plures partiantur orbem, minus certe opum, minus virium singuli habebunt; cum intra praescriptam portionem se quisque contineat. Eodem etiam modo Dii, si plures — sint, minus valebunt, aliis tantumdem in se habentibus.*

7 *Itq*. 735 quotes this verse as a proof that the Qorân contains the principles of Moslim scholasticism.

We thus see that the first proclamation speaking of the "Lord" and "Creator" contains a complete theological system. **The imperative form in which the revelations is expressed tends to convince the hearers that the tenet of the proclamation is not the result of speculation, but of divine inspiration granted to Muhammed to the exclusion of other individuals.** With regard to simplicity he even outrivals the Bible, commencing as he does with the creation of man, whilst the formation of the rest of Nature, which was more complicated to describe, was left for later occasions.[8] This was certainly a methodical way of proceeding. Muhammed would, however, have been unable to act in such a manner, had he not been far beyond the elements of learning.

Now we have still to collate the foregoing remarks with the traditions that Muhammed was subject to nervous fits. There is no need to deny this fact, but it chiefly applies to his younger years. When the Prophet promulgated the first revelation, he had more than attained the ripe age of forty years, an age when the nerves generally become calmer. On the other hand he was a man of great self-control. The mental struggle which marked the period immediately preceding Islâm, and is described by all writers on the subject as a series of epileptic fits, was not a cause but a consequence. which will be fully explained if we examine the circumstances with attention. His mind being far above those of his countrymen, is it possible that he could have rushed blindly into an adventurous life ? There were many things to be taken into account, each in itself sufficient to arouse him to excitement. He was of the family of the Qoreish, who not only represented the nobility of Mecca, but were also guardians of the national sanctuary of the Ka'ba. Would they, he must have debated, suffer the shrine to be attacked, damaging alike their authority and material interest ? Even if he succeeded in overcoming this difficulty, would the rest of tribes submit to the demolition of their time-honoured deities ? Such misgivings were sufficient to fill him with no small anxiety, and these were not all. Whoever seemed willing to acknowledge the new mission had to be made welcome, and no difference could be made between high or low, or between freeborn or slaves. It is quite possible that Muhammed himself did not immediately realise all the consequences, which the racial revolution he was about to create, might have, but he must have expected to win his first followers from the ranks of those who had nothing to lose. The benefit of salvation could not be denied even to the poorest. As an example of the levelling power of Islâm I repeat the well known anecdote connected with one of the oldest addresses of the Qorân. While one day conversing with some of the Qoreish chieftains, the Prophet was accosted by a poor blind man,[9] who, the tradition says, asked for religious guidance. Muhammed turned angrily away, refusing to be disturbed. Although the man was evidently only a beggar, Muhammed not only saw the blunder he had made, but also that this was a good opportunity of advertising the new faith. He, therefore, on the spot extemporized an address (*S.* lxxx.) in which he reprimanded himself for being harsh to a blind man who might perhaps have wished to become a believer. The address teaches the equality of mankind. Man is born, consumes food, and dies ; the believers are happy, the infidels go to hell. Since, however, the social institutions of Mecca were anything but democratic, the idea of having to proclaim theories so distasteful to the haughty Qoreish must have filled Muhammed with grave apprehensions.

Various biographers of Muhammed, principally Weil and Sprenger, **provide him with a mentor,** who secretly instructed and encouraged him in hours of despondency. Sprenger in particular believes this mentor to have been an Abyssinian Presbyter of Jewish descent, but Christian persuasion and an adherent of celibacy.[10] In spite of the various characteristics with which Sprenger endows this individual, he seems rather uncertain on the matter. At one time he regards him as a believer

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[8] See ch. VI.

[9] Tradition calls him Ibn Umm Maktûm of Fihr, but Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 76, has already rightly suggested that this name stands for the traditional Moslim pauper in general. If the person alluded to in the revelation was really a member of the Fihr family, Muhammed had an additional reason to appease him. Ibn Ḥazm, fol. 335vo, takes pain to defend Muhammed's conduct in this affair.

[10] *Muh. and Kor.* p. 54 *sq.*

in Muhammed's mission, whilst professing theological tenets of his own,[11] another time he and the Prophet are like "the two augurs" who unite to form in honour of Allâh a regular *Gründercomplott*.[12]

Sprenger also furnishes us with the name of this mentor whom be believes to be no other than **Bahîra the monk,** author of the *Suhuf*, by which he endeavoured to make proselytes to his views in the Hijâz.[13]

We can at once dismiss the idea that Bahîrâ is the author of the *Suhuf*, because such a book did not exist, save in the imagination of Muhammed, who employed the term to describe the Pentateuch at times, and at others the heavenly book in which the fates of men are inscribed. On the other hand Bahîrâ forms the centre of a circle of legends of which Sprenger has given a complete compilation,[14] but they allow no conclusion to be drawn that this person acted as Muhammed's tutor, as the following analysis will show.

Three strata are to be distinguished in these legends. In the *first*, told by Ibn Ishâb (p. 115), Muhammed, when twelve years old, is taken to Bosrâ in Syria. There the caravan meets the hermit Bahîra, who — against his former custom — prepares a meal for the travellers. They all partake of it, excepting the young Muhammed *who is left with the luggage.* On missing him, Bahîra insists on his being fetched, recognises in him a prophet, and discovers a *seal of prophecy between his shoulders.* In the *second* version, given by Ibn Sa'd, Muhammed was twenty-five years old when the journey was undertaken. He rests with a companion under a tree in the neighbourhood of the cell of a hermit of the name of **Nestor,** who asks the companion after "the young man *under the tree*," and enquires whether he has a certain *redness in his eyes.* The question being answered in the affirmative, the hermit cries out: "This is the last of the prophets." — The *third* version which does not refer to any particular age of Muhammed, describes the journey to Syria, during which the travellers meet the hermit, whose name is not disclosed. Trees and stones bow to Muhammed, and the *Râhib* (monk) exclaims that he recognises *the seal of prophecy between his shoulders in the shape of an apple.*[15]

The elements from which the legends have been developed can now be traced with certainty. To be brief, they represent homilies on several Biblical passages which have become mixed up. Both the first two turn on 1 Sam. xvi. 2-13. The boy David who is left in the field to tend the sheep, while his brothers are brought before the Prophet, but who is fetched at the request of the latter, corresponds to the boy Muhammed left behind with the luggage. Bahîra's enquiry as to *the redness in his eyes* is only a misapplication of the words (v. 12) "he was *ruddy*, fair of *eyes*," and even the repast prepared by Bahîra is a reflex of the sacrifice to which Samuel invites Jesse and his family. It may not be superfluous to remark that the term *bâhar* ("has chosen")[16] occurs three times (vv. 9, 10, 11) in the report of the proceedings. With this we must connect Ps. lxxviii. 10, lxxxiv. 4, 20, where the word *b'hîrî*, whilst referring to David, gives a clue to the meaning of the name *Bahîrâ.*

It is conspicuous enough that Bahîra plays the part of Samuel in 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13. Although the name of this prophet is not mentioned in the Qorân, and it is uncertain whether Muhammed knew of him, we can see in the *Iqra'*-legend that at least one episode of his career is reflected in Moslim tradition. The circumstance that persons and sayings are mixed up without the least discrimination, far from being strange, is characteristic of the method employed by the author of the homilies. And that we have to deal here with one author only, is to be concluded from the fact, that the legends of *iqra'*, the Cleansing of the Heart, and Bahîra have several important elements in common.

11 *Leben und Lebre*, II. p. 365 *sq.*

12 *Muh. and Kor.* p. 58.

13 II. p. 367.

14 I. 178-88.

15 In the version of I. I. p. 115, the form of the seal was like the mark made by capping glasses, but the scholia add that it had the shape of an apple. The use of capping glasses was so common among Arabs that their employment as a simile is quite natural. The traditions on the subject are collected in *Uyûn alâthâr*, Brit. Mus. Or. 3015, fol. 17vo *sqq.*

16 *Qor.* ii. 248 with regard to Saul: Allâh has chosen him (اصطفاه).

Now as to the *seal* in the shape of an apple and the trees that bowed to Muhammed, they are a homiletic application of the verse Cant. viii. 5-6: "Under the *apple tree* have I awakened thee . . . . Set me as a seal upon thine *heart*, as a *seal* upon *thine arm*." With this we have to connect Ḥaggai, ii. 23: "I will make thee a *seal* for I have chosen *(bâḥarti)* thee."[17] Lastly the situation of the seal between the shoulders is a reflex of Deut. xxxiii. 12: "He covereth him all day long, and he dwelleth *between his shoulders*." This verse refers to the tribe of Benjamin, and the Talmud (Zebâḥ. 37vo) builds a homily upon it connected with the circumstance that, although small and wedged in the province of Judah, the territory of Benjamin gave shelter to the Temple. It must be borne in mind that the term *shakhên* ("dwelleth") furnishes the allusion to the *Shekinâ*, and in one version of the legend of the cleansing of the heart Muhammed says: "They washed my heart, and the one asked the other for the *Shekinâ* which was white. They put it in my heart, sewed my body up, *and pressed the seal of prophecy between my shoulders*."

A literal application of the verses quoted cannot be expected, but their common bearing on the legend is unmistakeable. **The name Baḥîrâ is thus nothing but the personification of the (New) Hebrew term bḥîrâ ("Election") which is quite common.** Now Muhammed was acquainted with several verses in the O. T. in which the form *b'ḥîr* ("chosen") is used in reference to Israel (Is. xlv. 4), "my servant" (*ib.* xlii. 1).[18] Moses (Ps. cvi. 23) as can be seen from *Qor.* vii. 141; xxvii. 60 (*cf.* xxxv. 29; xliv. 31). The Arabic translation of *b'ḥîr* is *almustafâ*, one of Muhammed's names. He is himself the *Baḥîrâ*, just as the *seal*, which was supposed to have been a mark on his body, was subsequently used — as described in the verse of Haggai quoted above — to denote his whole personality. He is therefore the Seal of prophecy himself.

The hermit Baḥîrâ thus disappears from history, although Sprenger[19] regards him as historical whilst treating Nestor as a mythical person. According to my opinion Muhammed's interview with the latter, which Sir W. Muir rejects as "puerile,"[20] was a real fact. **The hermit Nestor** was a Nestorian Christian whom Muhammed had met somewhere in Syria and who had probably tried to convince him of the truth of his religious views. We shall see on a later occasion, that Muhammed, whilst unconditionally rejecting Eutychianism, was less hostile to Nestorian ideas which he adapted to Islâm as well as his conscience allowed him. Muhammed's discussion with the Nestorian recluse was not without consequences, and to him the former owed part of his knowledge of Christian Scripture and doctrines.

But who is the author of the legend or rather of the homilies of which it is composed? Since the Syriac version of the quotations referred to above do not contain *bḥîrâ* or any other form of that root, Christian origin is improbable. A Jewish source only remains, and, indeed, we find a homily on the verses of Canticles and Ḥaggai quoted before *(Sh'i hashshirim rabbâ)*, the main features of which seem to have been known to Muhammed himself, since they are reflected in the Qorân. He relates in several places (ii. 60, 87; iv. 153, i. vii. 170) that when revealing the Law to Israel, God lifted the mountain over their heads. This the Midrâsh expresses *(l. c.)* they stood *under the apple (tree)* and said: we will do and be obedient (Exod. xxiv. 7; *cf.* Deut. v. 24). Both these themes are discussed in *Qor.* ii. 87 (*cf.* 285 and often), and the second was, as we shall see later on, misinterpreted by Muhammed into: "We have heard and are disobedient."[21] Now all these passages were revealed in Medina, from which we conclude that the material from which they were composed had come to Muhammed's knowledge from Jews. The phrase "under the tree" had a special attraction for Muhammed, who always loved to express himself in poetic figures. When discussing the allegiance sworn to him by all his followers at Ḥudaibiya (in the year 7 H.)

[17] Refers to Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, Ḥaggai, i. 1.

[18] *Cf.* St. Matth. xii. 8, "my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved." In the Syriac version to all the passages quoted the word *b'ḥîr* is not used, because the root has a different meaning altogether.

[19] *Cf.* ii. 384. The etymology of *Baḥîra* on the basis of Q. V. 102 is obviously futile. The existence of other persons of the same name (one of them a Jew, *ib.* p. 387) is supported by unreliable evidence.

[20] *Life of Mahomet*, 4th ed. p. 20.

[21] See ch. IX.

he only speaks of his standing "under the tree (*Qor.* xlviii. 18),"[22] a position peculiar to prophets. "For out of the tree" Moses is called (*Qor.* xxviii. 30), and "under the tree" Abraham prepared the repast for his celestial visitors (Gen. xviii. 8) just as Baḥîrâ did for the travellers.

As we now see the Baḥîra legend represents a profusion of Biblical ideas blended together in a manner similar to the Jewish Agâda. There is, however, another point which occurs in various versions of the legend, *viz.*, the tree casting its shadow wherever Muhammed sat. This situation is described, Cant. ii. 3, where we find the *apple tree*, the sitting under its shadow, and the word *ḥimmadti* in which it should not be difficult now to recognize the embryo of the name *Muhammed.* The roots *HMD.* and *BHR.* being in some degree synonymous in Hebrew (see Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23) the former makes an appropriate rendition in Arabic for the latter which has quite a different meaning.[23] From this we may conclude that the time when the Prophet assumed the name *Muhammed* coincides with that when the first elements of the Baḥîrâ legend were produced, which can only have been very shortly before his death. The name Muhammed, it is true, occurs several times in the Qorân, but there are grave doubts as to the genuineness of the verses in question which we will discuss later on.[24]

Now as regards **the author of the legend,** it can only have been one of those Jews who embraced Islâm during Muhammed's lifetime. Out of the list of these converts there is only one whose knowledge of the Jewish Agâda was extensive enough to enable him to produce this kind of Moslim variation. This was **Abd Allâh b. Salâm of the tribe of the B. Qainoqâ** who did not embrace Islâm until the year 8 H., or two years before the death of Muhammed.[25] The latter was during this period so fully occupied in extending the secular as well as the spiritual power of the faith, and so little trained to produce homilies of this kind, that we can hardly tax him with having contributed more than scraps from his autobiography, which Abd Allâh idealised in the composite manner of the Agâda. But even the latter will hardly have given more than the simplest form of the legend. It is remarkable that Ibn Isḥâq, who is the first to relate it, hands it down without mentioning any authority, and with the very vague introduction : "they assert." From this we can only gather that the author of the legend launched it anonymously among the Believers, probably because at his time there were some persons alive who were acquainted with the events of Muhammed's earlier life, and it was not until the following generation, that the homily assumed its various fantastic forms.

A more direct proof of the author of the legend having been **a renegade Jew** may be found in the warning Baḥîrâ gives Muhammed's friends to beware of the Jews, who would endeavour to injure him. If the conversation Muhammed had with the Nestorian divine is really historical, this would also explain why the chief part is played by a Christian, *i. e.*, a follower of a monotheistic faith. Tradition says nothing of open attacks of Christians on Muhammed, on the contrary, it was a Christian, Muhammed's cousin Waraqa, who is supposed to have encouraged his prophetic claims.[26] The attitude of the Jews, however, was different from the outset, and it was therefore impossible to make them speak favourably of their arch enemy.

The name Baḥîrâ must be struck out of the list of the teachers of the Prophet on account of its mythological character. I believe that the charge made against the latter and reproduced in various revelations (xvi. 105; xxv. 5)[27] of having employed teachers in Mecca, far from being embarrassing,

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22 See ch. XII.

23 *Cf.* further for בחיר 2 Sam. xxi. 6 (Saul), Ps. cvi. 23 (Moses) for מחמד Ez. xxiv. 16; Hos. ix. 16 : Lam. ii. 4; Dan. ix. 23, x. 11, 19.

24 See ch. XIII.

25 See Iṣâba and *J. Q. R.* Vol. X. p. 111.

26 This is the reason why in some traditions Waraqa is confounded with a Baḥîra. The Iṣâba (*s. v. Addâs*) relates on the authority of Ibn Abbâs that Khadîja heard of Muhammed's call from Baḥîra, and went to ask him about Gabriel; *cf.* Sprenger, II. p. 386.

27 Those passages of the Qorân, in which the charges of employing a prompter are refuted, form the chief source for critical analysis of the Mentor. In xxv. 5 it is "other people who help him," and in xvi. 105 it is "a man who teaches him." See the *Commentaries.*

was not unwelcome to Muhammed. It gave him an opportunity of leading his accusers off the track, and throwing the suspicion on persons whom no one would otherwise have thought capable of having assisted him in his studies. His remarks in replying to the charge, that his alleged teachers spoke in a foreign tongue, is explained by Al Beidhâwi with good reason as referring to Greek,[28] because the term *ajam* could not be used in speaking either of Jews or Christians within the Peninsula. The learning which those men — whose names can be seen in Al-Beidhâwi's annotations to the passage of the Qorân quoted above[29] — could have imparted to Muhammed, can only have been limited to Christian lore. No one will assert that this was much spread among laymen, and how much could the artisans living in slavery know? Add to this the difficulty of meeting Muhammed in secrecy, and there remains very little to justify the probability of a teacher in or near Mecca. It is unreasonable to assume that a conscientious teacher would have been content to remain in the background, whilst allowing his knowledge and talents to be used by a person of inferior faculties, who according to Sprenger not only frequently misunderstood his words, and misinterpreted his statements, but had to be corrected on more than one occasion. Is it probable that the Mentor knew the learning he imparted and the aims he fostered to be safe in Muhammed's keeping, whilst he was satisfied with an ideal success alone? Did such a man ever live? It is more likely that, if the supposed Mentor concealed his identity, he did so in order to escape unpleasant consequences in case of failure; he would then have been but a miserable coward and incapable of the high idealism which marks Muhammed's exertions in the Meccan period.

Now I consider it very improbable that a mentor of any kind *could* have remained unknown in a place like Mecca. Muhammed was also much too independent a character to be a party to such a policy, or to rely on one single instructor. And how awkwardly would so complicated an oracle have worked! The passages in the Qorân referring to earthly teachers — "other people"[30] — were not revealed until the descriptive period, *i. e.*, in the eighth or ninth year of Muhammed's ministry, when the greater part of the Meccan portion of the Qorân had already been divulged.

From whichever point of view we regard the alleged Meccan tutor, there is no evidence for his existence. Muhammed knew his cue before he appeared on the stage, but the difficulty lay in the circumstance that he could not summon up courage to speak. That he did so at length, being fully aware of the consequences, is a sign of greatness, but what a struggle must it have cost him! In Mecca he could neither learn anything, nor did he wish to do so. The first revelations must have existed in his mind long before the moment he clothed them in words, and there is little doubt that he not only already knew stories of ancient prophets, but also held a series of practical precepts in readiness. Elements of both are to be found in the oldest revelations.[31] He never expected the inhabitants of Mecca to be willing at a moment's notice to exchange their very sociable gods, gods satisfied with scant reverence, and not even objecting to an occasional chastisement, for a stern incomprehensible Deity. The new God, they heard, would not submit to disrespectful treatment, but demanded unconditional obedience.

If Muhammed was cognizant of the careers of Biblical prophets, he must have been tempted to compare his own position with theirs. This was particularly the case with Abraham and Moses.

[28] One might apply the term *ajam* to the Greek words occurring in the Qorân; but it is doubtful whether Muhammed asked for instruction about these.

[29] *Cf.* Sprenger, II. p. 388.

[30] See also I. I. p. 260. The — hardly unfounded — charge made by Al Nadhr b. Al Ḥârith who narrated the Meccans' stories of Persian heroes has been dealt with in ch. I. Of some interest is the tradition related by I. I. who refers *Q.* xiii. 29 to the insinuation of employing a prompter of the name *Raḥmân* of Yamâma, who according to Bagh. is indentical with Museilima, a rival to Muhammed. The latter's reply هو ربّي had in this case better be translated in Rabbinical fashion: "He (*viz.*, God) is my teacher," and, moreover, the verse must be a late Medinian one, as indeed it is considered to be by Qatâda, Muqâtil, and Ibn Joreij who refer it to the treaty of Ḥodeibiya. Al Baghawi, however, refutes this theory and declares the verse to be Meccan, and no allusion is to be found in it to a teacher. *Cf.* Bokh. III. 382.

[31] See above.

The former he called **Ḥanîf,** which does not mean, as Sprenger asserts,[32] the follower of a sect, but a man who holds heterodox views regarding certain ecclesiastical matters. This was precisely the attitude which Muhammed wished to adopt. He proclaimed his secession from the paternal gods in the same words, which the Bible attributes to the Patriarch. On the other hand his refusal to "read" in the legend mentioned before, is in every word an almost literal imitation of Moses' hesitation to undertake his mission. Moses too had been "chosen" in the solitude of the desert, but, as Muhammed was well aware, by means of a vision, besides which Moses was also enabled to perform certain miracles. Muhammed greatly missed the aid he would have derived from such factors. As far as the vision[33] was concerned, he vaguely alluded in an early revelation to some apparition in which a *tree* plays a part;[34] but to perform miracles was quite beyond his power. This made his position particularly unpleasant. When later on sceptics demanded miracles, he could only give evasive answers which counted for nothing. The foreboding of this dilemma must have troubled him considerably.

There is yet another point to be taken into consideration. Professor Palmer has raised the question **why Muhammed did not act as an apostle[35] of Judaism or Christianity.** This question may be simplified by another, why he himself did not embrace either of these faiths, as so many others had done. His own relative, Waraqa, we are told, adopted that course, apparently meeting with no protest on the part of any leading Meccan citizen.[36] I believe his influence on Muhammed should not be overrated, since the latter was his superior both in talent and knowledge. Now had Muhammed followed the example of his cousin, no Meccan would have interfered with him, but it was impossible for him to do so. Muhammed seems to have looked upon Judaism as well as Christianity as degenerated forms of pure Abrahamism. The superficial conversion of other Arabs he could not imitate, and the dogma of the Trinity never appealed to him. We shall presently perceive that his ideas about the development of both Judaism and Christianity were anything but clear, and did not gain in lucidity in the course of time. This becomes apparent from a revelation pronounced many years later in Medina, when he endeavoured to define the difference between Abrahamism on one side, and Judaism and Christianity on the other in the following words (iii. 60): Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a faithful *Ḥanîf,* and did not belong to those who ascribe to Allâh a companion. — The verse forms the summing up of the many preceding ones, in which Abraham is described as protesting solely against the idolatry of his family and compatriots, but not as the adherent of any dogma or ritual except the worship of one God.

Now Muhammed entertained peculiar ideas on the origin of the Jews, being unaware of the fact that they connected themselves historically with the "Sons of Israel." He saw in them only the representatives of a ritual code which, on account of its severity, was not at all to his taste. Being likewise ignorant of the character of the name *Yahûd*,[37] he gave it an Arabic etymology signifying that they were *repenting*[38] for some iniquity committed by them

[32] I. p. 45 *sqq.*, but see p. 68, the explanation on behalf of Ibn Abbâs. Beidhâwi on *Q.* ii. 129; xxii. 32; xcviii. 4. Of Meccan revelations *Ḥanîf* only occurs in vi. 79, 162; x. 105; xvi. 121, 124; xxx. 29.

[33] *Q.* xx. 8 *sqq.*; xxviii. 6.

[34] *Q.* liii. 7 to 15.

[35] Muhammed certainly assumed the role of an "Apostle" of a very high standard. The term *rasûlu-(l-lâhi)* is after all nothing but a rendition of Aram. *sh'liḥâ.* To the Apostles, however, he gives no higher rank than الحواريون (iii. 45), because he looked upon their master as a human being, whilst he claimed to be sent by Allâh himself.

[36] See *Commentaries* on xcvi. 1 and the traditions. Religious tolerance — or rather indifference — was so great in Mecca, that no one interfered with Waraqa, when he embraced Christianity, especially as he did not try and make converts. Moslim theologians are indeed a little embarrassed about his not having acknowledged Muhammed's mission, but they excuse him on account of age and blindness. *Cf.* Bokh. I. 4.

[37] The Aramaic form of the word.

[38] *Cf. Q.* vii. 155. Moses prays: behold *we return* to thee هدنا اليك.

at some previous epoch of their history, for which they suffered exile and were "cursed" by Allâh.[39] He, therefore, altered the name from its verbal form into *alladîna hâdû*, "those who repented," or *Hûd*[40] of similar signification. All these names are not once mentioned in the whole Meccan portion of the Qorân, which only means that the Jews as such did not come under Muhammed's consideration until he lived amongst them in Medina. The *Banû Isrâîl*, on the other hand, represent in his eyes but a historical remembrance; they are the people to whom God has shown His grace and sent down to them "the Book" through Moses. They disappear at the time of Jesus. In Medinian revelations, therefore, they are only mentioned either in historical passages, or in connection with Jesus (iii. 43; v. 15, 82, 110; lxi. 6, 14), whilst the first and second destructions of the Jewish State are alluded to in a Meccan revelation (xvii. 2-9).

If Muhammed's notions with regard to the ancestors of the Jews of his era were rather confused, and he shrank from adopting their strict ritual law, there were two additional reasons for his dislike. He charged them with having falsified the *Torâh*[41] and with having relapsed into a kind of heathenish practice by offering divine reverence to the Rabbis. What he meant by the first reproach is hard to say, as he did not express himself distinctly enough on the subject. The truth seems to be that in this case also he was not able to explain the nature of the accusation in question, or rather he could bring no evidence to bear out the reproach hurled already in Meccan revelations against "the Possessors of the Writ." We will, therefore, try and do it for him, as he was not sufficiently versed in the history of Rabbinical doctrine to grasp the development it had undergone. It is to be noted that the reproach of having falsified the *Tôrâh* occurs several times in the Qorân in connection with the laws regarding the Sabbath. As we shall see, Muhammed seems to have considered the institution of the day of rest as a punishment for disobedience.[42] The practical observation of this command, however, as well as others did not tally with what he knew about them from the meagre information he had received of the Pentateuch. Moreover, he had probably heard the Jews pronounce many words in the *Tôrâh*, and the name of God in particular, differently from the way they were spelt. Finally, when travelling through Jewish communities and visiting a *Midrâsh* he may have listened to lectures in which plays upon words of the text and Agadic applications of verses of the Bible struck him as distortions of the holy word. Yet he entirely overlooked the fact that when reproducing Biblical tales in the legendary garb in which they had been imparted to him, he not only adapted the same method of the Agâda himself, but indirectly produced a similar literature of which we have illustrative samples in the legends of the "cleansing of the heart"[43] and the monk Baḥîra. The second charge we shall discuss later on.

Under these circumstances Muhammed had no other choice but either to remain silent or to create an entirely new religion, and the perseverance he shewed in upholding and proclaiming his conviction is greatly to his credit. Had his training but been more systematic and thorough, Islâm would have been free from much objectionable matter.

Now if Muhammed could not apply to Meccan teachers for instruction, we must consider from what other source he gathered it. Only one assumption is possible, *viz.*, that **his years of real study were past long before he proclaimed the Iqra'.** His own statements that all his knowledge was imparted to him directly by way of heavenly revelations are better left alone. Sprenger is undoubtedly right in calling attention to the (Meccan) verse xxxvii. 137 *sq.*,[44] as the recollection of a journey during which Muhammed passed the Dead Sea when travelling in Khadîjâ's service

[39] *Cf.* ii. 83 and often. The matter will be more fully discussed in ch. IX.

[40] Plur. fract. of هائد. Sprenger, II. 364, connects the term *Yahûd* with the Jewish creed which is not quite correct, as it only refers to the ritual law.

[41] Only in Medinian passages, *e. g.*, ii. 70; iv. 48. See *Commentaries*. The alteration of the *Tôrâh* by the Jews is very broadly discussed by Ibn Ḥazm in the anterior chapters of his work.

[42] See ch. IX.

[43] See the note at the end of this chapter.

[44] *Moh. und K.* p. 7.

to Syria. In pursuing his business he must have come into contact with many Jews and Christians,[45] and very probably discussed religious topics with his new friends. Morever, as a child he had been to Medina, and there had many opportunities of witnessing Jewish ceremonies which, on account of their strangeness, made a deep impression on his mind. This and later experiences were sufficient to allow him to judge of the contrast between Jewish and Christian doctrines and forms of worship on one side, and the one he was accustomed to at home on the other. His first entrance into a Synagogue must have produced on him an effect similar to that which according to Tacitus[46] Pompeius experienced when visiting the temple of Jerusalem. There were no images, no holy stone, no augurial arrows, but a devout congregation which met twice daily in order to worship an invisible Being with hymns and prayers. This was most impressive for the open-minded youth. There was nothing to attract the eye but an **"eternal lamp,"** which shed a dim lustre from a niche in the wall. It almost appears that Muhammed saw in this light, which in reality served different purposes, a symbol of the Deity, which, as he had heard, first appeared to Moses in a light (*Q.* xxvii. 7-8). The recollection of this light seems not to have left him the whole of his life, and is expressed in a parable as follows (xxiv. 35):

"Allâh is the light of heaven and earth; the description[47] of his light is as a niche in which is a lamp, and the lamp is in a glass, the glass is though it were a glittering star, it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west, the oil of which would well nigh give light, though no fire touched it, light upon light. Allâh guides to his light whom He pleases, and Allâh strikes out parables for men, Allâh knows all things. (36) In houses which Allâh has permitted to be raised, and His name to be recorded therein,[48] His praises are celebrated therein mornings and evenings. (37) Men whom neither merchandize nor selling divert from the remembrance of Allâh and from observing prayers and giving alms, who fear a day in which the hearts and eyes shall be upset."

Thus the light represents the reflex of God's glory, and Muhammed believed himself favoured to behold it, and to grasp its secret. A simple mind has many a time been led in a strange way to find the truth. When reading this parable one is reminded of Hebbel's charming tale, "*Kannitverstan.*" The sight of an insignificant oil lamp in a corner of a synagogue had made a deeper impression on the mind of the artless lad than the most elaborate theological demonstration could have done. What a lesson this is for conversionists! A lover of truth is led by spontaneous observation much farther than by indoctrinated one. The power of persuasion in religious matters chiefly promotes hypocrisy.

A rather striking proof of the fact that during his sojourn in the north country Muhammed had visited Jewish houses of study (*Bêth Midrâsh*) is given in his application of the root *darasa*,[49] because he replaced the widely different Arabic meaning of this word by the rabbinical one. In the school-house he heard many a *Derâshâ* or sermon, the method of which he mistook in so far, as he was not able to hold apart plain explanations of the holy text from homiletic discourses adorned with fictitious interpretation, but he looked upon all as a part and parcel of the Scripture. Some cases in which he did find this out, served him, as mentioned above, to base his reproach of the adulteration of the Law on them.

Muhammed's stay among Jews must once have extended over the autumnal period of the Jewish holidays, because only then he could have heard **the blowing of the Shôfâr** even without entering a Synagogue. That he *did* hear it can be inferred from many Meccan revelations (lxxviii. 18; lxix. 13, etc.), in which he describes the "Great Day of Judgment" on which "the bent horn shall be sounded." The conception of the Jewish New Year's Day as day of Judgment is already to be found

45 Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislam. Beduinen*, p. 99, calls attention to Agh. viii. 79, but if Christian merchants in Ḥîra dispensed religious knowledge together with their wares, it does not follow that they did the same at the Meccan fairs.

46 *Hist.* V. 9.

47 *Mathal*; *cf.* ch. VIII.

48 *Cf.* Exod. xx. 24.

49 *Cf.* Beidh. on *Q.* vi. 105. The old Arabic meaning of the root "is to wipe away, or out," *e. g.*, by rain and wind *cf.* Kâmel ed. Wright, p. 469, "rags of cloth," Schol. الدريسان ثوبان خلقان; with regard to the meaning of the word in the Qorân see Geiger, p. 51.

in the *Mishnâh* (Rôsh Hash. i. 2).[50] The idea at once took root in Muhammed's mind, and in an old revelation of the confirmatory period is mentioned "the day of distinction" on which "the horn shall be blown." This can only have been the result of personal experience, and offered material for very elaborate pictures of the fates of the just and wicked. To the Day of Atonement, however, Muhammed does not seem to have given much attention at first. Fasting could not be to the taste of people who knew not abundance, and it would have been bad policy to recommend to the Meccans a new religion of which abstinence from food formed an important element. In Meccan parts of the Qorân, therefore, fasting is mentioned but once (xix. 27) in a passage belonging to the latest period, and, moreover, a historical connection without any hint as to the desirability of imitation. The traditions existing on the fast of *Ashûrâ*,[51] which corresponds with the Jewish *'Asôrâ* (tenth of Tishri)[52] refer to a temporary Medinian arrangement, but it was only later on, that fasting was officially given prominence as a rite.

Part of the well known formula of the Moslim creed (*dikr*) in common use, and also chanted in the call to prayer (*adân*) is: **There is no God beside Allâh.**[53] The formula is taken from the Qorân, and yet it seems strange, that the name *Allâh* is not used in the *Iqra'* verse; it is even more strange that the formula occurs in the Qorân only *twice*, once in a late Meccan passage (xxxvii. 34) and the second time in a Medinian verse (xlvii. 21).[54] The earlier passage runs thus: Verily when it is said unto them "There is no God beside Allâh," they get too big with pride and say: "What! shall we leave our gods for an infatuated poet?" — Now, the formula is here, as in the other passage, not an enunciation, but a mere assertion, which only tends to place the unity of Allâh in contrast to the plurality of other gods. This explains also the great care Muhammed took in the choice of the name for God.[55] *Allâh* was familiar also to the pagan Arabs, it would,

[50] The real conception Muhammed entertained about the blowing of the Shofar by Jews was, however, very prosaic, as he believed it to be only a means of calling the people to prayer. That is why it was all but adopted later on in Medina, I. I. 347. Bokh. I. 83. The blowing of the horn on the Day of Judgment (1 Cor. xv. 52) mentioned so frequently in the Qorân, therefore, only implies the roll-call of the dead. The Qoranic expression *suwar* seems to me to be only the Hebrew *shôfâr*, but incorrectly heard. In point of the pronunciation of Hebrew sibilants the Arab Jews seem to have very few distinctions. We shall have instances later on where Hebr. ש and ס are rendered in the Qorân by ص, see below.

[51] See Tab. 1281 without Isnâd; Bokh. I. 236. The explanation supposed to have been given by the Jews, that the Day of Atonement was celebrated in memory of the exodus of Israelites from Egypt is only another reflex of זכר ליציאת מצרים alluded to in the liturgy of the holidays. The Isnâd given by Bokh. (Mushaddad-Ismâîl b. Ayyûb, Nâfi, Ibn 'Omar, Urwa, 'Âisha) is not bad, provided that for the "Qoreish" who used to fast the *Âshûrâ*, another name is substituted.

[52] A peculiar misconstruction of the Jewish Day of Atonement is given by Ibn Hazm, fol. 72vo. The Rabbanite Jews, he says, congregate on account of their having angered God and being cursed by Him on a day called "The night of the feast of *Kibûr*," which is, of course, the Hebr. *Kippûr*, misunderstood and explained to mean "Great." It is celebrated on the 10th of the first month Jishrîn, which is October. Then stands up الصدروث, which word the Jews interpret as "the Minor Lord" — exalted be He above such heresy! What this word means is difficult to say, but I believe it is הנסתרות Deut. xxix. 28, which verse is prominent in the chief prayers of the day. This deity, he goes on, stands with dishevelled hair, weeps a little and says: Woe upon me that I have destroyed my house and have dispersed my sons and daughters, and overthrown my people (Talm. Berâkh. fol. 3vo). I will not raise it up until my prophet comes to whom I will restore my sons and daughters. — In these days of October they worship another Being beside God and commit undoubted idolatry, worse than the Christians. One of them told me that المصطرون, "the servant of the crown" is "an angel who bewails the destruction of the house" in similar terms. — What I. H. means by this second deity is quite clear, *viz.*, that during the ten days of atonement (New Year until day of Atonement) in the prayer called *Amîdâh* the formula האל הקדוש is replaced by המלך הקדוש. The name of the angel is evidently Metatrôn.

[53] I. I. 347; *cf.* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, II. 89 *sqq.*

[54] In altered forms a little more frequent. I give here all the passages concerned: iii. 55, *cf.* V. 77; vi. 46; xxviii. 71, 72; xxi. 22; *cf.* above; iii. 43. These passages except the two first belong to the later Meccan periods, and from this we must conclude that the formula long remained unsettled. Needless to say that the tradition given by I. I. 298, that at the death of Abu Tâlib Muhammed summoned those present to recite the formula in question is quite unfounded.

[55] Somewhat nearer to the final text of the formula comes the passage xlvii. 21: "Know then that there is no God beside Âllâh." But also here it stands in a subordinate sentence.

therefore, have been a mistake to introduce the new God under the same name ; and this is another proof of the circumspection with which Muhammed set to work. Even in a comparatively late Meccan revelation (x. 90) he lets Pharaoh say : "I believe that there is no God beside the one in whom the children of Israel believe." In other words : not until the unique character of Allâh was generally and firmly established could Muhammed particularise it, just as we do with *God.*

What name, then, was to be substituted ? Muhammed helped himself in a very ingenious way, which again clearly demonstrates how systematically he proceeded. He simply adopted the method of Jews and Christians, who used the terms *Adônay* and *Mâryâ* respectively, both signifying *Lord* (ὁ κύριος). Muhammed translated both by **Rabb** with a genitive or a possessive pronoun after it. In Arabic *alRabb* (with the article) is rare in pre-Qoranic texts,[56] and is in this manner not used in the Qorân at all, whilst when connected with another noun it is quite common and means *Master*, also in secular poetry. Now as in Syriac *mâryâ* represents the form with the article, whilst the Hebrew *Adônay* has a pron. suff. instead, it is clear that the Qoranic form *(rabbika)* is an adaptation of the latter, rather than of the former. The change from the first person of the *pron. suff.* into the second became, however, necessary, as Allâh was the speaker himself and Muhammed the addressed person.

In the employment of a name for God by Muhammed we can distinguish three stages which developed from one another. It seems very appropriate that the first proclamation should have been spoken in the name of the *Rabb who has created*, but it became essential to have an independent term for God also without reference to a person or "the worlds."

In a very old revelation (lxxiii. 9) Muhammed makes an interesting attempt to formulate a creed in the following manner: The *Rabb* of east and west, there is no God beside *Him.* But even this formula remains isolated until a rather late Meccan passage (xx. 7) which runs : Allâh, there is no God beside *Him*, to Him belong the most excellent names. A few verses after this (v. 14) we read : There is no God except *anâ* (*I cf.* xvi. 2 ; xxi. 25), and in another place (xxi. 27) : There is no God except *anta (Thou).* Those "most excellent names" form the object of the well known enumeration of the ninety-nine names found in all works on Moslim theology, and of which Prof. Palmer has given an English version in the introduction to his translation of the Qorân (p. lxvii.), but Muhammed's object in employing the personal pronoun can only be explained by his inability to decide which name to choose. In the Qorân, both in Meccan as well as Medinian revelations, a strong inclination prevails to use *He* and — less frequently— *I*,[57] and *Thou*, rather than *Allâh* for the formula of the creed.

This peculiarity cannot be accidental, and is, I believe, to be explained as follows. Everyone knows that the Jews in post-Biblical times pronounced the Tetragram as *Adônay*, and in some cases abridged it to *Hû* (or *Hô*), after models found in Biblical names such as *Hôshêâ* and others. Subsequently they also shrunk from the too frequent use of *Adônay* and substituted synonyms for it or abridged it to *Anî.* In the *Mishnâh* (*Sukkâh*, iv. 5) we read that at the procession with the palm-branches in the Temple the worshippers sang: *Ani and Hû Hôshiânâh.* The Palestinian edition of this passage spells *Hû* [הוא] exactly like the third person of the masculine personal pronoun, just as *Anî* corresponds to the first person. The Babylonian Talmud (*Shabbâth* 104 ro) contains the passage: "*HU* is the name of the Holy One, blessed be He," and another (*Sukkâh* 83vo) in which Hillêl says : *If Anî (AdôNaI) is here, all are here, if Anî is not here who is here?*[58] — The constraint the Jews put upon themselves in dealing with the names of God was relieved by an alteration which, practically resulting in the use of personal pronouns, not only expressed the divine individuality much more concisely than any name could have done, but for which also the

[56] Meaning *king*, but see Sprenger, I. 299 *sqq.* Kâmil, 593 كلّنا نعبد ربًّا واحدا, fem. ربّة الخدر Hassân b. Th. p. 38; thus also in these instances either indetermined or with genetive following. Wellh R² , p. 145, therefore hardly correct.

[57] See Anz, *l. c.* p. 21 (Ishtar): *Mein erster Name ist Ich, die Himelskönigin.*

[58] *Abôth*, I. 14. See also Isaiah xxxiv. 16 פי הוא which Jargum and Septuag. refer to God, and seem to have read accordingly, *cf. ibid.* xliii. 10.

Pentateuch itself furnished a model in sentences like *anî anî hû* (Deut. xxxii. 29). This gives a very interesting instance of popular etymology. The real derivation of the substitutes *anî* and *hô* was forgotten, and the people looked upon them as personal pronouns, which took the places of the divine names.

Now there seems to be little doubt that the very frequent use of the personal pronoun in the *Ḏikr* stands in connection with the Jewish custom of shortening the Tetragram, or it may be an attempt to find a substitute for the same in the Qorân. Whether the mâsôretic vocalisation of the Tetragram was communicated to Muhammed by some one is too uncertain to allow us to draw any conclusion, but the *Huwa* sounds very much like the abridged form of the former. If in the first stages of Islâm the use of Allâh was avoided for some reason, the choice of an appropriate name for God was a cause of perplexity. To assume that Muhammed found the idea of the personal pronoun independently is not probable. *Rabb* with a suffixed pronoun did very well in the first proclamation. It was, however, not a name, but an attribute, and could not be employed in the creed, whilst the phrase: *There is no God beside Huwa* is a formula of a very expressive character.

The employment of *Huwa* thus marks the second stage in the establishment of a divine denomination, and the relation prevailing between it and *Rabb* is best seen in a phrase like (xiii. 29) *Huwa rabbi* ("HE is my Master"),[59] *there is no God beside Huwa.* Even in phrases such as (xxix. 25) :[60] *innahu Huwa-l-'azîzu* ("Behold Him, He is the Almighty"), the inserted Huwa, although generally explained as a grammatical nicety, seems to come under the influence of the sacred application of *huwa*, rather than of a linguistic rule, athough the grammarians have only taken it in the latter sense.[61] It is natural that the pronominal conception was strengthened also in Muhammed's speech to such an extent, that the words, (xx. 12) *innani anâ rabbuka* ("Behold me, I am thy Lord"),[62] are given as rendition of Exod. iii. 6. If the pronouns *huwa* and *anâ* thus in a certain fashion represent Allâh, the Ṣûfic motto *Anâ l-ḥaqq* ("I am the Truth") looses a good deal of its pantheistic character, and stands simply for "Allâh is the Truth," then resembling the saying of Hillêl quoted above. In a similar light, I believe, must be regarded the Ṣûfic ejaculation *Huwa huwa* which must be compared with Exod. xxxiv. 6, being a nominal sentence rather than a repeated ejaculation. The Ṣûfic *Huwa* was then individualized to such an extent, that with the article (*alHuwa*) it was used as a name of Allâh.[63]

It is thus clear that the employment of Allâh in the Qorân, considered historically, is not so much a "Grundlehre"[64] of Islâm, as the final crystallisation of the formula, after several attempts to condense the first sentence of the Moslim creed into a motto. If it is of Biblical character, it is only indirectly so, since Muhammed left all other Biblical appellations of God, and returned to that with which the Arabs were already familiar. It is easily seen how much more tempting it must have been to pagan Arabs to listen to the call of the *Muaḏḏin*, who did not invite them to worship a new Being, but Allâh, although only Him exclusively. What a sign this is of Muhammed's knowledge of the human mind, of shrewdness and calculation! A host of traditions exists on the importance and felicitous consequences in this world and the next Muhammed is said to have attached to the ejaculation of the formula.[65] Even in our days it is well known that several orders of Dervishes rouse themselves to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by nothing else than incessantly repeating *lâ ilâh illâh Allâh*,[66] until they are thoroughly exhausted.

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59 Perhaps the common Jewish abbreviation ה'ה' (Exod. xxxiv. 6); *cf. Q.* xliii. 64.

60 *Cf.* lii. 28, etc.

61 The so termed *ḍamîr-ul-faṣl* which is also applied to other persons, sing. and plur. As the majority of instances of *d. f.* are taken from the Qorân, it appears that its use originated from Muhammed. *Cf.* Sibawaihi, ed. Derenbourg, I. p. 346 *sqq.*, and *cf.* 1 R. xviii. 39.

62 It is to be noted that *huwa* and *anâ* interchange in this Sûra three times within a few verses.

63 *J. R. A. S.* 1880, pp. 5, 68; 1892, pp. 631.

64 Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 6.

65 Mishk, I. 544. The tradition Bokh. III. 315 on the authority of AlMussayyab, *cf.* Silâh AlMûmin, fol. 14vo *sq.*

65 Lane, *Modern Egypt*, II. 62.

To return to the iqra', we see that Muhammed managed to compress the two chief dogmas of every monotheistic creed into *five words*, even including the creating word *(bârâ)* of the beginning of Genesis. It would have been impossible for any one else to equal this in terseness and precision It is quite unlikely that this should have been the result of spontaneous meditation without the aid of Biblical knowledge. If the traditions that the *iqra'* represents the commencement of the Qorân needed any confirmation from within, here it is, because no other sentence in the whole book would approach this in appropriateness of being the first. Fuller explanations Muhammed could reserve for later occasions, but for the present it was all important to give the quintessence of the belief in One God, who is the Creator of the world.

It is now almost superfluous to demonstrate in detail that iqra' bismi rabbika[67] is nothing but the literal translation of the Biblical phrase which the Jews read: "wayyiqrâ b'shêm adônay" and the (Syrian) Christians "waqrâ bash'mêh d'mâryâ." It makes no difference whether the former or the latter furnished Muhammed with the original, probably they did both, but a Presbyter or sword-maker in Mecca certainly had no hand in it.

Finally there is the linguistic evidence to be added. The Arabic root *qara'a* does not mean: "to read," but "to gather," and is in this sense frequently used in pre-Islamic literature. The object of the verb furthermore is grammatically not joined by the preposition *bi*, which, however, is common in the Hebrew and Syriac handling of that root. Every word in the *iqra'* verse, taken singly, is pure Arabic, but united they give a new sense, and in this way Muhammed has also implanted a new spirit in the old language.

What remains now of epileptic or hysterical influence on the origin of Islâm? Absolutely nothing. Never has a man pronounced a sentence with more circumspection and consciousness than Muhammed did in the *iqra'*. Should he have proclaimed it with nothing but prophetic enthusiasm, he must have been the greatest genius that ever lived. This he was not; but he was clever, full of discretion and tact, and also desirous of communicating his knowledge to the world. If we have to take the epileptic fits as historical, then Islâm arose in spite of them, but not by their means. Muhammed's greatness consisted in the recklessness with which he publicly exclaimed what he had recognised to be right. How many would have the courage to do this? He stood, however, firmly on Biblical ground, and there he remained through the whole Meccan period. The bulk of the narratives, descriptions, and laws contained in Meccan sermons are bone from the bone and flesh from the flesh of the Bible, and are responsible for all that is good and recommendable in Islâm.

The late A. Geiger has dealt with the question **whether Muhammed "wished, could and dared to borrow from Judaism."** Wellhausen, on the other hand, claims to have found **"the soul of Islâm in Christianity." They are both equally incorrect.** For the most vital portions of the new faith Muhammed was *forced* to depend on the *Old Testament*. It is quite a secondary matter, whether he derived his knowledge of the Bible from Jewish or Christian assistants. The Jews in North Arabia and Syria read the Bible in Synagogues in the Hebrew original, but for domestic study they probably used Aramaic translations as did the Christians. Many Biblical words which occur in the Qorân, have evidently gone through an Aramaic channel. It made no difference to Muhammed whence he received his material. He took everything which came into his way, Jewish and Christian, Hebrew, Aramaic and Ethiopic, even Greek and Latin;[68] all that was not known in Mecca was welcome to him. It became all so mixed up in his memory, that later on he was himself-

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[67] A parallel phrase to this is *wa'ḍkur isma rabbika*, lxxiii. 8; lxxvi. 25, and often. "Mention the name of thy Lord." This phrase is a modification of the other and is also moulded on a Biblical pattern; *cf.* Ex. xx. 24; Josh. xxiii. 7; etc. Whilst (Hebr.) *qârâ* and (Arab.) *qara'a* are constructed with the prepos. ב *ḍâkar* rules the accusative pure and simple.

[68] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *De vocabulis in antiquis Arabum carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, p. 24 *sq.*, though the list is not quite complete.

unable to distinguish his sources. Any successful attempt to make up for the loss would assist greatly in lifting the veil from over many obscure passages of the Qorân, though they often have but a literary interest.

All this considered, some strict enquirer may yet ask, whether Muhammed was not morally obliged to reveal to his Meccan hearers the sources upon which he had drawn. On this point we must first of all remark, that the ideas about mine and thine were not very highly developed in early Arabia. Even when living in Medina, Muhammed found it perfectly in order to arrange plundering raids against peaceful caravans, going so far as to violate the sacred month, and so we must not wonder that he abstained from divulging the names of his instructors. There is for him, of course, the plea, that no teacher is obliged to reveal to his pupils the names of his own masters, and the school-books from which he learnt. Indeed, he did not even mention the *Tôrâh* and Gospel which were almost within reach of the more intelligent Meccans, till he was in Medina, but in very old revelations he alluded to the more inaccessible *Sheets of Moses and Ahron*, *Zubur of the Ancient* (lxxxvii. 18-19 ; xxvi. 196), and, later on, to the *Kitâb of Moses.* He hinted that the acquaintance with the contents of these writings — which of course are but mysterious names for *Tôrâh* and Gospel — had come to him by way of supernatural revelation (xxvi. 192 *sqq.*).

On the basis of the *iqra'* we may now hope to arrive at **an apposite translation of the word Qorân.** The grammatical form of this word is the infinitive of the same (simple) stem, of which *iqra'* is the imperative. "**Proclamation,**" therefore, seems to be the most faithful translation. Each individual revelation pronounced by Muhammed is a Qorân, and as the amount of the existing revelations went under the same name, it was but natural to ascribe it also to the whole book.

Note,

The legend of the Cleansing of the Heart (Rem. 43).

This legend has several **important points in common with that of Baḥîra,** and it is therefore, probable that both originate from the same source. The various traditions on the legend of the cleansing of the heart have been collected by Sprenger, I. 166 *sqq.*, and it will be sufficient to reproduce the chief elements in it, which will also help us to trace their origin. The nucleus is, in short this, that Muhammed, when a boy and pasturing the cattle, was seized by two angels who took his heart out of his breast, removed a black clot of blood from it, laved it with snow, and put it back again. Another version (Tabari) adds, that the angels weighed him and found him heavier than the rest of his people. When they had taken his heart out, they threw the part away which belonged to Saṭan, and a black clot of blood, then they put the *Shekîna*, which is as white as snow in his heart, and *stamped the seal of prophecy between his shoulders.*

The last noteworthy variation, mentioned in the Uyûn al Âthâr, connects the affair with a dream. Muhammed tells Âisha that his heart had been taken from him, been washed and put back again. Then the miraculous animal alBorâq appeared, which carried him, accompanied by Gabriel, to heaven. Thus the main part of the legend, *viz.*, the cleansing of the heart, takes place at various epochs of the Prophet's life, from his earliest childhood till the time when he entered his ministry, whilst the stamping of the seal of prophecy between his shoulders is taken from the Baḥîra legend.

According to traditions Muhammed said that there existed no prophet, who did not pasture cattle. This must be collated with the statement in the first form of the legend, that he was pasturing cattle, when the two angels came. Now of the Biblical prophets mentioned in the Qorân there are Moses and David, who received the divine call when minding their flocks. The Legend of the Cleansing of the Heart is thus nothing but a homily on Ps. lxxviii. 70 to 72, of which we have chiefly to notice the words: "He *chose* David his servant and took him from the sheepfold, etc.," and "the integrity of his heart." Here there is another point of connection with the Baḥîra legend. See further, Ps. li. 4, 9, 12 to 13, *viz.*, "snow," "clean heart," "cast me not away," etc.

(To be continued.)

HOW TO CALCULATE THE LAGNA.

BY PROFESSOR HERMANN JACOBI; BONN.

THE term **lagna** means the point of the ecliptic upon the eastern horizon at a given time.[1] And there are **two problems** connected with the *lagna*. We may be called upon to find out, for a particular date and place, either (1) **the time of the day** at which a given point of the ecliptic was or will be *lagna*; or (2) **the point of the ecliptic** which, at a given time of a stated day, was or will be *lagna*, *i. e.*, was or will be on the eastern horizon.

For the solution of either problem, we must first ascertain **the true longitude of the sun** at the date under consideration. This can be done, with a very high degree of accuracy, by the method explained in my paper, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 431, § 51. For ordinary cases, however, it will be sufficient to use the long. ⊙ as given in table VIII., *ibid.* This table furnishes us with the *sidereal* longitude of the sun for all days of the *solar* year.[2] The *sid.* long. can be expressed in *râśis* by using table V., *ibid.*; *e. g.*, *sid.* long. ⊙ = 35° means that the sun was in the 5th degree of Vṛishabha (Taurus). In the calculations now to be described, both *sidereal* and *tropical* longitude is used. *Sidereal* longitude is counted from the initial point of the Hindû ecliptic, or 0 Mêsha; *tropical* longitude, from the vernal equinox. The latter is derived from the former by adding the amount of precession, or *ayanâṁśas*, for the year under consideration, from table XXVIII. or XXIX., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 498. For instance, on the 6th solar Jyaishṭha, Kaliyuga 4000, the *sid.* long. ⊙ = 35° (table VIII.), the *ayanâṁśas* = 6° (table XXVIII.), and so the *trop.* long. ⊙ = 35° + 6° = 41°. And we take this date as an example in our further calculations.

To arrive at **a first approximation of the lagna,** we suppose the ecliptic to coincide with the heavenly equator; in other words, that the sun moves, and the *lagna* is a point, on the equator.[3]

I. — First Problem. — How many *ghaṭikâs* and *vinâḍîs* after sunrise was, at the given date, some given point, *e. g.*, the 15th degree of Kanyâ (Virgo), on the eastern horizon, *i. e.*, was the *lagna?* On the day of our example, the sid. long. ⊙ was 35°; (the *lagna*) Kanyâ 15° is equal to 5 signs 15 degrees, or 165° *sidereal* longitude; therefore, the distance between the sun and the given *lagna* was 165° — 35° = 130°. This distance is equal to 21 *gh.* 40 *v.*; for, 6 degrees take one *ghaṭikâ* in rising, and 6 minutes take one *vinâḍî.* Accordingly the given *lagna* occurred 21 *gh.* 40 *v.* after sunrise.

II. — Second Problem. — What point of the ecliptic was the *lagna* at a igven time of the day under consideration, *e. g.*, 20 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise? This problem is obviously the inversion of the first. Multiplying the *ghaṭikâs* by 6, we find the distance of the sun and the *lagna* in degrees 6 × 20 = 120°; and adding to the result the *sid.* long. ⊙ (35°), we find the *sid.* long. of the *lagna* = 155°, or 5 signs 5 degrees. Therefore the *lagna* was (counting from 0 Mêsha-Aries as initial point) five degrees of Kanyâ (Virgo).

We now proceed **to correct the approximate result thus arrived at.** Since the ecliptic and the equator do not, as we had assumed, coincide, a point on the ecliptic does not rise at the same time with the corresponding point on the equator; but at a place of northern latitude (as is the case with all places in India) it rises *earlier*, when the heavenly point in question is between 0° and 180° *tropical* longitude; and it rises *later*, when it is between 180° and 360°. The exact value of this difference, which depends on the *tropical* longitude of the point on the ecliptic and on the terrestrial latitude of the place in question, is given in table XXVII., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 492 ff. We take from this table the corrections which must be applied (1) to

[1] In the astrology of the Ancients: ἀνατολή, *ortus*; see *Firmicus Maternus*, Math. ii. 15, 1.

[2] The *solar* date, as entered in table VIII., is directly found, together with the lunar date, by calculating the latter with the help of my General Tables, *loc. cit.* § 26; or, if the Julian date be known, it may be converted into the solar date used in the tables according to the rules in § 19, *ibid.*

[3] Or what comes to the same, that we may use recta ascensio for longitude.

the rising of the sun and (2) to that of the point of the ecliptic, which is to be the *lagna*. In demonstrating how our previous results are to be corrected, we will suppose, for example's sake, that the place from which the document is dated, lies on the 20th parallel northern latitude.

I(A). — (First Problem). — We had found above, that the given *lagna* occurred 21 *gh.* 40 *v.* after sunrise. The *sid.* long. ☉ on the day in question was 35°, the *ayanâṁśas* of the year in question were 6°, and accordingly the *trop.* long. ☉ was 35° + 6° = 41°. Now we learn from table XXVII., part B., that for a place of 20° northern lat. the 41st degree of the ecliptic rises earlier than the same degree of the equator by 1 *gh.* 18 *v.* This amount must be added to the interval between sunrise and the *lagna* as found above, *viz.*, 21 *gh.* 40 *v.* + 1 *gh.* + 18 *v.* = 22 *gh.* 58 *v.* The *sid.* longitude of the given *lagna* is 165°. Adding 6° for the *ayanâṁśas*, we get the *trop.* long. of the *lagna* = 171°. From the same table, part F., we learn, that 171° on the ecliptic rises earlier, by 6 *vinâḍîs*, than the same point on the equator, for the assumed place 20° north. lat. Therefore we must subtract 6 *v.* from the result once corrected, 22 *gh.* 58 *v.* — 6 *v.* = 22 *gh.* 52 *v.* By this much, *viz.*, 22 *gh.* 52 *v.*, the given *lagna* occurred after true sunrise at a place 20° north. lat. on the 6th solar Jyaishṭha, Kaliyuga 4000.

II(A). — (Second Problem). — By approximation we have found, in II., that 20 *gh.* after sunrise the 155th degree was on the eastern horizon, or was then the *lagna*. We now calculate, according to the method explained in I. (A)., the *true* interval between true sunrise and the rising of the 155th degree *sid.* long. We have found, above, that true sunrise occurred 1 *gh.* 18 *v.* before the moment previously assumed ; and this added to the interval stated above, *viz.* 20 *gh.*, makes 21 *gh.* 18 *v.* Adding the *ayanâṁśas*, = 6°, to the *sidereal* longitude of the calculated *lagna* = 155°, we arrive at the *tropical* long. of the same point, *viz.* 161°. Table XXVII., part F., shows that the 161th degree of the ecliptic rises earlier, by 14 *vinâḍîs*, than the corresponding point of the equator, always of course at 20° northern latitude. This reduces the once corrected interval (21 *gh.* 18 *v.*) to 21 *gh.* 4 *v.* We want, however, to know what was the *lagna* at 20 *gh.* after sunrise, not at 21 *gh.* 4 *v.* The sought *lagna* was a point of the ecliptic which rose 1 *gh.* 4 *v.* before the calculated *lagna* (161° trop. long.). In the same table XXVII., part F., at the head of the column for 20° lat., which has just been used, is entered the time in *vinâḍîs*, *viz.* 10·72, which one degree (or 60′) takes in rising. Now we have the proportion 10·72 *v.* : 60′ = 64 *v.* : X. ; and so, X. = 358′ = 5° 58′. Accordingly the *lagna* at 20 *gh.* after true sunrise on the 6th solar Jyaishṭha Kaliyuga 4000 at 20° north. lat., was, not 155° *sid.* long., but 155° — 5° 58′ = 149° 2′, = 4 signs 29° 2′, or Karkaṭa (Cancer) 29° 2′. This result can be tested, if wanted, by calculating, according to the above rules in I. and I. (A)., the interval between this point, *viz.* *sid.* long. 149°, and sunrise.

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 125.)

Group I.

Duttabaung Cycle.

(Nats Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, and 37.)

WE are now in a position to go into the details of the subject with some hope of comprehending them. **Group I. consists of 7 Nats** with a truly folklore story connected with the early hero, King Duttabaung of Prome. Hence I have called it the Duttabaung Cycle. **The outline of the legend** is as follows : — Nga Tindè, the Burmese Sampson, a blacksmith by trade, was treacherously burnt alive by the King of Tagaung, who had married his sister Mà Sawmè. She thereupon burnt herself with her brother. Nga Tindè married the daughter of the sea-serpent (Yênagâ), and by her he had two sons, who grew up out of two eggs, and were killed in a boxing match ordered by King Duttabaung of Prome. King Duttabaung had a wife of great beauty whom, owing to a calumny, he

neglected and forced to earn her living as a weaver, but he nevertheless had a daughter by her, who died with her mother. All the personages mentioned in the above legend, except Duttabaung himself, became Nats.

The Nats whose origin is in this legend are: — No. 2. Mahâgîri Nat, who is Nga Tindè, the gigantic blacksmith. No. 3. Hnamàdawgyî Nat, also known as Golden Face (Shwê-myet-hnâ), and Taung-gyî Shin, is his sister, Mà Sawmè, whose title as queen was Thîriwundâ of Tagaung. No. 4. Shwê Nabê Nat is his wife, the sea-serpent's daughter. Nos. 13 and 14. Taungmàgyî Nat and Maung Shinbyû Nat, known jointly as the Kûdaw Shin, are their sons, Shin Byû and Shin Nyô. No. 5. Thônbàn Hlà Nat (The Surpassing Beauty), whose title was the Okkalâbâ Queen, is Duttabaung's neglected wife, and No. 37, Shin-nèmî Nat, is her daughter.

Taw Sein Ko gives **a version of this legend**, which is valuable in several ways. He writes:— "The pantheon is headed by the Mahâgîri Nat, Maung Tin Dè; his wife, Shwe Na Be; his sister, Thônbàn Hlà or Shwe Myet Hna; and his niece Shin Nè Mi. Maung Tin Dè was the son of a blacksmith, Maung Tin Daw of Tagaung, an ancient capital to the north of Mandalay. The young man was noted for his great bravery and physical strength, and the king of Tagaung feared that he might become a potential centre of disaffection; he therefore ordered that Maung Tin Dè should be captured and killed. His would-be victim, however, eluded capture for a long time and remained in hiding. The King then resorted to a stratagem which is still common in Oriental countries. He conferred honour on Maung Tin Dè's sister by assigning her a place in his seraglio. After a lapse of some time, the queen was cajoled to negociate the surrender of her brother on condition that high office should be conferred on him. Relying on the royal offer of pardon, Maung Tin Dè surrendered himself. But the King did not keep his word. He himself superintended the burning of his dupe under a Sagabin tree. Loud were the plaintive cries uttered by Maung Tin Dè; and his sister, hearing them, rushed to his rescue and met with her death. The cruel king attempted to save the life of his queen, but only succeeded in pulling her head off by the hair. After their death the spirits of these two, brother and sister, became powerful Nats and inhabited the Sagabin tree. Such was their evil influence that every human being or animal that approached the tree died mysteriously. The matter was in due course reported to the king, and he directed that the haunted tree should be cut down by the root and sent adrift down the river Irrawaddy. The order was carried out and the tree was stranded at Pagàn, where Thinlìgyaung was reigning as king. This happened in the fourth [? sixth] century A. D. The Nats apprised the king in a dream of their sorrowful plight and asked him to provide them with a home. In compliance with this request the stranded tree, of which only the trunk now remained, was taken to Pôpâ Hill, which is of volcanic origin, and is the highest elevation in Burma, and was divided into two parts, each being about 4½ feet long. Human features were delineated on these pieces of wood with gold leaf, and these rude images were respectfully deposited in appropriate temples. Thenceforward the worship of these Nats became a popular institution recognised and sanctioned by royalty. Subsequently at the request of the Nats, made through their Shamans, King Thinlîgyaung had golden heads made to represent them, conferred the rank and insignia of a prince of the blood royal on Maung Tin Dè, and those of a princess on his sister, and made to them annual offerings regularly. It is evident that since this worship was inaugurated, animal sacrifices and offerings of alcoholic spirits were made to these Nats, for Burmese history records that in December 1555 A. D., the Hanthâwadî Sinbyûyin [Bayin Naung], the Branginoco of the early European writers, reached Pagàn in the course of his progress through the newly conquered dominions, and witnessed the festival in honour of the Mahâgîri Nat and his sister. Noticing that intoxicants and sacrifices of white buffaloes, white oxen and white goats were being made to the Nats, he commanded that such practice should henceforth cease, because it was opposed to the humanitarian doctrines of Buddhism, and because it would entail suffering in hell on those who practised it. In 1785 A. D., Bodawpayâ, the great-great grandfather of the last king of Burma, had new golden heads of the Nats made, and these were replaced in 1812 by the same king with larger and more finished heads of the same metal, weighing in the aggregate about 2½ lbs. These last heads are still in existence and are being worshipped by the people."

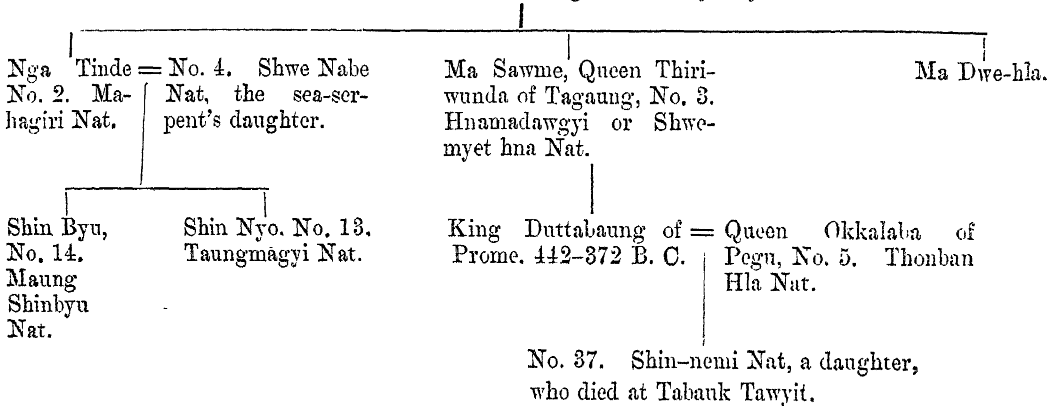
What may be called the historical aspect of this legend is also clearly mythological. According to the *Maháyâzawin* or Burmese *Chronicles,* the reign of King Duttabaung of Prome is placed at 442-372 B. C., and he is stated to be the son of Mahâthambawâ, the eldest of the blind twin sons of the last King of Tagaung. And as to these twins there is a legend of the river-borne foundling type, most likely the same in origin as that of the Nat sons of Nga Tindè, who are mixed up in story with King Duttabaung. Duttabaung himself is said to have been drowned in a vessel off Nâgarît (Cape Negrais), in the whirlpool where the sea-serpent (Yênagâ) drags down ships to destruction ; a story which recalls the sea-serpent wife of Nga Tindè, the mother of the twin Nats. Indeed, about the first four of these "historical" Nats (Nos. 2 to 5) and also about their connections, Nos. 13 and 14, there are many popular legends generally current among the people, as the cult of this group is almost universal.

The relationship in the legends can be made clearer by the accompanying Genealogy :—

Group I.

Legendary Genealogy.

Father, unknown, lived at Yetaung in the Thayetmyo District.



I may now proceed to describe the illustrations of Group I., or the Duttabaung Cycle.

Illustrations of Group I.

Duttabaung Cycle.

No. 2. Mahagîri Nat.

One Nga Tindaw, a blacksmith of Yetaung on the Irrawaddy not far north of Prome, had a son named Nga Tindè and two daughters named Mà Sawmè and Mà Dwê-hlà. Nga Tindè was a man of great strength, said in the *Annals of Tagaung* to be able to wield a hammer weighing (60 viss) 210 *lbs.* The noise of his anvil was heard in the king's palace, and the king ordered the valiant blacksmith to be brought before him, but he fled into the jungle. So the King married his sister Mà Sawmè, to whom he gave the title of Thîriwundâ, and made her his chief queen, and then persuaded Nga Tindè to return, on a promise of making him a high official. But when Nga Tindè did return he was tied to a jasmine tree *(sagâbin)* and burnt alive. After his death Nga Tindè became a Nat and has ever since been worshipped with offerings at a yearly festival in December.

This Nat is represented standing in Court dress of a high class with a drawn sword and fan; supported by three *balûs* on a kneeling elephant.

As *balûs* will frequently be mentioned hereafter, I would here note that the modern Burmese *balû* seems to be a confused reference to the Indian Brahmanical and then Buddhist ogre (Skr. Râkshasa, P. Rakkhasa, B. Yekkaik), the malignant Buddhist superhuman being Yakkha (Skr. Yaksha), and some local pre-Buddhist sprite of the people. This sort of confusion has occurred in modern Kashmir and elsewhere.

No. 3. Hnamàdawgyi Nat

(also known as Shwêmyet-hnâ Nat, or Golden-face, and Taung-gyî Shin Nat).

When Mà Sawmè, as Queen Thîriwundâ, heard that her brother was being burnt in the jasmine tree she rushed into the fire, and all the king could save of her was her head. After death she and her brother lived in the jasmine *(michelia champaca)* as Nats at Tagaung, where they did much harm to the people. So the king had the tree felled and thrown into the river. It floated down to Pagàn, where it grounded near the Kuppayawgâ Gate. It was taken out of the river by Thalakhyaung Min (*i. e.*, Thinlîgyaung-ngè of Pagàn, 520-529 A. D.), who took it to the Pôpâ Mountain, where I am assured that their heads in gold are still to be seen. Their festival is in December.

This Nat is represented as a woman standing in Court dress of a high class, supported by a *balû* on a kneeling elephant.

No. 4. Shwê Nabè Nat.

She was born at Mindôn and was the daughter of the sea-serpent (Yênagâ). She went to worship at a footprint of Gaudama (Buddha) in the form of a woman. Here she met Nga Tindè, while he was hiding in the jungle and became his wife. They had two sons: Taungmagyî and Myauk Minshinbyû. She died of grief at her husband's failure to return to her after he had started to visit his sister at Tagaung.

This Nat is represented as a girl standing in Court dress of a high class.

No. 13. Taungmagyî Nat,

and

No. 14. Maung Minshin Nat

(also known as Maung Shinbyû Nat and Taungmagyî Myauk Minshinbyû Nat).

Nga Tindè's serpent wife brought forth two eggs near the Munlè River, which were found by a hermit and taken home. After a while two boys came forth out of the two eggs, and were called Shinbyû and Shin-nyô. King Duttabaung of Prome was told by his Brahman astrologers that two powerful men would soon be forthcoming to overthrow him, and so he had a search made for them. They were brought to him by a hunter, and he ordered them to fight out a boxing-match. During the struggle, the younger of the brothers died and became the Nat Taungmagyî, while the elder one died soon afterwards and became the Nat Shinbyû or Maung Minshin. They were each said to have six hands, and there are figures of them set up to the East of Prome, under the name of Kûdaw Shin.

This pair of Nats are represented as a couple of soldiers standing in Court costume. The arms in each case hold a quoit, a dah or sword, and a couple of spears. The six arms plainly show the Indian origin of the cult of the pair.

No. 5. Thônbàn Nat

(also known as Thônbàn-hlà Nat, Surpassing Beauty).

She was born at Hanthâwadî (Pegu) and was able to change her form three times a day. She was taken to King Duttabaung of Thîrikhettayâ (Prome), who had heard of her beauty. But his queens bribed the officers to say that she was a giantess and so big that the palace gates would have to be widened to admit her. So he ordered that she was to be kept in a large house outside the gate, where she earned a livelihood as a weaver. Here she built a pagoda called Limmàgyî Phayâ, and planted a tree, known as the Limmàgyîbin. She was thus deserted by her husband, and after death her loom and its belongings turned into a rock, which is still to be seen. Her title as Queen was Okkalâbâ.

This Nat is represented as a girl standing in the Court dress of a royal attendant, supported by a Burmanised representation of the Brahmanic elephant-headed god Ganêsa. The Indian origin of this cult is therefore obvious.

No. 37. Shin-nèmî Nat.

She was the daughter of Queen Okkalâbâ, otherwise known as Thônbàn-hlà, and died at the same time as her mother at Tabauk Tawyet and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented as a girl standing in ordinary Court dress.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 171.)

1790. — No. XII.

Fort William, the 3rd November 1790.

Read a Letter from Captain Blair [dated 31 August 1790].

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — His Majesty's Sloop **Atalanta** Proceeding to the Coast, for a Supply of Provisions, affords me an opportunity of Acknowledging the Receipt of your Letter of June 28th by the **Viper,** which Arrived here July 13th. The 19th of this Month I dispatched the Viper to Acheen for a Supply of Stock and a Variety of Plants. I expect her to return about eight days hence, when the Ranger shall immediately proceed to Calcutta with the **General Chart** of the Isld. a **Plan of this Harbour** some Specimens of timber and Several Papers Relating to the Establishment. I shall also Return some Invalids, as they are unserviceable at this Place, and are very desirous of their discharge.

The Store of Provision for the Natives Amounts to three Months from this date, and as I have just finished a Granary I hope now to preserve without loss.

Chatham Isld., I am, etca.,
August 31st, 1790. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

1790. — No. XIII.

Fort William, 9th December 1790.

Read a Letter received by the Viper **from Captain Blair at the Andamans [dated Nov. 15th, 1790].**

My Lord, — I had the honor of your Lordships Commands by the Ranger dated October the 5th the 29th Ultimo in the evening.

The Commodore had that morning sailed for **Northeast Harbour** but **Lieutt. Wales** being immediately dispatched after the **Crown** the Commodore had your Lordships Letter the 30th at two in the Morning.

Chatham Island, I am, etca.,
November 15th, 1790. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

[No. 2, dated 15th Nov. 1790.]

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Be pleased to inform the Right Honble. the Governor General in council that the **Ranger** arrived here the 29th Ultimo and by that Vessel I received His Lordships Commands by your letter dated October 5th which shall be strictly attended to.

The Provisions I indented for were landed in good order except a small loss occasioned by bad weather during the passage.

I have received Sicca Rupees 12,000 which Shall be disbursed in the payment of the Artificers, etca., at the rates in the return marked No. 3.

It gives me great Satisfaction that the Board have been pleased with the accounts of the State of the Cultivation on Chatham Island, which it shall be my care to improve as much as possible.

Mr. Wood arrived with the Ranger and **Mr. Gibb** returns with the Viper to Calcutta, which Vessel is dispatched at the request of the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis, with his Letters Since his arrival, He has examined **Port Meadows** and N. E. Harbour, from the latter he returned Yesterday with several of the Seamen ill of the Survey [*sic*] ; to procure them every possible Assistance the Ranger proceeds to the **Car Nicobar** for such refreshments as that place Affords.

Should Government deem it necessary to return the Viper to this Place, it will afford an Opportunity of sending a Relief for the Sepoys and part of the Artificers.

The Viper is so unfit a Vessel for the transportation of Provision, that I am induced to defer indenting until I can dispatch the Ranger, which I hope I shall be enabled to do, soon after her return from the Car Nicobar.

Chatham Island, I am, etca.,
the **15th November 1790.** (Signed) **A. Blair.**

The Secretary acquaints the Board that he has given Orders to the Master Attendant to have a Survey made of the Viper Cruizer.

Ordered that directions be given to engage some Sepoys and Artificers to relieve those at the Andamans.

[No. 3, dated ——— Nov. 1790.]

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — As the Commodores Dispatches are not yet closed it gives me the opportunity of addressing you again.

By the Viper I return to Calcutta one Sepoy one Lascar and four Carpenters, invalids. They are all payed up the full amount of their wages.

Repeated and very urgent applications from the Sepoys Artificers and Laborers who came first from Calcutta makes me very desirous to have it in my power to comply with their requisitions many of whome would willingly return hither with their family's. But as there are only one Haveldaur one Naque and Six Privates remaining I cannot consistantly give them leave of absence, until a relief is sent. I must therefore request that the Viper may be sent with a Detachment of Sepoys and such Artificers as are specified in the inclosed Paper.

In the expectation of that Vessels speedy return I shall defer dispatching the Ranger for six weeks or two months from this date. By that time I shall expect the Viper or conclude that Government has sent her on other Service.

It gives me great satisfaction to observe a considerable change for the better already in the Scorbulics from the Crown. They are tolorably Supplied with Vegetables and fresh baked Bread and will soon be better loged All the Artificers and most of the Laborers have been for some time past assisting to construct a more commodious Hospital for their reception.

Chatham Island, I am, etca.,
Novr. 1790. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

The undermentioned are the People most wanted for the Service of **the Establishment at Port Cornwallis** [Port Blair] who ought to be engaged for three Years or other Specifyed time : —

Haveldaur	1
Naque...	1
Private Sepoys	10
Sawers	3
Ship Carpenters	2
House Carpenters	2
Tile and Pot makers	4

Chatham Island, (Signed) **A. Blair.**
November 1790.

Ordered that the above List be attended to in engaging the Relief of Sepoys and artificers to be sent to the Andamans.

Appendix to Consultation, 22nd September 1790.

Passages to and from Port Cornwallis.

Ships Names.	From whence.	Time of Departure.	Port bound to.	Time of Arrival.	General Winds and Weather during the Passage.
Hble. Compys. Snow Elizabeth.	Calcutta ...	......	Port Andaman.	Septr. 27th, 1789.	S. W. A hard gale on the change for three days much rain.
Hble. Compys. Snow Ranger.	Do. ...	Septr. 9th, 1789.	Port Cornwallis.		
Hble. Compys. Snow Viper.	Trincomale ...	......	Port Cornwallis.	Novr. 22d., 1789.	E. fresh breezes with some squalls and rain.
Hble. Compys. Snow Ranger.	Port Cornwallis.	Novr. 20th, 1789.	Carnicobar ...	Decemr. 4th.	E. Do.
Do. Do. Do. ...	Carnicobar ...	Decemr. 3rd.	Port Cornwallis.		
Do. Do. Viper...	Port Cornwallis.	......	Diamond Island.		
Do. Do. Do. ...	Diamond Island.	......	Port Cornwallis.		
H. M. Ships Ariel and Perseverance.	Balasore Road.	......	Port Cornwallis.		
Hble. Compys. Snow Ranger.	Port Cornwallis.	Decemr. 28th, 1789.	Calcutta ...	Janry. 28th, 1790.	N. E. to N. N. W. moderate breezes Southly. Currents.
Do. Do. Do. ...	Calcutta ...	Feby. 21st, 1790.	Port Cornwallis.	March 8th.	N. E. to N. W. light breezes.
Do. Do. Do. ...	Port Cornwallis.	May 3rd ...	Prince of Wales's Island.	May 9th...	S. W. Varying to W. and S. E.
H. M. Ship Vestal ...	Trinquebar ...	May 22d...	Port Cornwallis.	June 1st ...	Generally S. E. varying to S. W. Very light Winds.
Hble. Compys. Snow Ranger.	Prince of Wales Island.	May 16th...	Port Cornwallis.	June 1st ...	S. W. cloudy, light squalls with Rain.
H. M. Ship Atalanta.	Madras ...	June 4th...	Port Cornwallis.	June 14th..	A strong Gale from S. W. very thick cloudy Weather.
Hble. Compys. Snow Viper.	Balasore Road.	July 5th...	Port Cornwallis.	July 16th...	S. W. to S. W. fresh gales, sometimes blowing hard.
Hble. Compys. Snow Viper.	Port Cornwallis.	August 19th.	Acheen ...	August 22d.	Generally S. W. vable to S. and West squally cloudy with Rain.
Hble. Compys. Snow Viper.	Acheen ...	August 30th.	Port Cornwallis.	Septr. 5th..	Generally S. W. vable to S. and West Moderate light squalls and Rain.

Appendix to Consultation, 22d. September 1790.

A Return of the Establishment at Port Cornwallis for August 1790.

		Allowance.	Sicca Rs.	a.	p.	Pay. Sicca Rs.	a.	p.
Archibald Blair Lieutt.	...	Not fixed ...	...	...	...	..	...	...
Alexr. Gib Surgeon	...	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Robert Deneson Assistant ...	...	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gunner	...	Ditto ...	10	...	...	40	...	...
David Johns { Carpenter and Overseer of the Laborers. }	...	Ditto ...	10	...	...	50	...	...
	...	Ditto ...	10	...	...	25	...	...
Robt. Coxan Do.	...	Ditto ...	10	...	...	25	...	...
Natives.								
Bengal Carpenters	7	{ Usual allowance of Provisions. }	...	...	...	92	...	...
Ditto Sawers	6	Ditto ...	...	...	...	60	...	..
Ditto Gardeners	4	Ditto ...	...	...	...	28	...	...
Ditto Taylors	2	Ditto ...	...	...	...	17	...	..
Ditto Washermen	2	Ditto ...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Ditto Smiths	3	Ditto ...	...	...	...	34	...	...
Ditto Brick makers	1	Ditto ...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Ditto Bricklayers	2	Ditto ...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Havildaur Naque and Prives ...	9	Ditto ...	...	...	...	74	8	...
Bakers	2	Ditto ...	...	...	...	20	...	...
Serang	1	Ditto ...	...	...	...	16	..	...
Tindal	1	Ditto ...	...	...	...	12	...	...
Lascars	22	Ditto ...	...	...	...	132	...	...
Laborers	40	Ditto ...	...	...	...	240	...	...
Chinese Gardeners	2	Ditto ...	...	...	...	21	14	...
Malays, from Prince of Wales Island ...	5	Ditto ...	...	...	...	54	11	...
Servants	4	Ditto ...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Surgeon Assistant	1	Ditto ...	...	...	...	16	...	...

Compd. J. Ahmuty. (Signed) Archibald Blair.

Attested.
E. Hay,
Secy. to ye Govt.

1791. — No. I.

Fort William, the **17th January 1791.** The Secretary lays before the Board a Copy of a Letter which he has written to Captain Blair upon the Dispatch of the Viper to the Andamans.

To Capn. Blair, 17th Jany. 1791.

Captain Blair, on Service at the Andamans.

Sir, — By the Viper which is now under Dispatch to the Andamans, I have the Honor to Acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 31st of August and 15 of November, the latter of which was received here on the 6th Instant.

The Relief of Sepoys and Artificers requested in your Letter of the 15th of November has been embarked on the Viper, which takes to you Stores, and Provisions corresponding with the enclosed List, the original of which has been signed by **Lieutenant Roper**, to whom the Sum of four Thousand five Hundred Sicca Rupees (Sa. Rs. 4500) has been advanced on Account of the Viper Cruizer, and the Sum of nine hundred and Sixty Sicca Rupees (Sa. Rs. 960) on Account of Lieutenant Blair since his arrival at this Presidency. A Copy of his Sailing Orders is enclosed.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant.

Fort William,
17 January 1791.

The Sepoys have been furnished with Arms Accoutrements, according to an application made for that Purpose by Lieutenant Roper.

1791. — No. II.

Fort William, **4th February 1791. Read a Letter,** that was received on the 21st Ultimo **from Captain Blair.**

Captn. Blair, dated 2d. January 1791.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I received your Letter of Decr. 2d. by the Dispatch Schooner the 13th of the same month with a duplicate of your Letter of October 5th. By the same Vessel I was informed of the arrival of the Viper in the River, which was dispatched from this place November 20th with Dispatches from the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis, to the Right Honble. the Governor General ; you will therefore be in possession of two Letters forewarded by that conveyance by which you are advised of the Ranger being dispatch'd to the Car Nicobar. On her return from that place she was immediately dispatched to Prince of Wales Island for a Supply of Refreshments for the Scorbulies from His Majesty's Ship Crown, and returned from that place in three weeks with Cattle and Vegitables. **I learned from Mr. Light, that the Coast had for some time been infested with piratical Prows** which made him apprehend that the Settlement was in some Danger. I was informed by Letter from the Commodore the 18 Ultimo that he could not immediately proceed for the defence of that place, but advised that the Ranger might be sent to reinforce it. The Guns from the Redoubt on this Island, were immediately sent on Board, to put her in as good a state of defence as our resources will admit of, and Lieut. Wales was dispatched next morning, with orders to make all possible expedition thither, and Act under the orders of Mr. Light for the defence of the Settlement.

The Commodore quited this Harbour the 25th Ultimo for Prince of Wales Island, and I have the Satisfaction to inform you that the major part of the Scorbulus were perfectly recovered.

The Elizabeth arrived here the 26th January with Provision for his Majestys Ships ; the wants of that vessel was immediately Supplied and sailed the 27th to follow the Commodore ; the Boat had been imprudently dispatched the day previous to her Arrival at this place, to look for the Harbour which made me urge the Commander to loose no time to proceed in quest of her, apprehending the lives of the People in her to be in imminent danger, and I directed him where I thought he would probably find her.

Mr. Topham who arrived yesterday from Prince of Wales Island proceeding to Calcutta, affords me the opportunity of forewarding this.

I remain, Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Chatham Island,
2nd January 1791.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE "BLOODY HAND" AT MANDALAY — THE RISE OF A MYTH.

As the truly modern **Myth of the Bloody Hand at Mandalay** shows no signs of diminishing in popularity I think it worth while to reprint a letter on the subject published in the *Academy* on Nov. 2, 1895, p. 363 f., in issue No. 1226 :—

On a small door to the left of the throne as one enters what is now [1895] the "Ladies' Room" of the Upper Burma Club, but was formerly the Audience Hall of Queen Suphayâlàt, at Mandalay, are the marks of a "bloody hand." They were getting faint when I last saw them; but they were plain enough in 1887, about which time the myth alluded to in this letter began to arise.

The story, as told in a public lecture some time ago by an old resident of Mandalay, who ought, at any rate, to have known better, was in outline as follows. There was a certain daughter of a Shân Sawbwâ on whom King Thibaw showered more favours than Queen Suphayâlàt approved, and in consequence the queen had her murdered, the "bloody hand" on the doorway being the marks of the unfortunate girl's fingers as she tried to escape. I suppose the romance of this version of what occurred was too much for the lecturer and he could not resist the temptation of telling it, instead of what was locally well known at the time and was the truth of the tale.

I must say that the story when he told it was in various versions current in the Mandalay garrison, but at the same time it was, to those who knew Burma and the manners of its people, manifestly untrue. Since then I have seen it repeated, in more or less garbled and embellished forms, in newspaper and magazine articles, and quite lately in a book of tales about Burma. The "bloody hand," too, is of course shown to every new arrival and to every globe-trotter, and the myth around it is in a fair way to become an "established fact." I think it therefore worth while to tell the facts as I heard them, before it is too late. In any case, it will do no harm to history and the reputation of the late Queen of Burma, if this letter should give rise to a little discussion on the story.

The Shân Sawbwâ's daughter did exist and did rouse the jealousy of the queen, and in revenge the queen had her taken off the palace platform into the gardens, in front of the summerhouse in which Thibaw subsequently abdicated, at a spot now marked by a brass tablet. Just in front of this house is an ornamental water, and on the brink of this the girl was unmercifully beaten and then turned out of the palace, the king not having the spirit to protect her against his wife. She was certainly not killed in the palace, nor was her blood shed by the queen herself, as is now said. Such a thing was practically impossible, as in Burmese superstition all sorts of horrors would come upon the crown and the throne if human blood were shed in the palace itself by the king or the queen. Royalties were not killed, when it was desirable to despatch them, in the palace, but outside it; nor was their blood shed: they were beaten on the gullet by bamboos and thus suffocated.

As regards the "bloody hand," the queen's palace was used as a hospital immediately after the British occupation and for some time later, and during its use as such many operations were performed there on wounded and other men: the true explanation of the "bloody hand" on the door in question being that it is the mark of some person concerned in an operation which took place there. The door has been pushed open by some person with blood on his hands, as the marks themselves testify.

My own opinion has, therefore, always been that there is no more truth in the story of the Shan girl's murder by the queen than there is in that, also commonly told, of her husband's passing his days in bouts of drunkenness. Thibaw, as I have heard him described by those who knew him intimately, was in truth a learned monk, with no notion of kingship or administration. He was exceedingly well read in the Buddhist Scriptures, and always ready with apt saws, which he applied to almost every contingency of life in the wisest way. The description of another king has often struck me as peculiarly applicable to the last feeble King of Burma: "He never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one."

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE DAUGHTER'S PROPERTY AMONG HINDUS.

Among high class Hindûs it is a great sin to receive any help from a daughter, or to use her property; so much so that it is unlawful even to drink water from a daughter's well, or to take shelter under her tree. Mothers from high class Hindû families will not even fan themselves with their daughters' fans. This custom is to this day prevalent among the Dhâîghar Khatrîs of the following clans in the Panjâb :—Seth, Khannâ, Kapûr, Mehrotrâ.

MAYA DAS in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MUHAMMADANS WEARING SILK.

It was asked some time ago what is the reason of Muhammadan men (not women) being forbidden to wear pure silk. I find that this is laid down in the law books (Hamilton's *Hedáyá*, Book XLIV., Sec. 2). Certain things are thus noted as *karáhiyat* or *makrûh*, which are rendered "abominable." I notice, however, that the dictionaries give a milder meaning for this word and tone down *makrûh* to things disapproved or objectionable; and this seems the more appropriate meaning, since the doctors do not agree as to whether *karâhiyat* are things absolutely unlawful, such as the use of *khamr*, wine, etc., or only nearly approaching the unlawful. Now if a thing was *makrûh* in its worst sense, or abominable, that would imply naturally that it was more than unlawful, so to speak, which is not the case.

The Prophet one day came to some of the "companions" with a piece of silk in one hand and of gold in the other, and said :—"Both these are prohibited to the *men* of my tribe, but are lawful to the *women*." It is therefore allowable to wear a garment with a mere edge or fringe of silk. It is commonly said that a mixed *(makhlût)* silk is allowable; such fabrics here are commonly called *sûfi* or pure, or *mashrû'* (lawful according to *Shora'*).

The striped glossy satin, commonly seen at the present day, is called *mashrû'*. But the Hedâyâ does not countenance this : such fabrics, and *all* mixed fabrics (cotton and wool, etc.,) are "disapproved," except in time of war on the plea of necessity. The doctors differed as to whether silk might be worn in war as suitable to form the lining of armour: also as to whether cushions, pillows, and curtains might be made of silk.

B. H. BADEN-POWELL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

The Rig-Veda Mantras in the Gṛihya Sûtras. By EDWIN W. FAY. Dissertation accepted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Johns Hopkins University, May 1890 Roanoke, Va.: The Stone Printing and Manufacturing Co. 1899. Pp. 40.

The study of the Vedic Mantras occurring in the ritual books, both Śrautasûtras and Gṛihyasûtras, is of the highest importance for the history of the Vedic *Saṁhitâs*, no less for the critical study of the texts than for their interpretation. Students of the Veda incline now more than ever to the opinion that the bulk of the Vedic hymns were originally composed for ritual purposes. All the more important is an investigation of the exact relation obtaining between the Mantras and the rites, with which they are rubricated in the *Śrauta* and *Gṛihya Sûtras.* A very useful contribution to such an investigation is Dr. Fay's dissertation which treats of the Rig-Veda Mantras quoted in the *Gṛihyasûtras* of Âśvalâyana, Śâṅkhâyana, Gobhila, Khâdira, Pâraskara, Âpastamba, and Hiraṇyakeśin. It is one of the most interesting facts that the Mantras are so very frequently quite inapplicable to the rites for which they are to be employed according to the rules of the *Gṛihyasûtras.* This fact, besides teaching us a valuable lesson on the place which Prayer occupies in the history of religion, is also of some importance for Vedic chronology, for it proves that at the time when such Mantras were employed they were no longer properly understood, and a very considerable period must have elapsed between the time of the composition of these Mantras and their employment for rites with which they have no actual connection. Dr. Fay distinguishes, according to the degree of applicability of the Mantra to the rite with which it is rubricated, four classes of Mantras, *viz.*, (i) Mantras (prayers) which have "a merely general applicability, and would serve on almost any conceivable occasion as well as for the one in which we find them employed"; (ii) Mantras (prayers) which are "specially applicable"; (iii) Mantras (prayers) which are "utterly out of relation to the ritual, but lugged in because the Mantra accidentally contains some word inherent to the *Sûtra*"; (iv) Vedic verses which are *not* quoted as *prayers*, but merely in order to prove some doctrinal statement made in the *Sûtra.* Our author then gives a classification of the *Ṛig-Veda* Mantras occurring in the above-mentioned *Gṛihyasûtras*, showing to which of these four groups each quotation belongs. As is only to be expected the hymns of *Maṇḍala* X. furnish the greatest number of Mantras for class ii. There can be no doubt that such hymns as Rv. X. 16-18, 85, 145, 155, 159, 161-163, 165, 166, 173, 174, 183, 184, 191, etc., owe their origin to the requirements of the *Gṛihya* ritual. But Dr. Fay rightly says that "the late intrusion of the *Gṛihya* material into the *Ṛik Saṁhitâ* does not prove the later origin of these Mantras, but only that the *Ṛik* collection was not made originally for domestic use."

It is to be hoped that the author may, in a larger work, extend his study of the *Gṛihya Mantras* to the other *Saṁhitâs*, and include also the other *Gṛihyasûtras* which are now accessible.

M. WINTERNITZ.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 188.)

CHAPTER III.

The Confirmatory Revelations.

EXAMPLES — The treaties on the arrangement of Meccan revelations criticised — Pragmatical arrangement — Confirmatory, Declamatory, Narative, Descriptive and Legislative Revelations — First elements of the "Hijra" — Life, Death, Soul, Eternity, Hell, Paradise and Heaven in the Qorân.

The first proclamation announcing in a few words a new divinity, a new prophet, and the first elements of two important dogmas could not but be followed by others intended to deepen the impression made and to strengthen the position of Allâh and his Prophet. The connection between both was so close, that the existence of one necessitated also the belief in the other, and it was but natural that the authority of **the Prophet** was at that stage almost on a level with that of Allâh. No matter whether hearers of the first proclamation received it in public or private, whether they were relatives or strangers, they had first of all to be **convinced of the speaker's sanity**. Everything depended on the success or failure of the assurance given on that point, as Allâh himself was unapproachable, whilst the would-be Prophet stood as a tangible object of criticism. In two subsequent revelations Muhammed not only repeated the leading ideas of the first proclamation, but added the assurance that he was in full possession of his mental faculties. These **revelations**[69] again show how systematically he proceeded, and how carefully he weighed every word before uttering it. They run as follows : —

lxxxvii. 1. Praise *the name of thy Lord*, the Most High,
2. *Who has created* and made perfect,
3. Who has determined [everything] and guided,
4. Who produces the pasture.
5. Then he changes it into dry stubble.
6. Surely *we cause thee to proclaim*, so do not forget,
7*a*. Except what Allâh pleases [that thou shouldst forget],[70]
7*b*. He knows what is manifest and what is hidden,
8. We will facilitate[71] unto thee that it be easy for thee [to preach].
9. Admonish, if thy admonishing shall be profitable,
10. Let those be admonished who fear [Allâh],
11. But the most wretched will keep aloof therefrom,
12. He shall roast in the fiercest fire.
13. Then he shall neither live in it nor die,
14. Happy, he who remains pure.
15. He who *mentions the name of his Lord*[72] and prays.
16. But you prefer this present life.
17. Yet the last one[73] is best and of longest duration.
18. Thus it is written in the ancient sheets (*suhuf*)[74]
19. The *sheets of Abraham and Moses*.

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[69] It is understood that "revelation" is here and further on a mere technical term. The Arabic equivalents are تنزيل, an ucas "sent down" from heaven, and آية "sign," "miracle" and "verse," see below.

[70] See below.

[71] See below.

[72] See Ch. II.

[73] *Viz.*, the next world.

[74] See Ch. II.

lxviii. 1. N. By the pen, and what they write!
2. Thou art not, through the grace of the Lord, mad.[75]
3. Verily thine is a reward that is not grudged,
4. Verily thou art a grand nature, etc.

It cannot, of course, be said with absolute certainty, that no other address was spoken between the first one and the two just quoted, but there is no doubt, that they were revealed with a view to supplementing the *iqra'*-revelation. It was Allâh who charged the Prophet to "proclaim," and who had the power to withdraw one or another revelation after it had done its work. This was a very diplomatic clause, arranging at once for the **suppression of a revelation** in the event of its proving troublesome. On a later occasion this idea was expressed in a much blunter form.[76]

The Moslim theologians assert that after the *iqra'* an interval of several months[77] — or, according to others, years[78] — elapsed, before the Prophet received another revelation, and that this made him very despondent. This theory which has already been rejected by Sprenger and Nöldeke,[79] but is upheld by Prof. Palmer and Sir W. Muir, has indeed no basis, nor is there any reason to account for such a pause. On the contrary nothing could have been more detrimental to Muhammed's prophetic claims than a deadlock, whilst possessing a plan of action and the means of putting it into execution. His silence would have been unintelligible for us, and a moral suicide for himself. The oldest tradition, indeed, limits this interval to a few days, which seems much more likely, as it is very probable that after the first proclamation Muhammed waited a day or two in order to watch its effect, and to seize the right moment for a second address.

Example being always more effective than precept, it is probable that Muhammed proceeded to arrange **a ritual** without delay. To teach the faithful in what manner to worship Allâh, in contradistinction to the idols, was scarcely less important than the belief in him. Such a service, as simple in form as possible, perhaps only consisted in invocations and prayers, of which *Sûra* cxii. furnishes a very appropriate sample. It contains nothing but the declaration of the Unity of Allâh, and is probably modelled on Deut. vi. 4, which verse begins the *Sh'ma'* of the Jewish prayer book. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Muhammed had heard the latter read this prayer many a time, and omitting, of course, the introductory words "Hear O Israel," he rendered it as follows: —

1. Say: *Huwa* [is] Allâh, One,
2. Allâh [is] the Eternal.
3. He has not begotten and was not begotten
4. Nor has there ever been anyone like Him.[80]

It is indeed extremely perplexing to assign to this invocation its exact place in the series of early revelations. Its date is so uncertain, that some traditionists go so far as to believe it to be Medinian; but it bears the stamp of great age,[81] and I feel inclined to place it among the first revelations. Now the attempts I have made to fix **the dates of the three addresses** quoted are rather a bad beginning for a critical examination of the chronological order of such in the *Qorân*. We must even go

[75] See also v. 51. I believe, however, that this and the following verses which are evidently of later date were added to this address; see S. li. 39, 52; liv. 9; xliv. 13, etc.

[76] See S. ii. 100.

[77] I. Isḥ. فترة; فتر الوحى; afterwards S. xciii. was revealed as a consequence of v. 3: Allâh has given thee leave. I. Ish. gives no Isnâd, but Tabari, p. 1155, reproduces the tradition on the authority of AzZohri, and again according to Abu Salama b. Abderraḥmân from Jâbir b. Abdallâh al Anṣâri from Muhammed.

[78] See Sprenger, *Muh. and K.* p. 11. *Leben*, I. p. 304 *sqq.*

[79] *Z. D. M. G.* xiii. p. 173 *sqq.* *Cf.* Nöld. *Q.* p. 67 *sq.*

[80] See Ch. II.

[81] *Itqân*, p. 30; see Muir, p. 46, and Nöld. *Q.* p. 84. Al Beidhâwi مختلف فيها. The tradition on the origin I. Isḥ. p. 400.

further and confess from the outset, that there is very little hope of ever obtaining trustworthy results in this respect, however desirable they might be for gauging the gradual development of Islâm. **The natural division of the Qorân into a Meccan and a Medinian portion marks but roughly the two great epochs of the formation of the Moslim church,** but we have already met with one instance at least which even baffled the attempts of the compilers of the book to decide to which of the portions it belonged. There are also similar cases. For a very great number of revelations there is absolutely no evidence as to the time of their birth, and the standard rules are few and but little reliable.

As regards the order of the Meccan revelations some general points of view have been set up by Weil and Sir W. Muir, which were mostly adopted by Nöldeke, to serve as guides in the chaos. They divide the whole mass of addresses rather abruptly into *three* periods[82] according to the apparently declining enthusiasm of the Prophet, the decreasing pathos and increasing length of the sentences. Since we have seen, however, that calm consideration governed the oracles from the beginning, the degree of enthusiasm furnishes a criterion of no great reliance. Now if we subject this enthusiasm to strict examination, we must distinguish between the genuine warmth for an idea which thoroughly captivates a man and makes him pursue it regardless of the consequences, and the hollow pathos which does not survive the word that carries it. The former Muhammed had fostered in his breast years before he opened his mouth as a prophet, and it lasted therefore even when his language had grown calmer. Enthusiastic passages are not unfrequent even in Medinian addresses, bearing on the greatness and the glory of Allâh, whilst the merely pathetic Meccan revelations repeat to weariness the same topics on which the speaker had but little to say, and left his hearers cold.

The different degrees of enthusiasm apparent in more or less fiery language must be judged in the same manner, as the changes to which the mood of an individual is subject. Exterior circumstances often have great influence in this respect. Temporary enthusiasm is sometimes kindled by a mere accident or an encouraging word. It does not follow, therefore, that the more pathetic *Sûras* are older than others in which cold reflection predominates. There are many *Sûras* of later date which show a language as glowing as that of a prophet in the best sense of the word. In consequence of the history of the *iqra'* we must deny to Muhammed the naïve passion from the outset, otherwise that first proclamation can retain neither its place nor its character. Tradition and evidence, however, bear out a contrary theory. Whenever we find Muhammed's language fervent, we must at once enquire, whether it was dictated by the loftiness of an idea, or whether it was mere bombast, which the unwary will often take for genuine enthusiasm. In this way **the pathos of many addresses is, after all, a better help for the critical study** than the lasting enthusiasm.

A more natural order of the revelations than those hitherto attempted may be derived from the following points of view. The first and most startling proclamation had to be followed by others to **confirm** the speaker's title to prophecy, and to bring the credentials of his mission. Doubts about his sanity had to be allayed and incredulity disarmed by valiant assurances. For obstinate unbelievers there existed, however, as yet no other proof than threats of heavy punishment. As on this topic the Prophet's imagination was unchecked, the language became stilted and high flown, and the addresses were introduced and intermingled with the strongest oaths. This is the striking feature of a large group of addresses which I should like to style the **declamatory.** When the Prophet's stock of pathos was exhausted, he resorted to tales which he accompanied with morals and admonitions. From these resulted the **narrative** period which Muhammed endeavoured to render as attractive as possible both by variety of subjects and miraculousness of plots in order to illustrate the omnipotence of Allâh. His prophetic zeal did not, however, prevent him from occasionally adding that the knowledge of these strange stories had come to him by divine revelation. Having well nigh used up his supply of tales, he started showing the rule of Providence by a group of **descriptive** speeches, which picture the wealth and grandeur of Nature. Is not gratitude due to

[82] Muir divides the Meccan portion of the *Qorân* into *five* periods: (1) — *sûras* before *S.* xcvi. *(iqra)*; (2) those until Muhammed's public ministry; (3) till the year 6 afterwards; (4) till the year ten; (5) till the Hijra. *Cf.* Nöld. *Q.* p. 58.

Allâh who created all for the benefit of man? When this period had terminated, the hearers were sufficiently prepared to listen to a series of **legislative** addresses which taught the Believers how to lead the life of devout Moslims.

These five groups follow each other in natural sequence; nay, there is a direct evidence in a tradition handed down on behalf of 'Âisha, that many descriptive revelations preceded the legislative ones. She said:[83] "Allâh, has revealed first descriptions of hell and heaven in order to win men for Islâm, and he only revealed laws later on. Had he forbidden wine and fornication (chief representatives of ritual and moral laws) from the beginning, people would have said: we will not abstain from either." Nevertheless, one must not think that these groups are clearly divided; on the contrary they regularly encroach upon each other, so that elements of each group may be traced in the oldest addresses, and later ones contain repetitions of former paragraphs. Instances of two descriptive verses we have already encountered in *Sûra* lxviii. 4-5 quoted above. As we must give up the idea of ever reconstructing the chronological order of the sermons, we may hope, by means of a division according to subjects, to obtain something like a survey over the material of which the *Qorân* is composed. If we succeed in carrying out this task, we can dispense with an accurate knowledge of the date of each revelation. Of a good many of them it is indeed quite irrelevant to know when they were revealed. For Medinian revelations the course of events serves as sort of guide, although not of a thoroughly assured nature.

In his exertions to confirm his mission Muhammed had to proceed in a negative as well as a positive manner. **He had to convince his hearers that he was neither a madman, a poet, a soothsayer, nor a liar.** To disprove charges by mere protestations is a hopeless task, but Muhammed had no other means at his disposal. Miracles refused to be forthcoming. The first protest against the allegation of being insane quoted above[84] is repeated in a declamatory address belonging to the following period,[85] but had to be reiterated over and over again during the next years.

Still harder to refute was the reproach of being a poet, because it was provoked by the *saj'*-like manner of the oracles. The general form for any sort of public announcement being poetic, Muhammed had to avoid all imitation of it, and this gave him immense trouble. The pathetic addresses in particular with their short, rhymed phrases of nearly equal length, which so much resembled the popular form of an *urjûza* or a ditty, betray the pains Muhammed took *not* to speak in verse. There is no reason to assume that he was unacquainted with the old poetic literature, even without taking into account traditions which report the contrary. Many of the standard features of these poems had become so familiar to him, that he had some difficulty in freeing his style of them. A remnant of this — which to some extent might help to fix the date of the passages in question — seems to me left in the apostrophe *let me* which in poems frequently forms the bridge from the *nasîb* or the amatory introduction to the proper subject of the song. This "let me" we find no less than three times in the oldest revelations, applied in a manner very similar to that of the pagan poems, *e. g.*, lxviii. 44: So let me alone, etc.[86]

The protestation that "it was the word of a noble messenger" does not seem to have made the expected impression; the Prophet therefore repeated it a little later (lxix. 40) with a supplement: —

V. 41. Nor it is the word of a poet — little ye believe

,, 42. Nor the word of a soothsayer, etc.[87]

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83 See Sprenger, *Leben*, III. p. xix.

84 *S.* lxviii. 2, see v. 51 which seems to be of much later date, but was placed in this *Sûra* on account of v. 2. The word *al ḏikr* (v. 51) is already a technical term here, and Beidh. explains it rightly as equivalent to *Qorân*. Therefore v. 52 and *S.* lxxxi. 27, "It (the *iqra'*) is but a *ḏikr* for the worlds. Other recapitulations of the refutation of the same charge see xxvi. 26; xliv. 13; li. 39, 52; liv. 6; xv. 9; xxxvii. 35; lii. 29.

85 *S.* lxxxi. 22, see Ch. IV.

86 See Ch. I. Such passages are also metrically marked, at least in the beginning, *viz.*, lxviii. 44 ⏑ – – ⏑ – – –; lxxiv. 11 – – ⏑ –; lxxiii. 11 ⏑ – – – ⏑ –. These passages give the impression that the speaker was endeavouring to free himself by force from the meshes of the metre. For other parts of verses which by accident have assumed metrical shape see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, 3rd ed. II. p. 359.

87 V. 52. فسبّح evidently leads on to prayer which is to follow; see next remark.

To this period probably belongs the severe criticism passed on the poets who "say that which they do not do." (*Sûra* xxvi. 221-228.)

The refutation of one reproach only provoked another, as is always the case with a narrow-minded crowd. If Muhammed was neither a liar, nor a poet, nor mad, he must be a soothsayer. This he endeavoured to disprove in

lii. 29. So remind them, for thou art. not, by the favour of thy Lord, either a soothsayer or mad.

30. Or will they say 'A poet'? etc.[88]

It was perhaps not by accident that Muhammed made no refutation of the charge of deception in these sentences. The speaker must have felt that this was dangerous ground. Yet the more the ranks of the Believers swelled, the bolder became his answers also to this reproach, and these replies form in some cases a ready criterion for fixing the dates of certain revelations.

Now we see that soon after the *iqra'* Muhammed found himself in the midst of a fierce struggle, and his position was anything but secure. The traditionists describe this as despair at the non-arrival of new revelations, but the truth is that Muhammed could not bring forward such revelations as would effectively silence the adversaries, and be followed by universal acknowledgment. Whether the mental anxiety caused by the doubtless unexpected antagonism so greatly increased his excitement that his nerves failed and he had an epileptic fit, or whether he simulated one, must be left undecided. It appears to me he was subject to nervous headache, accompanied by shivering fits which compelled him to wrap himself in warm garments. When he recovered, he felt himself so refreshed that he broke into the following repetition of his prophetic call:

lxxiv. 1. O thou *wrapped!*[89]

2. Rise in order to give warning!

3. And *thy Lord* magnify!

4. And thy garments cleanse!

5. And detach thyself[90] from abomination!

. . . .

11. *Leave me alone* with him I have created single-handed.[91]

[88] *Ibid.* v. 48 to 49 containing the same invitation to offer up prayers. *Cf.* liii. 62.

[89] The traditions about the origin of this address are of contradictory character. I. Hish. p. 184, relates on very uncertain authority ("a scholar told me") that one day when going out, no one met Muhammed without calling him a liar. He returned home, wrapped himself up, and was addressed by Allâh: O thou wrapped up, etc. — Al Beidh.: It is handed down that Muhammed said: I was at Hîra and heard myself called. I turned right and left, but saw nothing. Then above me I saw Him (فاذا هو) sitting on the Throne between heaven and earth, *viz.*, the angel who had called me. I returned to Khadîja and said دثّروني. — Al Beidh. adds: he wrapped himself in his garment when reflecting, *or he was asleep*. — According to Tabari, p. 1155 (al Zuhri) this vision was followed by the revelation of *S.* lxxiii. Then follows the remark وزمّلناه اى دثّرناه. Bokh. *ibid.* repeats the same tradition with the Isnâd given in Tab. 1153, but winds up: I said دثّروني; they wrapped me up and sprinkled water over me. — Beidhâwi's additional note is evidently the safest to follow in the confusion of wondrous traditions, and receives further evidence from *S.* lxxiv. 4, which I should take literally rather than metaphorically which a view to performing a symbolical faction. See Sprenger, I. 309, rem. 1. — A tradition Bokh. III. 365, that *S.* lxxiv. forms the first revelation is of doubtful authenticity.

[90] فاهجر repeated *S.* lxxiii. 10 واهجرهم هجرا جميلا "detach thyself from them completely as befits thee." In the older Meccan revelations the term is applied in a more general sense, *e. g.*, xxiii. 69; xix. 47. In xxv. 32, the *Qorân* is described as *shunned* (مهجور) by the Meccans. *S.* xxix. 25, is Lot a مهاجر "to his Lord;" xvi. 43, refers to those who had on Muhammed's advice gone to Abyssinia in order to avoid the persecutions of the Meccans.

[91] See Beidhâwi; Palmer inaccurate.

To this belongs its twin oracle published under similar circumstances with all but identical beginning, *viz.*, lxxiii. 1-14.

Whether Muhammed only projected or really introduced vigils cannot be decided from the respective second verses of the two last mentioned addresses. I should feel inclined to explain the two "Rise" as illustrating the excitement which deprived him of his sleep, in the consciousness of "the heavy task he had in store" (lxxiii. 9). Upon this point the Commentators throw no light. To *Sûras* lxxiv. and lxxiii. I oppose *Sûra* xciv. in which Muhammed encourages himself to hold out, since he had gained some followers to stand by him.

1. Have we not expanded thy breast ?
2. And taken off thee thy load,
3. Which weighed down thy back ?
4. And exalted for thee thy renown ?
5. Verily with difficulty is ease
6. Verily with difficulty is ease
7. But when thou art at leisure then toil
9. And hope patiently unto *thy Lord !* etc.

lxxiii. 8 forms a distinct repetition of the *iqra'* verse with the slight variation into *wa'dkur*. The choice of this word points not less to the Pentateuch than the *iqra*, *e. g.*, Exod. xx. 24 ; xxiii. 13, etc.,[92] and it is particularly noteworthy that in both cases the construction of the Hebrew terms are faithfully retained in the Qoranic imitations.

Of very great interest, however, is the early indication of the first shadow of the great rupture which ten years later ended in the departure of the Prophet and his friends from their native town. "*Detach thyself (fa'hjur)* from abomination (lxxiv. 5) ;" "Endure patiently what they say and *detach thyself* completely as befits thee (lxxiii. 10)," the former passage referring to the gods, the latter to kinsmen and alliances. It is the same root which supplied the term *Hijra* not only for the temporary retirement of a large portion of early Moslims to the hospitable shelter of the Ethiopian king, but also to the final exodus to Medina. What is known in universal history as **Hijra** proves to be not an episodic event, but the completion of the local Hijras[93] which accompany the whole of the Meccan period of Islâm. Muhammed fostered no false hopes with regard to the consequences of his onslaught against the worship of his forefathers. The public proclamation of the single word *fa'hjur* had cost him dear, and he knew it well, but its repetition shows that he was firmly determined to stand by it. Here, if ever, he showed greatness of mind and deserves to rank with the great men of History. Upon those Meccans who were at all capable of conceiving ideas that word must have made a deeper impression than continual pathetic assurances of the divine origin of the revelations.

To return to the charge of fraud, in *S.* lxxiv. 24, Muhammed complained that some influential Meccan citizens had made allegations of this nature. In this instance his remonstrances are not of a general character, but are, as tradition tells us, launched against Walîd b. alMughîra of the family of

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[92] See Ch. II. (and above rem. 84). اذكر is thus originally parallel to اقرأ and consequently ذكر to قرآن. Later on the former was restricted to the ejaculation of the formula of the Unity ; *cf.* Sprenger, I. 319, and Q. lxxxvii. 9, 10 ; lxxxix. 24, etc. — In *S.* xciv. ذكر has a profane meaning.

[93] The translation, "Flight" made popular by modern authors, is not correct. The *Hijra* was much more than that, as it was a complete cutting off of every bond of kinship, that connected Moslims with former friends and relatives remaining faithful to paganism. Bagh., therefore, explains very appropriately (according to Mujâhid, Ikrima, Qatâda, Al Zuhri, Ibn Zeid, and Abu Salma) : give up the worship of the idols, and do not come near them.

al Makhzûm.[94] The attack was very strong, taunting Muhammed with the human origin of his rhapsodies. He could only parry it with a wild threat of hell fire. In a supplementary speech (lxxiii. 11 *sqq.*, he compared himself to Moses (without, however, mentioning his name), only stating that his mission was also discredited by Pharaoh.[95] His challengers were destroyed, and from this Meccan scoffers were invited to take an example.

It is certainly not without purpose that at this comparatively early stage in his career Muhammed should have likened his own position to that of Moses. He could hardly have chosen a better means of strengthening his hands. Moses did not go on his own account, but was unwillingly sent by Allâh, and in a like manner Muhammed tried to convince those around him that he did not preach of his own free will, but obeyed the command of Heaven. The reproach of fraud was, therefore, as unjust as it was insulting to Allâh, and liable to heavy punishment. This is another clever move and again shows with what deliberation Muhammed selected his words. In lxxiii. 5 we read that Allâh had thrown upon him "a heavy speech," and in lxxvii. 6 he says: Certainly *we* cause thee to proclaim, so that thou shouldst not forget. Finally, lxxvi. 23 *sqq.* again re-echoes the first call to prophecy accompanied by the admonition to be patient, and xciv. 1-8 are revealed to inspire him with new courage to brave the difficulties.

The unwillingness of Biblical prophets to undertake their missions was no secret to Muhammed, although he did not cite the most striking instances, *viz.*, those of Moses and Jonah until somewhat later (xxvi. 11-13; xxxvii. 140) in the narrative period. He may have hoped that there would be no necessity for this, yet the pains he took to satisfy the Meccan public that his own attitude was passive and that he was but a tool in the hand of Allâh forms the main idea connecting many of the revelations of this period.

With the first address Muhammed had introduced a series of **abstract notions** such as heaven and hell, eternity, death, soul, immortality, reward, and punishment after death. Although not all of these notions were covered by corresponding terms, he discussed them and endeavoured to impart to his hearers a more or less clear conception of them. He could not achieve this by giving definitions, which in the first instance he was incapable of doing, and which, moreover, would not have served his purpose. The practical theologian is no philosopher, and hearers of a sermon decline to be regaled with metaphysical demonstrations. Muhammed in particular was preacher to an unlettered crowd; the *Qorân* was, therefore, not the place to discourse on abstract ideas. He was more successful in expressing the same in as concrete a manner as possible.

The common pre-islamic view recognized a kind of shadowy after-existence. Otherwise the materialistic opinion is prevalent, that death is the end of everything. Muhammed himself dwelt on this point in a late Meccan revelation as follows:

> xlv. 23. And they say: there is only this present life, we die and live,[96] and only time kills us,[97] . . . . etc.

Some commentators not unfitly refer the words: "we die and live," to the pagan belief in the transmigration of soul[98] and the words which follow they apply to the common notion, that there is no

[94] According to Bagh. on v. 11 al Walîd was called الوحيد. Beidh. explains وحيدا to be Ḥâl of 1st person, *viz.*, ذرني وحدي معه. In I. Ish. 171 alWalîd calls Muhammed a charmer in the better sense, "because his speech is bewitching and fit to separate man from his father, brother, wife and family." The tradition is evidently coloured.

[95] *Cf. S.* lxxiii. 15 *sqq.*

[96] Beidh. finds particular difficulties in the words: *we die and live,* which he endeavours to explain in different ways: (1) the being born of what was not alive before; (2) we die and live in our children; (3) some of us die, whilst others live, etc.

[97] Beidhâwi. مرور الزمان وهو في الأصل مدة بقاء العالم من دهره إذا غلبه; *cf.* also Beidh. on *S.* lxxvi. 1 الدهر طائفة محدودة and see Lane *s. v.*

[98] Beidh. *Ibid.*

other life after death. Muhammed tried to combat these views not with arguments, but simply by putting others in their places. This he did when he threatened transgressors with sufferings in purgatory, which in itself presupposes a kind of after-existence. The fire of hell being a very familiar conception to Christian (S. Matth. v. 22) and later Jewish doctrine, there can be no doubt that Muhammed had during his years of study heard much on this subject. Now he himself appears to have believed that those sufferings were physical rather than spiritual, as may be seen from many passages in the *Qorân* (xcviii. 5 ; lxxxix. 24 ; lxxii. 15, 24 ; lxxxv. 10 ; lxxviii. 21, etc.). If, however, he held more abstract views on the matter, it was as well for him not to dilate on them, since the people cared very little about agonies inflicted on their souls after the destruction of the body. The *whole* sinner shall "be dragged by the forelock (xcvi. 15-16)" to hell, he taught, and in this manner Muhammed condemned his uncle Abd alUzza, body and soul, branding him as "Father of the flame" in that fiendish execration which forms the contents of *Sûra* cxi.

1. Perish the hands[99] of Abû Lahab, and perish he
2. His wealth shall not avail him nor what he has earned,
3. He shall broil in a fire that flames *(lahab)*
4. And his wife carrying faggots,
5. With a rope of palm fibres on her neck.

A malediction couched in such terms could not fail to strike superstitious people with terror of the unknown hereafter. Tradition[100] tells us that the hapless uncle had provoked the Prophet by cursing him in no more measured terms, and this may not have been the only imprecation which came to Muhammed's ears, but he was careful only to retaliate, on a near relative, and to burn him in effigy with such broadly drawn features, that he might be taken for any other infidel.

The language of the *Qorân* has no more terms to describe the immortality of the human soul than the Bible. Nevertheless, as early as in the confirmatory period Muhammed began to expound theories which teach that spiritual life outlasts physical death. This gives us an opportunity of briefly outlining the manner in which Muhammed rendered those transcendental portions, indispensable to every theological system.

In a revelation already quoted (lxxxvii. 12 to 13), Muhammed says that the wicked shall "broil in the fiercest fire, then he shall neither live nor die."[1] If the modern reader finds it difficult to understand such a situation, how puzzled must the Meccan hearers have been. It is characteristic of the eschatology of the *Qorân* that the tortures of hell are depicted in endless variations, with glowing colours and in all details, whilst the pious are simply "happy" (v. 14)[2] without any further description, and it is only intimated that for them there is in store a "last life" which is "the best and of longest duration" (v. 19).

[99] The Commentators, of course, felt themselves obliged to correct this concrete conception, and put "soul" and "fortune" in the place of "hands." Thus Bagh. يديه والمراد به نفسه علي عادة العرب في تعبير ببعض الشى عن كله و قيل اليد صلة كما يقال يدا الدهر ويدا الزرايا والبلايا و قيل المراد به ماله و ملكه يقال فلان قليل ذات اليد يعنون به المال. The tradition in I. Isḥ. p. 231, is badly accredited, as instead of giving the Isnâd, he only says وحُدِّثْتُ. In this tradition Abu Lahab calls the Prophet "Muhammed" and charges him with not believing himself that the things he foretells will be realized after death.

[100] Beidh. with reference to *S.* xxvi. 214 ; but cxi. seems to be older.

[1] This only means that *after* the wicked have left purgatory they shall neither live nor die. The Commentators who evidently did not understand what Muhammed meant by the phrase, are silent on this point. Bagh. فيستريح ولايحى حيوة تنفعه ; Beidh. similarly.

[2] *Cf.* *S.* xci. 9.

Thus the conditions of the wicked and pious are contrasted with each other. The former are, according to the Commentators, to lead a kind of semi-life, which is neither rest in the grave nor a life that avails aught, but not until they have gone through purgatory, whilst the latter shall enjoy the eternal pleasures[3] of the "last life." This is repeated over and over again (xcii. 13; xciii. 4),[4] especially in the later Meccan *Sûras*. Although it is doubtful whether Muhammed himself had any clear conception of his own theory of the hereafter, it was indifferent to him whether the Meccans grasped the meaning of it or not. It is much more probable that he hoped to work more successfully on their minds by vague fears and hopes.

Muhammed himself betrays the fact that he had **derived his knowledge of the nature of the "last life" from the most ancient sources,** *viz.*, "the *Suḥuf* of Abraham and Moses." That these terms do not mean certain books of a religious character which in the pre-islamic period were held sacred by various communities, as Sprenger believed, I have intimated above.[5] The *Suḥuf* are nothing more or less than **the Bible.** Now it is well known, that the idea of an eternal life is nowhere explicitly taught in the Bible, and is only inferred indirectly. The belief in it was, however, firmly established both among Jews and Christians, and when Muhammed heard them speak of it, he considered it tantamount to its being written down in their holy Scriptures.

The term "last life" implies that there is no other to follow, it is therefore eternal. Muhammed expressed **eternity** approximately through the synonyms for "space of time," or "remaining in a place or state."[6] This is about the same in all languages. In a very early revelation (civ. 3), Muhammed censures him "who thinks that his wealth has made him lasting [for ever]." The Commentators explain this to mean, that he shall not die at all. When, to choose another case, Satan induces Adam to disobey the divine command, he promises to show him "the tree of duration, and a dominion which shall not cease" (xx. 118). "To no man before have we given perpetuity *(alkhuld)*, shall they remain for ever, when thou diest" (xxi. 35; *cf.* v. 8)? These and similar expressions answered Muhammed's purpose well enough, because when applied to mundane subjects they express the immutability of a condition, and were perfectly intelligible to everybody. To describe, however, Allâh as eternal Muhammed did not attempt except in one case (cxii. 1), but even this is open to grave doubts, and has caused much discussion among the Commentators, many of whom bring the expression used in this passage *(aṣṣamad)* in no connection with eternity at all.[7] Muhammed himself was uncertain as to the distinctness of this word, and, therefore, hastened to explain in the next verse that "Allâh was not born." Later Moslim theology developed an appropriate terminology to express eternity with regard to past and future.

Heaven[8] as the abode of God is a conception to be found frequently in the Bible, and transplanted by Muhammed into the *Qorân* at an early epoch. He, therefore, had to alter the old Arab meaning of the word which only comprehends the sky, the reservoir of the heavenly bodies and clouds and rain.

[3] Beidh. (v 17) فان نعيمها تلذذ بالذات خالص عن الغوائل لا انقطاع له *Cf.* xliv. 56.

[4] As a contrast to this, the last punishment (lxviii. 33) is the strongest.

[5] See Ch. II.

[6] Synonyms for "eternal" الدهر xlv. 23; lxxvi. 1, *cf.* rem. 97; سرمد xxviii. 71, 72; الصمد cxii. 2; خالد frequently, الخلد xxi. 35; further قديم , ديمومة , ازلية.

[7] According to Ibn Abbâs, Mujâhid, Al Ḥasan, Sa'îd and Ibn Zubeir (Bagh. on cxii. 1) الصمد means a person who has no "inside" (لا جوف له); according to Al Sh'obi it means one who neither eats nor drinks; according to others it means ما بعده. Abu l Âliya handed down on behalf of Ibn Abi Ḳa'b that الصمد means a person who was neither born nor has begotten, because he who is born must die, who inherits has heirs. Al Suddi explains الصمد as one who is sought after for presents and assistance. According to Qatâda it means: the remaining after the death of the physical part of the body. Ikrima الذي ليس فوقه احد. — Mewâqif, p. 168, has several other explanations: (1) Lord, king (relative attribute); (2) Sage, whom the deeds of the disobedient neither excite nor trouble (negative attribute); (3) Standing on the highest step; (4) He who is invoked and implored; (5) He who has no internal parts (not compact, synon. المصمت with change of د with ت).

[8] Gen. xix. 24; xxii. 11, 15; xxviii. 17, etc.

In this sense it is used by poets[9] and also in the oldest portions of the *Qorân*. In *S*. lxxxviii. 18 heaven as a piece of creation is paralleled to the camel, the mountains and the earth. Allâh has created the seven heavens[10] in storeys, and has set the moon therein for a light, and the sun for a lamp (lxvii. 3). Allâh has built the heavens (lxxix. 27), and their government belongs to Him (lxxxv. 9). It must have caused Muhammed some difficulty to change the theories in which he had been brought up, into the abstract ones that Allâh sits in heaven on His throne,[11] which is borne by eight angels (lxix. 17). He is possessor of the lofty throne (lxxxv. 15).[12] The anthropomorphistic side of this phrase will occupy our attention later on.[13] If Allâh "sends down" revelations (lxvii. 9; xcvii. 1),[14] this means that they come from heaven. This way of expressing it is, however, rare in older *Sûras*, and does not become more frequent until the narrative and descriptive periods, *e. g.*, vii. 38, "the gates of heaven shall not be opened for the infidels."[15]

Popular belief places the **souls** of the righteous in heaven. One can easily perceive how such a belief grew, a belief which made the aëtherial component of the human body leave this *irdische Jammerthal* and fly away[16] above the clouds. The idea is based on the manner of describing certain extraordinary forms of death in the O. T. Elôhim takes Henoch away, and Elijah ascends in a chariot of fire. In the *Qorân* Allâh "takes away" the soul of man (xxxix. 43), and in harmony with the Rabbinical way of expressing the idea, "every soul tastes death."[17] Muhammed concreted the soul in the same manner as did ancient and modern poets without much discernment, and placed hell so close to paradise, that its inhabitants were within hail of those of the former, from which they were separated only by a curtain (vii. 42-44),[18] which permitted conversation between them.

The resemblance of **death** to sleep is so striking, that it could not fail to enter pre-Islamic Arab speech also, but with the difference that the hope of awakening from the sleep in the grave was discarded. "If we are dead," the Meccans said, "and have become dust and bones, can we be awakened (xxxvii. 16)?[19] If thou speakest to them: you shall be aroused after death, the infidels will surely say: "this is nought but clear deceit (xi. 10)." Of course, Muhammed could not tolerate such views in Islâm, and could not sufficiently call to the minds of his hearers "the day on which they would be awakened,"[20] and to enjoin the belief in resurrection after death (lxxv. 1-4; lxviii. 39; lvi. 60).

The way in which Muhammed pictured the **resurrection** of the dead was very similar to the notions popular among Jews and Christians, *viz.*, that the body should share in it as well as the soul. The "collecting of the bones" (*Qor*. lxxv. 3) recalls vividly the vision of Ezekiel (ch. lxxxvi.) with which every Jew was familiar enough owing to its forming part of the liturgy on the Sabbath of the

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9 Ḥassân b. Thâbit ed. Tunis, p. 8, l. 7, تعفّيها الروامسُ والسّماءُ "its traces have effaced the winds and the *rain*." Ibn Koteiba (Sprenger, I. 544) explains it as what is above us. *Cf. Itq.* 692 *sq.*

10 *Cf. S.* lxxi. 14; lxxviii. 12; and St. Lucas x. 20.

11 In Meccan *Sûras* Muhammed exclusively uses the term العرش, whilst the Aramaic الكرسى is employed only once in Medina (*S.* ii. 256). In xxxviii. 33 it means an *earthly* throne.

12 *Cf. S.* lxxxi. 20; xl. 15 (xvi. 1). The Mutazilite school had some misgivings about Allâh being represented as sitting on a throne. Beidh. takes العرش as a synonym for "dominion;" see his notes on *S.* vii. 52: Upon the throne abides His Rule (*amr* see above). Our fellow-thinkers believe that the abiding upon the throne is an attribute to Allâh without How. It means that His abiding on the throne is to be understood in a manner which exalts Him above resting and dwelling. The throne is the body which surrounds all other bodies, and is called thus, because it is elevated or compared to the royal couch from which government and commands descend. *Cf.* xxxii. 3-4; xvi. 2.

13 See Ch. VIII.

14 See lxvii. 16 to 17, "He who is in heaven."

15 *Cf.* Gen. xxviii. 17.

16 *Cf.* Ps. xc. 10.

17 *S.* xxi. 36; xxix. 57.

18 As to the people of the intervals, see next chapter.

19 See v. 51; *S.* xix. 67: Man says: when I am dead, can I be brought out in the end alive?

20 *S.* xliv. 34: This is but our first death, and we can not be aroused. Beidhâwi explains: the first death ends the life on earth, and there are no means by which to awake for another. The answer is given in v. 56: they (the righteous) only taste the first death; He guards them from the punishment of hell fire.

Passover week. There is nothing surprising in the fact that Muhammed should have heard of this.[21] Above the assurance that on the day of resurrection "man's bones shall be gathered" he gives for the present no further description,[22] and confines himself to vague hints at the time when this should take place, after being announced by the most miraculous signs. This was also to be the great "Day of Judgment on which the horn should be blown," etc. (see above). From all this we see that Muhammed wished to show his hearers the aim of human life in a rather serious perspective. The tortures of hell are described in the *Qorân* long before any of the more cheerful pictures of the "last life" are painted.

Although the "Garden" is spoken of in verses which are inserted in older *Sûras*, these are evidently later and more prolix (lxxxv. 11; lxviii. 17, 34; lxxiv. 42). The older passages mention "the garden" without any further additions (lxxxviii. 10; lxxxix. 30; lxxxi. 13; lxix. 22). Fear Muhammed calculated to be more impressive than hope, and as a rule when depicting the two contrasting conditions of man after death, he not only placed punishment in the foreground, but made it much more elaborate and energetic in tone than that of reward.[23] Experience proved here also to be the best teacher. For after the disaster of Uḥud Muhammed could give no greater comfort to the demoralised Believers than the assurance that those who had been slain were not dead but alive (iii. 163).

From the foregoing observations, we can gather that during the time of the struggle to confirm his missionary title, Muhammed had to handle a number of abstract subjects which to a real thinker would have been so many problems to solve. The circumstance that they all had been thoroughly familiar for some time to large multitudes entitled him to operate with them as with known quantities, and he left it to his hearers to digest them as best they might. He would have been infinitely more successful, had he been able to achieve something like a miracle, but, of course, he could not divine that the existence of Islâm was all the better assured, the harder it had to fight its way through difficulties of every description.

A miracle was the great, but unfulfilled, longing of Muhammed, and the disappointment he felt through his impotence to perform a miracle penetrates not only the whole of the *Qorân*, but many occasional sayings. Tradition, nevertheless, managed to record a great number of such, and the Moslim church officially recognizes a series of miracles which must be believed in.[24] Not quite so difficult was the problem to be favoured with **a vision,** and those who already believed could easily be served with one. Many years afterwards, when the figure of the Archangel Gabriel was introduced into the revelations, they became very numerous indeed, but they were not nearly so important as in the earlier periods. Now Muhammed's great model, Moses, not only furnished him with the material for the first proclamation and the reluctance to enter upon his mission, but also with the pattern of a regular vision which it was not very hard to copy. In the evidently very early revelation, which forms part of *Sûra* lxxix.,[25] he expresses himself thus?

15. Has the story of Moses come to you
16. When *his Lord* called him in the holy valley of *Ṭuwâ:*
17. "Go to Pharaoh, verily he transgresses.
18. Say: Hast thou a wish to purify thyself?
19. And that I may guide thee unto *thy Lord*, that thou mayst fear?"
20. So He (Allâh) showed him the *greatest sign*, etc.

[21] *S.* xxxvii. 144; xxxviii. 80; lxxxiii. 4; xxvi. 87; xvi. 86. The Commentators, of course, bring Gabriel on the scene, and Palmer wrongly follows them.

[22] See next chapter.

[23] He could find models for it in Lev. xxvi. 3 to 43; Deut. xxviii. 1 to 68. The maledictory portions of these two chapters are likewise much more elaborate than the benedictory ones and bear the popular name *tôkhêḥâ.*

[24] Ibn Ḥazm, fol. 122vo. *Cf. Umdat Aqîda*, p. 16 *sq.*

[25] It seems to be an independent revelation, whilst v. 1 to 14 belong to the declamatory, and v. 27 to 45 to the descriptive periods, but placed here on account of v. 34 الكبرى = v. 20.

We conclude from it that the scene described in Exod. ch. iii. was known to Muhammed already, and that he reproduced it more elaborately in a short address which he significantly styled "an inspiration" taught to him by the Almighty. The hazy description of the scene, the principal figure of which is the speaker himself, was calculated to impress hearers as a vision granted to him. It forms the first portion of *Sûra* liii.[26]

1. By the star when it falls,
2. Your comrade errs not, nor is he deluded,
3. Nor speaks he out of lust.
4. It is but an *inspiration* inspired
5. Which taught him One mighty in power
6. Endowed with sound understanding ; he appeared,
7. And was [seen] in the loftiest tract ;
8. Then he hung down and so drew near,
9. Until he was two bows length off or nigher still,
10. Then he inspired his servant what he inspired.
11. The heart belies not what he saw.
12. What will ye dispute with him on what he saw ?
13. And he saw it another time
14. By the Sidra-tree which none may approach,
15. Near which is the Garden of the Abode,
16. When something covered the Sidra-tree —
17. The sight swerved not nor wandered —
18. He saw then of the *signs of his Lord the greatest.*[27]

The positive information contained in this address is very meagre, and the vagueness of the description is concealed as much as possible by prolixity. Muhammed only states that he had seen something *covering a certain tree.* This was indeed quite sufficient for those who already believed in his mission, but not so convincing for others. Yet to judge from S. lxxxi. 22,[28] one might at any rate give him credit for having at least *imagined* that he had had a vision. The wish was father to the thought, and made him look upon a vague apparition as a real prophetic vision.

Muhammed need not have troubled to enquire whether his hearers believed in his statement concerning the vision, if he had been able to perform a miracle, which would have convinced even the most stubborn. His boast was, however, a two-edged tool, as in his zeal he had made known that previous prophets had confirmed their missions by miracles. He therefore felt that he had exposed himself to the demand to perform one, and for this reason **styled his vision a miracle** (lxxix. 20, see above). He had not long to wait and the doubtless satirical tone in which he was called upon to exhibit his powers is still reflected in one of the latest Meccan revelations (xxix. 49).[29] His answers were so timid that he had to refer the importunate querists to the *Ṣuḥuf.* This was just as unsatisfactory to his great grief, and nothing remained but to style the revelations he boasted to have received, miracles. He, therefore, chose a term for them which at the same time served to designate each revealed sentence as a "Sign" or miracle. In his philippic against Walîd b. al Moghîra Muhammed

[26] V. 62 an introduction to prayer.

[27] *Cf. Beiträge*, p. 8. A manifest external resemblance also exists between this piece and *S.* lxxix. 15, 27, not only as regards the rhyme, but esp. v. 20 with *S.* liii. 18. The latter oracle is evidently the youngest of the two.

[28] "Your companion is not mad, (23) He surely saw him on the distinct horizon," another echo of lxxix. 20 ; *cf.* also xx. 24.

[29] *Cf.* xxvi. 187 ; vii. 202.

describes him as "hostile to our signs" (lxxiv. 16). The infidels rejoined that the "Signs" were "old folk's tales" (lxviii. 15; lxxxiii. 13) or even "lies" (lxxviii. 28), which can, of course, only refer to the revelations. The marvel to be discovered in the "Signs" could then only consist in the circumstance that a man in so humble a position and grown up in ignorance and already past the prime of life should suddenly develop the qualities of a prophet and spiritual leader of his people. This is admirably expressed in *Sûra* xciii.[30]

6. Did He not find thee an orphan and give thee shelter?
7. And find thee erring and guide thee?
8. And find thee poor with a family and nourish thee?

The proof of the veracity of the miracles performed by Moses before Pharaoh was given in the fact, that the magicians were not able to imitate them (lxxix. 25; xxvi. 43). Muhammed therefore boldly challenged scoffers to bring forward a "Sign" of the same kind as his. "Let them bring a *hadîth*[31] of the same kind (lii. 34)." We have, in the first chapter, discussed the subject, and need only to add here that the Prophet felt himself on so safe a ground, that he repeated the challenge several times. This, however, increases the evidence that he had prior to his first proclamation possessed himself of a considerable stock of learning unknown to any Meccan, and that he also held in reserve sayings, tales and regulations which he intended to divulge piece-meal. However limited his learning was from our point of view, never was the proverb that knowledge is power more splendidly confirmed than in Muhammed's case. It remained his chief support, and won him more followers than assurances, threats, and declamations could have done.

The passages of the *Qorân* alluded to in this chapter — as indeed in all others — are given in but approximately chronological order, as it is sufficient to sketch out the course which Islâm took in its initiatory stages. The line of conduct was given to Muhammed by circumstances. He had to weather the storm of public opinion and to uphold his claim under the most disadvantageous conditions. His position was for a time one of defence rather than attack, and the desire to be left alone with his convictions is expressed in a short address which seems to belong to this period, and which is another disclaimer of the old worship:

cix. 1. O ye infidels!
2. I do not serve what you serve,
3. Nor will ye serve what I serve,
4. Nor will I serve what ye serve,
5. Nor will ye serve what I serve,
6. Ye have your religion, and I have my religion.

The term **dîn** (religion) which appears here for the first time, is applied indiscriminately both to Islâm and Meccan paganism. The wide signification allowed to the word is undoubtedly due to the circumstance that Muhammed had heard it employed both by Jews and Christians in various fashions. The former meant by the same term a rite as well as a judgment both religious and profane. To Jews and (Syrian) Christians "Doomsday" was familiar as the "Day of Judgment" *(yawm aldîn)*.[32] Also later on Muhammed treated *dîn* as a synonym for Islâm,[33] but on this occasion he paid the infidels the compliment of styling their belief a *dîn*.[34] What he had to say about the "Day of Judgment" will form the chief object of the next chapter.

(To be continued.)

30 V. 9 to 11 added later, and are legislative.

31 *Hadîth* is otherwise tale, and in this manner the term is applied to Moslim tradition in general, here, however, I should take it = Hebrew חדוש, "something newly created."

32 See Ch. I.

33 See next chapter.

34 Equivalent to ملّة which is also applied to paganism, see Ch. I., note 2.

SOME NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHITRĀL, AND IDIOMATIC SENTENCES AND TRANSLATIONS OF TEN ORIENTAL STORIES.

BY COLONEL J. DAVIDSON, I.S.C.

The language spoken in the country of Chitrāl (or Chitrār as it is generally pronounced by the natives of the country) is usually called by the inhabitants Khowār or Kashkāri, and by the English Chitrāli. Dr. Leitner and some other writers have designated it Arnya.

Being sterile in words and possessing a very short, simple, and regular grammar it may at first sight appear very easy to learn; but it is very fertile in idioms, and the chief difficulty in acquiring a proper knowledge of the language rests in mastering these idioms. It would probably take a long time to speak Chitrāli after the manner of the natives of the country.

A useful grammar of the language with a few pages of sentences was published in 1895 by Capt. D. J. T. O'Brien. I was informed by Chitrālis that the book treats generally of Chitrāli as spoken in the district of Mastūj. The *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1885, contains a sketch of the Chitrāli grammar and some pages of sentences and a good vocabulary of words by Colonel J. Biddulph. According to him the infinitive ends in *ko*. Other authors consider *k* the terminal. Colonel Biddulph gives a conjugation of the passive, showing four moods and ten or more tenses, which I believe are correct. It has sometimes been asserted that the passive is not met with. A few short vocabularies of words and remarks on the language have been written by various authors quoted in the *Linguistic Survey*, Government of India, 1899, Calcutta, by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C. I. E. This work contains a short sketch of the Chitrāli grammar. Dr. Grierson discusses the origin of the language and concludes by stating he thinks it is Indo-Aryan but not Sanskritic. As the language of Chitrāl is not written, it is not easy to state positively what is the proper way of representing many words; for example the Chitrāli for "time" is pronounced by different persons as *waqt, wakht, wakt, woqt, wokht, wokt, wāqt, wākht.*

The whole of the country of Chitrāl, it is believed, was at one time, not very long ago, a portion of Kāfiristān. It is probable that either the language of the Bashgali Kāfirs, or some dialect akin to their's, was spoken in Chitrāl. If this was the case it might account for the fact that many words, idioms, and some cases or tenses of nouns or verbs are identical in the Bashgali and Chitrāli languages. But whilst these two languages have some points in common there are certain noteworthy matters in which they differ completely, *viz.*, as regards (I.) aspirates, (II.) nasalising the vowels, (III.) certain hard letters such as *ṛ, ḍ, ṭ,* (IV.) rules of euphony or scansion. The Bashgali Kāfirs have an objection to aspirates. Sir G. Robertson informs me it was almost impossible to get the Kāfirs to pronounce any word beginning with *h*. The Chitrālis, on the contrary, have a partiality for aspirates, thus the word *awāz*, a sound, is often pronounced by them *hawāz*. There are only two or three letters which are more frequently used than *h* for the commencement of words in the Chitrāli language. As regards nasalized vowels and hard letters a comparison of the Bashgali and Chitrāli versions of the Story of the Prodigal Son as rendered in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, pages 237-239 and 287-289, will show numerous cases of nasalised vowels and hard letters in the Bashgali but not one instance of a nasalised vowel and very few hard letters in the Chitrāli. In the language of the Bashgali Kāfirs the rules of euphony seem to have almost as prominent importance as rules of grammar, if indeed they do not occasionally override them. No such custom, I believe, obtains among the Chitrālis.

The language of Chitrāl, as spoken by the well bred people of the country, is very melodious and lends itself to poetry and music, of which the Chitrālis are very fond. By some travellers Chitrāli has been thought to resemble Italian in pronunciation. The remarkable rapidity with which it is often pronounced makes it frequently difficult to follow.

For assistance in the translation of the sentences which are now published I am indebted to Mozaffar Khān of Chitrāl, and for correcting the stories, taken from the collection given in the *Persian*

Manual, W. H. Clarke, to Khān Sāhib Abdul Hakīm Khān, aided by a Chitrāli. The sentences form part of a large collection translated into the Bashgali Kāfir dialect and about to be printed at Calcutta for the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society. Many of them exhibit curious Chitrāli idioms. In the sentences and stories about 490 words in everyday use among Chitrālis will be found.

Chitrāli Sentences.

1. My custom is not to smoke tobacco. I take snuff.
Tamāku jingéiko ma mirās nikki: naswār kōm.

2. Owing to an eclipse of the sun it is dark.
Yura grah chohiko sabab chui biti shair.

3. To-morrow at daylight let us go.
Pingachui chuchui roshti ki khwamitai bissi.

4. I have had diarrhœa three days.
Troi bas hoi mā zerich gāni shĕr.

5. If you have had diarrhœa a long time you will surely die.
Agar bo wakt biti shĕr ki ta zerich gāni shĕr yakin kōrē tu briūs.

6. Why are those two men quarrelling?
Hamit jū mosh kya sababā khot bonian?

7. Take this flour; divide it among yourselves.
Haia pashiru alōr; tan muji bozhūr.

8. You have put too large a load on that ass.
Horo gordokho sora bo bār ditti assús.

9. Take down the load from the horse.
Istoro sora bāra yū gānē.

10. My brother is a drunkard for three years.
Troi sāl biti shĕr ki mā brār nasha piak biti shĕr.

11. In front of the Mihtar's house is a lot of dung: clean it up.
Mihtaro dūro prushtā posh bo shĕr: pagza kōrē.

12. Where do you dwell? Why have you come here?
Tu kya jagah asituu? Haiera kya sabab hau?

13. Give one rupee to each of the coolies.
Har bardoo-ta igān igān rupi dĕt.

14. This year snow fell very early, so it is small in quantity.
Haio sāl hīm bo ragheshti prai, haio sabab bo kam hoi.

15. There is a hollow here: fill it up with earth.
Haia jagah kulup shĕr: chuti tipāo.

16. Last night there was an earthquake. I was very terrified.
Chuio bolmāzhi arĕr: awa bo burtuitam.

17. Before marching, to eat much, is not good.
Kosikār prushti bo jibiko jam no.

18. It is five years since there has been an eclipse of the sun.
Ponj sāl hoi ki yuro grah na choki shĕr.

19. The enemy shut me up in a house but I escaped.
Dushman mā khatten andrēni band arĕr lekin ushtuitam.

20. The right eye of my brother aches.
Mā brāro horskio ghich chamiran.

21. Lift up your eyelid ; show your eye.
Polting āhi kori qhicho poshāo.

22. The flame of that fire has got up high.
Hasso angāro bas choktu bīran.

23. Last year my mare gave a filly.
Por sāl ma madiān istri dami arĕr.

24. Turn that man out of the house by force.
Hatĕ mosho zorōn dūrār dalāwē.

25. Send a guide to show me the ford.
Pōn janak mosh washāo tūrt poshēiko bachan.

26. Come ! Let us ford the river.
Bissi ! Sīna tūrt dōsi.

27. On your forehead is blood. What has happened ?
Tā peshāniā le nishi shĕr : kyāni biti shĕr ?

28. If I forget may God give me punishment.
Agar awa rakhsūm Khudāi mā ta sāza diyār.

29. Is that ewer full of water or milk ?
Hai ghānā āgh tip shĕra ? chir tip shĕra ?

30. That hill is very steep : the horse is gasping.
Haia an bo choktu shĕr, istor buzhoīran.

31. My ancestors have lived in this village for four generations.
Mā tatt bap chor pusht shĕr haia dehā nishīni.

32. My horse's girth has become loose ; tighten it.
Mā istoro trang phok biti shĕr ; trangāo.

33. How long have you had goitre (been goitred) ?
Kama sāl biti shĕr ki tu garūri biti assús ?

34. Do peaches come from seed or from grafting ?
Girgalogh kutukho sora boi ya ko wāshlio sora boi ?

35. The horse is dirty from sweat ; groom him.
Istoro bo khel nisi asúr ; horo akhlīni dŏt.

36. Bul Khān hit me on the head with a stick ; it pains me much.
Bul Khān wetuko sora mā kapāl ta prai ; bo chamīran.

37. The horse's head stall is broken, he is going loose in the stable.
Istoro yangūt chiti shĕr, istor akhrāni buchūri kasīran.

38. I heard the sound of a gun. Did you not hear it ?
Tuiko hawāz mā kārā prai ; tu kārā no praia?

39. On my hearth are many ashes ; sweep them up with a broom.
Mā phirwānoo sora phirū bo sheni ; mazhenio sora mazhĕ.

40. Inside this fort there is much heat ; there is no wind.
Haio noghor andrēni tāfi bo koyan ; gān nikki.

41. The Kafirs have never heard of a hell.
Bashgali royān kāra no diti shĕr ki dozakh shĕr.

42. The Kafirs don't know the difference between heaven and hell.
Bashgali dozakh ochē bihishto muji hesh no koni.

43. Begone ! Henceforth I will not see you.
Baqho ! Haniqhār achhi tā no pāshim.

44. Come here. I will whisper something to you (in your ear some word will give).
Yā giyē. Ta kārā kya lū dōm.

45. Hide me in such a place that the Charweloo shall not see me.
Ma harush zhaga khoshtāo Charwelo mā ma poshār.

46. This hill is high but not steep.
Haia an zhang shĕr lekin choktu nikki.

47. In the highlands it is always cold ; down low it is hot.
Sarhaddā hamēsha ushakki koi; prāvia tāfi koyan.

48. My horse is lame ; to-morrow I shall hire an animal.
Mā istor kutīran ; pinga chui wilāqh gānim.

49. The enemy are hidden in the hollow. I have seen them with my own eyes.
Dushman khām o khosht biti assúni. Awa tan qhichen poshi assúm.

50. When I was marching yesterday a stone hit my knee.
Dosh kosāwa mā zānu borto prai.

51. You have come at an inopportune time. The Mihtar has not leisure to listen to your application.
Tu na-wokt hau. Mĕhtar Sāhibo ta tā arzio kār koriko qhosh nikki.

52. I shall dismount from my horse : you lead him.
Awa istoro sora khwāmim : tu horo bātin dre angē.

53. The summer is over : the leaves of the trees are falling.
Grishpo baqhai : kano chān charūnian.

54. I cannot learn the Chitrāli language : it is very difficult.
Awa khowār chichiko no bōm : bo zor shĕr.

55. My right leg aches ; my left leg is all right.
Ma horskio dek chamīran ; kolio dek jam shĕr.

56. My house is dark, light it up.
Ma dūri chui biti shĕr. Rosht korē.

57. I saw the lightning. I did not hear the thunder.
Bilphak koriko poshītam, bimbarush mā kāra no prai.

58. My lips are split with the cold.
Ma shun ushakion sababā choi phat biti shĕr.

59. The government soldiers don't wear loose clothes.
Sirkāro sipāhi frākh zapp no anjūni.

60. Last night I heard a loud sound. I don't know what can have happened.
Chuio wakto dol hawāz mā kāra prai. Khabar nikki kya wākiya biti shĕr.

61. What has happened to you ?
Tu kyāni biti asús ?

62. The ghi is frozen : melt it.
Dhon zazh biti shĕr : horo birāo.

63. I am thirsty. I will drink milk.
Ma uqh piāru giti shĕr : chir pīm.

64. The clerk says "grind the barley," but there is no mill.
Bābu reīran siri peshē, lekin khora nikki.

65. There is a mist ; I can not see the enemy.
Markhān biti shĕr, dushmana poshiko na bŏm.

66. It is two days after full moon.
Ju bas biti shĕr mās pānjerash biti shĕr.

67. Awake me early in the morning : don't let me sleep.
Chastakāla mā angahāo : orēiko no lākē.

68. The road to Urguch is bad ; a foot-man will arrive quicker than a mounted man.
Urguicho pōn dish shĕr ; istori mosho sora poi mosh shau tarir.

69. In winter the mice go somewhere or another ; they have now come to light (the eyes) again.
Yomuno woktā khalau bīnian, kurē bīnian ; hanisē qhichē gonian.

70. A mud stream came last night and destroyed my crops.
Por sāl hon hai niāmaten awai.

71. The muzzle of my gun is filled up with mud.
Ma tuiko bilo andrenio shiak tip biti shĕr.

72. Give me the name of each cooly individually.
Har bardoyoo qhijē qhijē nāmo mā ta lū dĕt.

73. The road is narrow ; two laden mules can not go abreast ; they should go in single file.
Pon trang shĕr : ju kachir just biti bār gāni no bīni ; ī nast ī achhār bīko jam.

74. Stay near me ; I can not hear your words.
Mā nasa hāl bōs ; tā lū mā kāra n'doyan.

75. Take away the water. I don't want it.
Ūgh achhi alōs ; mā ta ugho hājat nikki.

76. The mullah (priest) has married my nephew's daughter.
Dashmān mā nowēso jūra alti assúr.

77. My fingers are all numbed with cold.
Ushakiā ma chamut kau biti sheni.

78. There is no oil for lighting the lamp.
Shama chahēiko bachan tel nikki.

79. I can not understand the old man's talk ; he has no teeth, so he mumbles.
Bap o lū hosh no kōman, horo dōn nikki, bo monu monu koyan.

80. The wood of the olive is very strong for walking-sticks, and wo'nt break.
Kāo dār wetuko bachan dang shĕr, no chiūr.

81. Have you done this on purpose or forgetfully ?
Tu hai koram hosh kori arūa ki rokhsi kori asúsa ?

82. Call up the coolies one by one.
Bārdoio igān igān kori hui dĕt.

83. Opposite on the further bank of the river two men are going along even with us.
Sīna biāru ju mosh mā barābara gonian.

84. Some one is cooking meat ; I smell it's odour.
Ka mosh pashur pachīran ; horo wori goyan.

85. Get a pick to pick out stones.
Bort nēiko bachan ken angē.

86. You have made a very good arrangement for crossing the pass. I am much obliged to you.
Tu ano gria afqhēriko bachan bo jam tadbir koristai. Awa tu bo minnatdār asúm.

87. The Kāfir boys play many games.
Bashgali zheri bo ishtuk konian.

88. If you please me I shall give you a bag of wheat.
Tu ki mā khushessan tā ta ī burdukkia gom dom.

89. The iron of my plough is broken : what shall I do?
Ma kishīnio chamuro phal shiti shĕr : awa kiāni kōm?

90. The ground is frozen : it is no use to plough now.
Bhūm assur biti shĕr, kishīni no chakūran.

91. Pluck and bring those yellow flowers from under that willow tree.
Hasa telio mulār zerch gambūri chini angē.

92. Pomegranates are good to eat when you are thirsty.
Kya wokt ūqh piāru ki hai dālum jibiko jam.

93. The fast (Ramzān) is over, it is the feast day : the people are assembled for shooting at the poppinjay.
Rochi kulēitai : nimēz biti shĕr : roiān tanbuk diko bachan jama biti asúni.

94. Poplars grow on highlands. Chitral is low and they don't grow there.
Terik sarhaddā boi. Chitrār piāvia shĕr, hatera no bōi.

95. Divide this bag of wheat in four portions : give one portion to each cooly.
Haio gomo bardukki chor hissa korē, har bardoo ta igān igān hissa dĕt.

96. The soldier has forgotten his pouch in his house.
Sipāhi tan dūrā kamarkisa rokhsi hai.

97. Pour out the milk from this ewer into the pot and fill in water instead.
Haio ghānār chiro chidīno drā, chiro jagā ūqh drē tip korē.

98. I have left the powder for my gun in my house.
Tan durā wezo tuiko bachan rokhsi hāstam.

99. Sir! Tauchins are better than pubboos for snow (walking), but take care that they be soft.
Sāhib! Kono sar tāchin jam sheni, magar khabardār ki plash bāni.

100. Weed out (the grass out of) my vegetables.
Ma khār nalau korē.

101. Take this cloth, make me a pair of pyjamas and bring me the remnants of cloth.
Haia zapp gāni phairwāl korē, achhi bechíro zapp gāni giyē.

102. A man came and took my horse by force.
Mosh hai ma istoro bono ditti awai.

103. Don't go near that small pox man, you will take the disease.
Hato mosho ispro nisi shĕr, tu shui m' boqhē, tā sum nisīr.

104. A thorn has run into my foot.
Tzokh mā pōng thu diti shĕr.

105. How many watch men shall I put round your camping ground to-night?
Chuio wokt ta chatīro jagao nisa kama pahirowāl hālēim?

106. A whirlwind threw down my tent.
Pishpili gān hai ma chatīro torēitai.

107. The fire is too high, subdue it.
Angār bo s̲h̲ēr, dophāo.

108. To irrigate my fields I will make a water channel.
Niāmatota ūgh diko bachan zhói s̲h̲epim.

109. In the spring time that beautiful bird sings very well.
Bosuno wokt hasa shiēli buik bo jam churīran.

110. The priest (mulla) is my enemy. He is very badly disposed to me.
Das̲h̲mān mā dus̲h̲man asúr : mā sum bo dis̲h̲ asúr.

(To be continued.)

LEAVES FROM AN OLD INDIAN'S NOTE BOOK.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

The Purra-nânnûrru.

The Hill-Chieftain, 'Strong-bow.'

ONE of the seven celebrated generous chieftains of the old Tamil country was **Val-vil-ôṛi**, or **Âthan-ôṛi ('Strong-bow')**. His title expresses his special characteristic : he was a Nimrod, 'a mighty hunter.' His hill was **Kolli**, on the Malabar coast — a hill from which the Çera (or Malabar) kings take one of their titles. He was also celebrated for his lavish gifts of richly caparisoned elephants. Three songs are inscribed in his praise (152, 153, 204).

This chief is mentioned in the *Pattu-pâṭṭu* as having fought with another of the seven liberal kings, **Kâri** (of whom we shall hear by-and-bye). He is also named in 158, but simply as the 'Lord of the gleaming hill of Kolli.'

His especial bard was **Van-Paraṉar**, whose lyric we translate in a somewhat condensed form. It is doubtless a fair picture of the old Tamil highland chiefs before the Muhammadan invasion.

The Generous Archer.

[152]

What artisan thy arrows excellent
Fashioned with many a stroke, O thou, in chase
Victorious ever with thy mighty bow ?
Low lay they mighty elephants, and slay
Tigers with wide cavernous jaws,
And spotted antelopes with branching horns !
Before them falls the woodland boar's huge head.
The guano, neighbour of the lowly ant,
They kill. Yet **Ôṛi** hunts not for mere gain, —
Destroyer mighty though he be ; for he
Reigns the right wealthy **Lord of Kolli's** fruitful hill
Around whose base the mountain streamlets flow, —
Whose mighty breast chaplets of pearl adorn.

O minstrel maid, sing thou a triumph-song !
And ye, bear burthen with your tambourines.
Make ready lute and lyre, tabor and drum,
And every instrument of joyous melody !
Then will we pass from land to land, and say :

'There is no huntsman like to him : in war
No arm so strong as his to guard and rule —
The Lord of Kolli's hill, Ôṛi's proud height;
The brave one, loved and loving, rich in gifts!'

Another bard, whose epithet was 'Owner of the elephant that chews the sugar-cane,' and who is otherwise unknown, has composed an interesting poem in his praise.

The Sea and the Streamlet.

[204]

'Tis shame to wealthy churls, 'give ye,' to cry;
Sorer disgrace when these their gifts deny.
Doubtless, who saith, 'take this my gift,' does well;
Who saith, 'I take not,' doth in worth excell.

Who thirst for water will not stoop to drink!
Where sparkling wavelets play on ocean's brink,
Tho' draught be crystal clear. Where cattle pass,
And thronging thick make bank a muddy mass, —
And tho' the streamlet trickle scant and slow, —
There's a well-trod path to where sweet waters flow!

If thou give not, thy suppliants blame the hour
And inauspicious signs, and fate's dread power; —
They blame not thee, as all forlorn they sigh,
For thou art liberal as th' o'er-arching sky!

The lavish generosity of the archer-chief is celebrated in hyberbolical strains in 153, which is a singularly artistic Tamil lyric.

Bewildering Munificence.

[153]

Daily the chieftain of the cloud-crowned hill[1]
Gives askers elephants caparison'd.
Great **Âthan-Ôṛi** height, — his hand, adorned
With radiant gems and gold, grasps the round disc, —
Insatiate lover of the deadly strife.

To see his gifts showered down like kindly rain
My merry company went trooping forth.
Garlands and ornaments of silver twine,
With jewel-lotus-flowers, in no cool stream
That grew, and line of elephants they gained.

As they went forth, according music loud
Sounded on every side from instruments
Well-strung: but they — because they hungered not? —
Forbore to dance, and quite forgot their song.[2]

These verses give the merest glimpse of the mighty Tamiḻ archer. For twelve centuries they have existed in South India, have been the source of many legends in other literatures, and are mixed up with traditions of the Pâṇḍiyan kings of Madura, who, being supposed to be incarnations of Çiva, had the bow and arrows as their special attributes. But all that is received and accredited tradition about **Ôṛi** is contained in these three lyrics.

[1] Kolli.

[2] Paralysed and struck dumb by his munificence.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 198.)

1791. — No. III.

Fort William, 30th March 1791, **Read a Letter from Lieutenant Blair.**

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — By **the Viper** which arrived here the 1st instant I had the honor to receive your Letter of January 17th, which Vessel also brought the Relief of Sepoys and Artificers I had applied for.

In a Letter dated Janry. 2d. by **Mr. Topping,** I advised you of having dispatched **the Ranger** to reinforce Prince of Wales Island from whence she is not returned.

His Majestys Sloop Atalanta arrived from Madrass the 16th of January and Sailed the 17th to join the Commodore, **The Perseverance** arrived (five Weeks from Bombay) the 28th of the same Month, and Sailed the Same evening for Prince of Wales Island; by this Ship I was informed that I might expect **the Ariel** with a Store Ship under convoy, having quitted Bombay some time before the Perseverance left that place. I had some days previous to this period began to Construct a Wharf, and used every exertion to have it ready against the arrival of the Store Ship; which arrived with the Ariel the 9th instant with 500 tons of Naval Stores, which are now delivered, and the Ship Ballasted and ready for Sea, which affords the opportunity of forewarding this to Calcutta, returning the first Detachment of Sepoys, and permitting several artificers also to return, and some on leave of absence.

The Viper has been employed since her arrival examining some **Dangers Contiguous to the South Part of Rutland Island.** I am informed by **Captn. Smith** of H. M. Ship Perseverance which is now entering the Port, that he left the Commodore at Prince of Wales Island 11th instant and that He Considered that Settlement to be in perfect Security; **the Elizabeth** Store Vessel had not then reached that place.

When the Ranger returns, it will be necessary to dispatch her to Calcutta for Provisions which will give me an opportunity of addressing you again soon.

Chatham Isld., I am, etca.,
19th Feby. 1791. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

1791. — No. IV.

Fort William, 6th July 1791. The Secretary lays before the Board **a Letter** Which he received on the 4th Instant by the Ranger from **Captain Blair** at the Andamans.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I did myself the honor to address you by **the Jane** Storeship Dated February 19th and therein mentioned that I should Dispatch the Ranger to Calcutta for Provisions on her return from Prince of Wale Island. That Vessel arrived from thence Feby. 27th and agreeable to my instructions Lieutenant Wales brought a good supply of grain which enabled me to postpone the Dispatch of the Ranger. He also brought me a Letter from **the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis** directing me to make a particular **Survey of North east Harbour,** as early as possible. I went immediately on that Service with the Ranger, the Viper, and **the Decked Boat which I built here,** and finished the Survey by the end of March, since that period I have been in daily expectation of the Commodore, who intimated in his letter an intention of touching here on his return to the Coast. The Perseverance sailed for Prince of Wales Island April 20th expecting to find **the Crown** at that place, and returned hither May 17th When I was informed by Captain Smith that the

Commodore had passed, but probably Might return here soon, I now conclude, Service detains Him on the Coast and Dispatched the Viper the 2d. instant with a **Sketch of Northeast Harbour,** in Order that I might receive some further Instructions, which are necessary before I can finish **a Plan of that Harbour.** The first conveyance after the arrival of the Viper from Madras, I shall have the satisfaction of transmitting a Plan of that Harbour for Government. Besides Surveying Northeast Harbour, the Vessels on all intervals of leisure, have been usefully Employed in examining the more **Dangerous parts of the Coasts of this Island.**

The state of the Ranger is such, that a survey on her arrival at Calcutta will be necessary, the Copper I apprehend must be renewed and several other articles of repair will also be necessary. By this Vessel at their own earnest request I send Six Artificiers and nine Laborers some of whom propose returning with their families.

Under the impression that this Settlement will be keeped I send a List of such People as will be necessary for a Relief, and most useful at this place ; and I must again recommend that they be permitted and induced to bring their families with them, that they be payed four Months advance, and engaged for three Years or other Specified Time.

In my last letter I acknowledged the receipt of Rupees 7000 on Account of Arrears, and 5000 for Current Expences. The whole of the Artificiers, Sepoys and Laborers and also the European Gunner, Carpenter and Overseers were payed up to the end of December last, which left a balance of 1204 Rupees. The People now returning to Calcutta are since payed and some other Charges, incurred on account of the Stores and Provisions I must therefore request that a further Supply of Sicca Rupees 10,000 be sent by the return of the Ranger, which besides paying the arrears due the end of May and other Charges, will leave a residue of 5,000 for Current Expences.

I am happy to inform Government that the People in general continue very healthy.

The Natives have been inoffensive, but show no further inclination of intercourse, than paying Occasional Visits with no other apparent intention than to procure some food and peices of iron.

At the request of Captain Smith His Majesty's Ships Perseverance and Ariel have been supplied with Rice and Doll as a Substitute for Bread.

The Provision in Store will be sufficient to last the Settlement till the end of August, when I shall Expect a Supply from Calcutta by the Return of the Ranger. I enclose an Indent for the Quantity I wish to be sent by that Vessel.

His Majesty's Ship Vestal arrived here the 9th instant from Madrass for Naval Stores, and having compleated her Cargoe she sailed again for the same Place the 11th. There still remains, as much as another Frigate could carry off.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

(Sigd.) **Archibald Blair.**

Chatham Island,

June 16th, 1791.

Enclosure.

A List of People for the Settlement at Port Cornwallis to be Engaged for three Years or other Specified Time, not exceeding thirty Years of age, payed four months in advance at Calcutta, permitted to bring their family's and none taken who use Opium or the entoxicating Herbs :—

Serang...	1
Tindal ...	1
Lascars	20
Laborers	10

Bricklayers	2
Fishermen	4
Bakers	2
Taylors	2
Ship Carpenters	2
Washermen	2
	46

Chatham Island, (Sigd.) **Archibald Blair.**
June 12th, 1791.

An Indent for Provisions for the Use of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis.

Rice	400	Maunds
Doll	50	Ditto
Ghee...	20	Ditto
Salt	20	Ditto

Chatham Island, (Sigd.) **Archibald Blair.**
June 12th, 1791.

Ordered that directions be sent to the Master Attendant to cause a Survey to be made of the Ranger immediately and that the Repairs required by that Vessel be executed without loss of time.

Ordered that the Marine Officers be directed to engage the People, discribed in the List received from Captain Blair attending to his recommendation that they may be encouraged to take their Families with them, paid an advance of 4 Months, and engaged for 3 Years or other Specified Time.

Ordered that the Sum of Sa. Rs. 10,000 be sent to Captain Blair on the Return of the Ranger, and that the Marine Pay Master be Called on to Report to what Time he has received from Captain Blair an Account of his Receipts and Expenditures.

Ordered that a Copy of Captain Blair's Indent for Provisions be forwarded to the Marine Store Keeper, with Orders to Comply with it in full, sending the Provisions by the Ranger when she goes back to the Andamans.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 56.)

THE EVIL EYE.

Section I. — Introductory.

How did the human eye come to be the chief home of evil influences? This question suggests a two-fold reply :—

(1) Because the eye is the centre of power and influence in man.

(2) Because, with the increase of man's control over his surroundings, the belief in the countless hosts of souls or spirits, with which early experience peopled space and all things visible, narrowed and grew faint. The spread of man's control over beasts and plants as well as over certain of the powers of Nature was accompanied by the spread of the doctrine that the subject-races of stones, plants and beasts were soulless: and that the dignity of housing a soul-guest belonged to no one except to Man the Ruler.

(1) **Power centres in man's eye.** — The belief that the eye is the chief spirit-centre in man is due to the appearance of the eye, especially to the image seen in looking into the eye.[6] The belief is strengthened by the change in the eye as love, fear, rage or envy takes possession of it; to the pained glance when the Fever spirit looks out from the eye; to the glazing of the eye as the inmate withdraws in death; to the curse in the dead man's eye that drives back the lids and glares defiance at the living.[7] Further, the changing picture in the eye is unlike the changing picture in a mirror. At first sight the changing pictures in a mirror surprise, they even terrify; still mirror pictures are soon found to be surface shadows and are disregarded. The change that passes over the eye is no mere surface change. It is a change in the inmate that looks forth from the eye. It is Love, the drawer, hurtful though with no wish to harm, like the deathless smile of the early (B. C. 600-500) Greek deities or the glamour of Leonardo's ideal faces, drawing to itself the life of the beloved youth, maiden or child.[8] Or it is Hate, the freezer, curdling and stiffening the life of the hated: or Rage, the flamer, burning to ashes the stricken soul: or Flattery with paralyzing sugary gaze: or Envy with look askance withering the envied.[9] The spirit in the eye affects the gazer as well as the person gazed upon. Fear shows and causes paralysis, hate burns the hater, envy withers the envier, devotion and self-sacrifice raise the champion to the heroic the divine. Since even the normal eye is a spirit-home when something unusual is added the eye is still more evidently haunted. Double pupils, ringed pupils, eyes of uneven size, eyes asquint with envy, eyes with a cast or difference of out look are all deemed to be specially haunted.

One eye remains fulfilled not with sudden passion or devotion but charged with practised and concentrated power. The seer, the magician, by genius or by intensity of thought, gains special powers which focus in his eye. His sudden or angry glance bursts the rock, blasts the tree, slays the animal. Where Mahâdev's glance falls the land is consumed as if by fire: the fruitless figtree on which fell the thirsty eye of Christ withers: the look of the German giant Stigandi spoils a field of grass.[10] In all lands the glance of the magician ruins and slays.

(2) **Soul centres in man.** — So far as man, in the pride of his spreading power and control, claimed for himself a soul distinct from the soul in his brothers the beasts, the trees, and the rocks, so far in his own opinion man became the one spirit-centre and the eye of man became the one spirit-focus. Under this changed view all evil influences which to early experience had seemed to lodge in rock, plant

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[6] Compare: The eye moves and stirs in its prison, lives with a separate life, and so it is a spirit: it has thoughts of its own and to see is only a language (Coleridge's Poems, Moxon's Edition, 1870, p. 280). According to Grimm (quoted in Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, article "Evil Eye") the Evil Eye is perhaps more characteristic of German witches than of other witches. You can tell a German witch by seeing your image upside down in her pupil. The sense is that the familiar or evil spirit, by whose power the witch works mischief, lives in the witch's eye. How thoroughly the early Christian Church accepted the existing belief that evil spirits live in men's eyes is shewn by the rules of the touching by the priest with holy oil (compare Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, article "Eyes") of the eyes of the newly-baptized, of repentant heretics, and of the dead. The same belief explains the experience during the Black Death epidemic (Europe, Fourteenth Century) that infection passed along the glance of the plague-stricken. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 34.

[7] An orphan's curse would drag to hell a spirit from on high. But oh more horrible than that is the curse in a dead man's eye. Coleridge's Poems, Moxon's Edition, p. 103.

[8] Notes on the spoiling power of affection are given below. Compare Dante Gabriel Rosetti (*Ballads and Sonnets*, p. 243): "Lo as that youth's eyes burned at thine so went the spell through him and left his straight back bent." Also (Dante and his Circle, p. 60):—"Wherever Beatrice's eyes are turned spirits of love issue from them in flame." Also when Dante saw Beatrice (*Op. cit.* pp. 50, 51) so great a mastery did love gain over him that nothing but the spirits of sight remained to him. Even these were driven out of their own instruments because he entered into that beloved place that he might the better behold Beatrice. The eye-spirits grieved: — "If he had not thrust us forth we should have seen this marvel of a lady." Compare Heliodorus, *Bishop of Thrace* (A. D. 380) quoted in King, *The Gnostics*, p. 114: — "Love owes its beginning to the sight which shoots like arrows the passion into the soul. Of all the passages and senses of the body the sight is the most susceptible as regards external emanations by means of its natural fiery spirit attracting to itself the visits of Love."

[9] Compare Coleridge's *Table Talk*, p. 107:—"Envy dwarfs and withers its worshippers."

[10] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1101. The glance of another German giant burst a pillar. *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

and beast tended to be crowded into man as their sole lodging. Though in theory among the haughtier and more artificial peoples the whole race of evil influences lodge in the human eye three experiences have prevented the mass of mankind from accepting the theory that spirits find a lodging in man alone. The first experience is that of the bulk of the people among all nations. The mass of men are in constant dealing with surroundings more powerful than themselves, and knowing the varying moods of animals and of the powers of Nature they find the early belief that spirits lodge in all things to be in agreement with their experience of life. The second experience is sickness. At least in its less usual forms sickness among animals equally with sickness among men is all but universally believed to be due to possession: and the belief is that sickness is caused by many classes of spirits besides those that travel on the glance of the Evil Eye. The third experience is the case of certain animals whose powers and actions seem to imply the in-dwelling in them of a haunting or possessing spirit. The oddness of cats and the madness of hares continue to secure them a place as favourite spirit-lodgings; and the drawing and numbing power of the snake, the crocodile, the tiger and other of the larger beasts of prey keeps fresh the belief that the glamour or fascination of the Evil Eye is shared by man with the rest of the animals, and therefore that, like man, the other animals are soul or spirit-housers.[11] Under these and other influences the mass of men, even among the higher and more intelligent peoples, fail to accept the theory that man is the only spirit-houser or that evil influences are conveyed solely along the glance of the human eye. The tribes of Afghanistan believe that, like man, animals have the power of casting an evil glance: and, further, that the evil glance of unseen fairies and genii is worse than the evil glance either of men or of animals.[12] In the south of Ireland (1852),[13] on May Eve, the faeries have power and inclination to do all sorts of mischief without restraint. The Evil Eye is then also deemed to have more than its usual vigilance and malignity, and the nurse who would walk in the open air with a child in her arms would be reprobated as a monster. Young and old are all liable to suffer from the 'blast,' a swelling caused by the baneful breath of the 'good people' in a moment of vindictive or capricious malice. In France and Spain, and still more in Italy, though the Evil Eye represents the mystery of glamour, the working of the evil eye by no means covers the whole field of spirit-influence. The classic Greeks and Romans were still less inclined to admit that the human was the sole channel of spirit-influence. The appearance of their guardians in animal forms, the turning of men and women into animals and trees, the widespread and graceful races of the nymphs, and their animal fables where no human mental activity is grudged to animals prove how widespread was the classic belief that man had no monopoly of spirit-housing. In the special form of spirit-possession known as the Evil Eye two proverbs illustrate the Roman belief that the power of fascination was not limited to Man. "*Mantis te vidit*, A locust or grasshopper has seen you," was said to a person causelessly sick: and to a man unable to answer the saying was "*Lupus est tibi visus*, You have seen a wolf," since not to see a wolf till the wolf had seen you caused dumbness.[14] The strength of the belief in the presence of unhoused and of hostile spirits who act direct and not through a human medium is shewn by the universal dread of the ill-effect of praise on any cherished article, animal or person. The basis of the dread of praise is the belief that either envious spiteful spirits or some of the gnat-swarms of the unhoused are tempted to make their lodging in the object praised.

The progress from the belief in swarms of unhoused, or of rock tree or beast housed, spirits to the belief that all spirits centre in man and in the eye of man explains how in all accounts of the Evil Eye

[11] The Italian belief (Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 190) that birds keep certain stones and plants in their nests to guard against fascination is the result of the feeling that animals like men believe fascination to be the work of a spirit. Similarly, the practice among animals of attacking and trying to destroy any of their number who is sick or wounded suggests that like men animals believe sickness to be spirit-possession. That certain animals, the snake, cat, tiger and crocodile, exercise a charm which like forms of the Evil Eye seems to draw to them the soul of the animal charmed is supported by trustworthy evidence. Whether this influence is strength of will, skill in stirring curiosity, or power to paralyse with fear has not been determined.

[12] Bellew's *Afghanistan*, p. 387. [13] Hone's *Every Day Book* (Ward Lock & Co., 1888), Vol. I. p. 297.

[14] Pliny in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 39, n. 59.

so many details belong to the general subject of evil influence.[15] As in the swarms of unhoused spirits by whom men and animals were in danger of being possessed some were hostile while others were solely in search of lodgings so among the influences that come through the human eye there are two sets of influences, some who work without the control even without the knowledge of the looker, and others whose mischief-making is planned by the person in whom they lodge and who has secured his spirit-guest or familiar in order to do his neighbours an injury. In Germany, witchcraft and the Evil Eye are almost synonymous, that is, the mischief wrought is intended by the looker. In Italy, a large share of evil influence is considered to be unintentional, the working of outside spirits whose presence in his eye is unknown to the looker. The two chief spirits which give its deadliness to the glance of the Evil Eye are envy and admiration. Envy with look askance and a passionate longing to be in the place of the envied sends an evil spirit into the envied. Among the tribes of the White Nile envious people are believed to have the Evil Eye.[16] Jewish Scriptures speak of the Evil Eye of envy: according to the Romans *invidia* the look askance was the main instrument of the Evil Eye. Plutarch (Greece, A. D. 150) says:— "The common people cast envious glances on all that prospers." Heliodorus, Bishop of Thrace, A. D. 380, held that when any one looks with an envious eye on what is excellent he fills the surrounding atmosphere with a pernicious quality and transmits his own envenomed exhalations into what is nearest to him.[17] Lord Bacon (1600) held envy to be the essence of the Evil Eye. And Aubrey (1600) says[18]:—"The glances of envy and malice do shoot subtilly: the eye of the malicious person does really infect and make sick the spirit of the other. The Lord Bacon saith," he adds, "that it hath been observed after triumphs the triumpher has been sick in spirits." Most nations agree in the danger of eating and drinking in the sight of those who may have a longing for the food or drink. The envious man is an attractive lodging for envious spirits. In the envious man are housed a store of spirits ready to sidle along his skew glances on their pleasing errand of withering the good fortune of the prosperous. The spirit of Fear, of Anger, of Hate, may be no less strong than the spirit of Envy. Their direct influence on action may be greater. Still for indirect effect no spirit except the spirit of admiration and flattery can equal the hurtful power of the subtle spirit of Envy.

Envy though askance is an open foe whose entrance may be foreseen and prevented. The poison of the admiring glance is harder to counteract than the venom of envy. Admiration may come from oneself or from an honest and well-wishing friend as easily as from a foe. The most fatal phase of admiration is self-admiration. Narcissus died of admiring his own dear loveliness. According to Theocritus (B. C. 280, Idyll VI.) Polyphemous after admiring in the sea his beard, his one eye and his teeth whiter than Parian marble spat thrice on his breast to get rid of the risk of this self-admiration.[19] In England, in the seventeenth century (Salisbury, 1685), in charging the jury in a witch-trial the Judge said:— "The look of certain persons when fixed on a living object destroys it even contrary to the purpose of the miserable person whose glance has the poisonous power. People unwittingly by the power of their evil glance sometimes destroy their beloved children but oftener their cattle." The Judge knew a certain Christian Malprid who had an Evil Eye. He and his children and all his cattle were lean. The only fat animal about the place was a dog who kept himself out of sight in the barn among the beans.[20] In Scotland (1690), it was believed that a man might destroy his own cow by looking at her the first thing in the morning and praising her fatness.[21] Greek mothers were afraid to let fathers gaze long at their children for fear the fondness of the father's

[15] That the belief in the Evil Eye is a refinement and a narrowing and limiting of earlier beliefs in the power of evil influences is shewn by the difference between existing beliefs in Egypt and in the Soudan. Berghoff (*Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899) writes:—"While in the Egyptian Delta the power of the sorcerer does not extend beyond the Evil Eye *(el-ain)* the Soudan does not content itself with such modest results." If the Evil Eye is the last citadel or main keep of evil influences such rites and practices as are of value against fascination in general should be useful against the Evil Eye. This is the case. Most works on the Evil Eye cover the whole field of fascination and witchcraft. This is notable in the writers quoted by Mr. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 35, note.

[16] Berghoff in *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899, p. 2.

[17] Quoted in King's *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 113-114.

[18] *Miscellanies*, pp. 172-173.

[19] Bank's Translation, p. 36.

[20] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Popular Superstitions," First Series, p. 289.

[21] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 9.

gaze would fascinate the child.[22] In Russia, a loving evil-eyed father blinded himself lest his fond looks might harm his children.[23] In Gujarât, in Western India, Hindu children suffer from the Evil Eye either of themselves or of some relation who is fond of them.[24] The Muslims of Gujarât believe that the sweet glance *(mithi nazar)* of the admiring parent on the child gives the child an attack of the Evil Eye.[25] In Gujarât (1888) bullocks which gained a prise at a show and were praised by all who passed them sickened from the Evil Eye.[26] The Kunbi or Hindu cultivator of the Bombay Dakhan never congratulates a friend on his prosperity, his fine oxen, or his handsome wife. If he does, ill-luck will hear and carry away the excess of good fortune.[27] Compare the Indian belief that spirit-attacks have to be specially guarded against at their leading family joyous ceremonies in honour of birth, marriage, coming of age and pregnancy.[28] This belief illustrates Lord Bacon's remark in his essay on Envy :—"The Evil Eye most hurts when the person envied is beheld in glory or triumph because at that time the spirit of the person envied most comes out and meets the blow." The explanation is physical : the strain of excitement and high spirits is followed by the slackness of low spirits and hysteria. The explanation of the apparent contradiction that the words and looks of the well disposed cause mischief may to some extent be the experience that in the working of Nature intention counts for nothing. The belief is mainly due to the experience of the spoiled child, the universal and unquestionable example of the spoiling power of unfeigned admiration. Admiration not only sickens the child, it spoils it. The spoiled child becomes fretful, hard to please, irritable, uneasy. The explanation, if not final, is sensible and fits the conditions. Wandering spirits have been drawn into the child, hearing it praised and seeing it specially cared for. Or any envious onlooker sees how much misery he may cause by haunting the child. These lodgers rule the house of the child and keep the child's own spirit in subjection. Boasting, the pride that goes before a fall, is a form of self-admiration, specially likely to draw into the boaster either envious or lodging-seeking spirits, that is, in later phrase to bring a Nemesis. In English country talk expressions are in common use which show the belief that boasting spoils. "Though I say it that shouldn't, 'Musn't say too much,' I dont wish ee no harm so I wont say more ; I never like to boast of my things ;" "If I boast I am sure to lose something ; Yesterday I was saying I had not broken anything for years and now I have let fall this old glass that belonged to my grandmother."[29] In Italy such mischievous influences act through a human envy-focus or Evil-Eye owner. The merit of the German corrective to boasting is that it deals direct with the spirits whether envious or lodging-seeking. If a German inadvertently boasts of his health, of his good fortune, or of his belongings he stops, raps thrice under the table and says:—"*Unberufen*, You are not wanted." These and other practices, noted below under the head "Guards," combine to show that praise lays the person, animal or thing praised open to the trespass of wandering or of envious spirits. The observances described below are part of the great ritual which has for its object to scare or to prison both the envious ill-natured and the wandering unhoused spirits who, whether in search of mischief or of a lodging, are equally tempted to choose some honoured and happy home, the pet animal, the child, the bride, the conqueror, the dead, the god. When any animal or person is praised the attention of the envious mischief-seeker or of the wandering lodging-seeker is drawn to the object praised as a specially suitable lodging. And the spirit makes its abode in and harms the person or the animal praised unless the trespasser is driven away by the help of some guardian article or name or by one of the minor expedients referred to below.

(To be continued.)

[22] *Op. cit.* p. 14.

[23] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9.

[24] Mr. Vaikuntram, MS. Note.

[25] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.

[26] MS. Note, 1888.

[27] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII., Part I., p. 292.

[28] See Notes in *Indian Antiquary* for June 1898, p. 162. The belief prevails among Muslims as well as among Hindus. An Urdu saying runs : "*Shâdi ka wakt bada bhâri wakt hai*, Marriage time is a very heavy (that is spirit-laden) time."

[29] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 13. Compare to guard a favourite horse the remark of a Somerset farmer (*Op. cit., loc. cit.*) : — "I musn't say too much (in praise of the horse) for fear of bad luck." These remarks refer not to harm done by unhoused spirits making a lodging but to the action of envious or mischievous spirits on the lookout for a chance of annoying. Compare : — "The Neapolitans have a variety of Evil Eye or influence that spoils plans, makes the victim lose his train or his appointment." Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 18-19.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

Preface by R. C. Temple.

The most valuable mine of information regarding Anglo-Indianisms in existence is the famous work of Yule and Burnell — **"Hobson-Jobson: being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial words and phrases, and of kindred terms."** But it is as difficult to unearth a particular item out of the vast amount of matter contained in it as out of an author of, say, the XVIIth Century, by reason of there being **neither index nor cross-references to its 870 pages.** The work, however, is itself so long and the adequate indexing of the words to be found in it is necessarily so tedious and laborious that for years I have been unable to find any one to undertake it. At last Mr. Charles Partridge undertook it, and has had the infinite patience and perseverance to carry it through. The assistance his labours will give to students of Indian philology, history and literature will be very great. Even the most experienced of the students of things Indian is constantly puzzled for the meaning and history of an old and now forgotten Anglo-Indianism, and though a hunt in Yule, as his work has so far been available, will probably be rewarded with success in the end, it is often so long an operation that the most patient may well shrink from it. **It is hoped, therefore, that those who will be able to make use of Mr. Partridge's labours will be saved much avoidable trouble and waste of time.**

The plan of this Cross-Index aims at making reference at once easy and clear. All the Oriental words or Anglo-Indianisms to be found scattered about in Yule's articles are indexed in every form in which they occur, under page, column, heading and year. Thus "Ababai, *s. v.* Papaya, 511, ii," means that the word Ababai is to be found under the heading (*s. v.*) Papaya on p. 511, col. ii. So also "Abada, *s. v.*, 1, i, twice; *s. v.* Laos, ann. 1560, 385, ii," means that the word Abada is to be found twice under that heading (*s. v.*) on p. 1, col. i, and also under the heading (*s. v.*) Laos under the quotation dated 1560 on p. 385, col. ii. By this method, too, it will be seen that the life-history of a word can often be worked out from the index itself. — *E. g.*, the index shows the obsolete word *abada* occurring in 1560, 1585, 1598, 1626, 1631, and 1726. These dates do in fact approximately cover its life-history.

Although I hold this index to be of such importance to students as to print it in full, I do not intend to give my readers the impression that the *Indian Antiquary* is for some time to come to be filled with nothing but a glossarial index, and so I have arranged to issue the pages containing it as extra to the ordinary contents of the *Journal.*

A

Ab. *s. v.* Punjaub: ann. 1333: 562, i.

Ababai. *s. v.* Papaya: 511, ii.

Aback. *s. v.* Backsee: 34, i.

Abād. *s. v.* Sallabad: 593, ii.

Abada. *s. v.*: 1, i, twice; *s. v.* Laos: ann. 1560: 385, ii; *s. v.*: ann. 1585: 1, ii; ann. 1598: 1, ii, twice; *s. v.* India of the Portuguese: ann. 1598: 333, i; *s. v.*: ann. 1626: 2, i; ann. 1631: 2, i; ann. 1726: 2, i.

Abadie. *s. v.* Almadia: ann. 1514: 10, i.

Abado. *s. v.* Abada: ann. 1618: 2, i.

Abash. *s. v.* Hubshee: ann. 1298: 326, ii; *s. v.* India: ann. 1298: 332, ii.

Abassee. *s. v.* Tomaun: ann. 1711: 708, i.

Abassi. *s. v.* Tibet: ann. 1330: 699, i; *s. v.* Room: ann. 1572: 581, ii; *s. v.* Xerafine: ann. 1653: 867, ii.

Abastâ. *s. v.* Zend: 868, ii; ann. 1030: 869, i.

Abaṭh. *s. v.* Abada: ann. 1592: 1, ii, twice.

Ăbaṭṭīkh. footnote, 519, i.

Abattis. *s. v.* Dhawk: ann. 1761: 241, ii.

Abbas. *s. v.* Gombroon: ann. 1622: 294, ii, twice; *s. v.* Lār c.: ann. 1622: 386, ii.

'Abbās. *s. v.* Giraffe: ann. 940: 289, i.

Abbasee. *s. v.* Gosbeck: ann. 1630: 298, i; ann. 1673: 298, i; ann. 1825: 298, i.

'Abbāsī. *s. v.* Gombroon: 294, i.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

STONE IMPLEMENTS IN INDIA.

Stone hatchets found in the Bândâ and Mirzâpûr Districts are worshipped as Mahâdev (Siva). As stone implements are found in many parts of India, it would be very interesting to learn whether any traditions or superstitions are attached to them in the different localities where they are found. Would contributors render assistance in this matter? It would be important to know and trace out these superstitions if they exist.

M. RIVETT-CARNAC in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

ANTI-BRAHMANICAL FEELING AMONG JATS.

ANOTHER instance of hostility to Brâhmans is the inveterate objection of Jâts to Brâhmans bathing at wells and splashing the "sanctified" water into the vessels about and into the wells. The objection might be traced or attributed to a sanitary instinct, were it not that the Jât is not over-clean. His nursery training is innocent of water, and for six or seven years after his birth he is a free agent on the village dunghill. About that time he enters the village tank, seated at the extremity of a buffalo's back with its tail for a sheet-anchor, and the first sensations of a dip are experienced as the buffalo subsides into a hole, the clay of which has supplied the *dalâs* (lumps of clay) for an adjacent habitation. As the buffalo rises in obedience to the twitch about the root of its tail, our *hissadâr* (co-sharer in the village lands) and future *lambardâr* (headman) emerges with a coating of green slime, and yells with delight while greeted with responsive cheers from other urchins on the "shore." By-and-bye this youngster will subscribe to the *dictum*, "Brâhmans should not be allowed to come near wells. They poison the water."

A. P. W. in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG HINDUS.

ARORÂ and Khatrî bridegrooms ride in the marriage procession on mares only. Why is this? There is a cruel practice of passing the bride wrapped up in black blankets under the mare, in which process she is nearly suffocated. What is the origin and meaning of this?

KAKKÛ MALL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ΚΡΥΠΤΑΔΙΑ, *Recueil de documents pour servir à l'étude des traditions populaires.* Tome VI. pp. 193-384: *Die Zeugung in Sitte, Brauch und Glauben der Südslaven. I. Theil: Lieder.* Paris (H. Welter, Éditeur): 1899.

IT is a fact often regretted by ethnologists that contributions to folklore studies, from obvious reasons, generally omit all references to sexual morality or rather immorality. If such works are intended for the general reader and not merely for the scholar, it is certainly right that everything that is in any way obscene should be omitted. But science, as Bacon says, knows no filth. And for the ethnologist the subject of sexual immorality is one of great importance in the history of human civilisation. Both Oriental literature and the folklore of European countries provide ample materials for the study of this subject. Certain Oriental texts too obscene to be made generally accessible, *e. g.*, the *Kâmasûtra* of Vâtsyâyana, were some years ago translated, for private circulation, *i. e.*, for scholars only, by the 'Kâmaśâstra Society.' It is perhaps less known that a collection of obscene European folklore is published, under the title Κρυπτάδια, by the publishing firm H. Welter in Paris. The number of copies issued is very limited, and the price of the books (hitherto 6 vols. have been published) is rather exorbitant, in order to limit their circulation as much as possible to the few who wish to use them for scientific purposes. The last volume contains the work under review. Though the publications in the Κρυπτάδια series are anonymous, the author of this contribution makes no secret of his name. It is Dr. F. S. Krauss, the well-known author of the work *Sitte und Brauch der Süd slaven*, a standard work on South Slavonian folklore. The treatise contains, besides a chapter on such abominations as sodomy and the like, and on the forms of sexual intercourse among the Southern Slavs (to be compared with Vâtsyâyana's chapter *saṁveśanaprakârâḥ*, II. 6) a collection of about 150 Croatian, Servian and Bulgarian folksongs (original texts with German translation) which are, one and all, of the most obscene character. Nothing can be more disgusting and more revolting than these songs sung by the peasants, lads and girls, at rural festivities. Yet, however abhorrent and unpleasant these things are, the ethnologist can as little afford to neglect them entirely, as the physician and the student of criminal anthropology. One thing is certain, the reader of the Κρυπτάδια will not be likely to join in the common talk about the prevalence of sexual immorality among Eastern nations. He will learn that mankind is the same in the East as in the West as regards the darkest sides of human nature.

M. WINTERNITZ.

THE DOCTRINE OF ABSOLUTE UNITY, AS EXPOUNDED BY ABDU-L-KARIM AL-JILANI.

BY SHAIKH MUHAMMAD IQBAL, M. A. (McLEOD ARABIC READER, ORIENTAL COLLEGE, LAHORE).

WHILE European scholars have in vestigated ancient Hindu philosophy with an unflagging enthusiasm, they have as a rule looked upon **Muslim philosophy** as only an unprogressive repetition of Aristotle and Plato. Although during recent years some attention has been paid to this artof Arabic literature, yet the work achieved by reapers in this field bears no proportion to the harvest that may yet be reaped. This comparatively indifferent attitude towards Arabic philosophy was, perhaps, due, to a great extent, to the fascination that Indian speculation has exercised over the mind of Europe ever since the discovery of Sanskrit literature. We admit the superiority of the Hindu in point of philosophical acumen, yet this admission need not lead us to ignore the intellectual independence of the Muslim thinkers. The post-Islamic history of the Arabs is a long series of glorious military exploits, which compelled them to adopt a mode of life leaving but little time for gentler conquests in the great field of science and philosophy. They did not and could not produce men like Kapila and Saṁkarâchârya, but they zealously rebuilt the mouldering edifice of Science, and even attempted to add fresh stories to it. Their originality does not appear at once because the unscientific condition of the age led them to write in the spirit of expositors rather than that of independent thinkers. We wish here to illustrate their originality by considering **that portion of the Islamic philosophy** which has been generally condemned under the contemptuous name of **mysticism.** We believe, however, that mysticism is but metaphysics hidden under the veil of religious phraseology and that the superstructure of mysticism is impossible without a system of **metaphysics serving as its foundation.** It is, in our opinion, essentially a system of verification — a spiritual method by which the ego realises as fact what intellect has understood as theory. We know much in theory and our belief in this kind of knowledge depends on the force and the number of the arguments advanced in its support. The detection of some logical flaw in our argument or the force of the arguments in favour of the opposite view may at once induce us to abandon our theory; but if the ego has "realised" the theory, if the theory, in question, has been a spiritual experience on our part, no argument, however forcible, no logical flaw, can dispose us to abandon our position. Hence mysticism appeals to a standard higher than intellect itself. This standard, waiving the question of its objective existence, is, according to the mystic, **Qalb** (قلب) or heart, the meaning of which will be explained later on. I shall not here dwell upon the scientific necessity of mysticism for the solution of the human enigma,[1] but shall content myself with **a brief statement of the Islamic Metaphysical Mysticism as represented by Shaikh Abdu-l Karîm al Jîlânî in his famous work Al Insânu-l Kâmil. (The Perfect Man).**

This deep thinker was born at Jîlân in 767 A. H., as he himself says in one of his verses, and died in 811 A. H. He was not a prolific writer like Shaikh Muhyu-d Dîn ibn 'Arabî[2] whose mode of thought seems to have greatly influenced his teaching. He combined in himself poetical imagination and philosophical genius, but his poetry is no more than a vehicle for his mystical and metaphysical doctrines. Among other books he wrote a commentary on Shaikh Muhyu-d Dîn ibn 'Arabî's *Fatûhâtu-l Makkiyah*, a commentary on *Bismillah*, and *Al Insânu-l Kâmil* which we propose to consider here.

This famous work comprises two volumes; the first may be looked upon as a treatise on his **metaphysical opinions** while the second attempts **explanations of terms current in popular Muhammadan Theology.** In order to make his doctrine easy of understanding he enters into certain

[1] Du Prel, in his *Philosophy of Mysticism,* shows with great force and clearness that an examination of mysticism is necessary for a complete solution of the human enigma.

[2] Shaikh Muhyu-d Dîn ibn 'Arabî — the greatest of the Muhammadan Sufis was an astonishingly voluminous writer. He believed in the revolution of the earth round the sun, as well as the existence of a world beyond the ocean (468-543 A. H.).

preliminary explanations and declares that in speaking of the ultimate realities we must come down to popular language — a vehicle quite insufficient for the purpose. He avows that the enigma of existence is too high for common phraseology and that his statements must necessarily be "broken lights" of the great truth. After this brief apology he goes on to relate a personal anecdote showing how he once felt intense thirst for truth and how at last he learnt it from a person endowed with "all the attributes of spiritual glory." The introduction ends with a **condensed statement of his doctrine** which he puts in this way : —

Divine Nature soars upwards; human nature sinks downwards; hence perfect human nature must stand midway between the two, it must share both the Divine and the human attributes — in one word the perfect man must be the god-man.

In the first chapter the author explains the meanings of the word (ذات) or **Essence.** Essence pure and simple, he says, is the thing to which names and attributes are given, whether it is existent or non-existent like عنقا. The existent is of two species: —

(1) The Existent in Absoluteness or Pure existence — Pure Being — God.

(2) The existence joined with non-existence — the Creation — Nature.

The Essence of God or Pure Thought cannot be understood; no words can express it, for it is beyond all relation and knowledge is relation. The Intellect flying through fathomless empty space pierces through the veil of names and attributes, traverses the vasty sphere of time, enters the domain of the non-existent and finds the Essence of Pure Thought to be an existence which is non-existence — a sum of contradictions.[3] It is interesting to compare this passage with **Hegel** whose speculations have exercised such a vast influence on the methods of modern scientific investigations. It will appear how strikingly **he anticipates the conclusions of modern German philosophy without seeking the help of the Hegelian method** — a fact which makes his teaching appear rather dogmatic.

After this confession of ignorance the author goes on to say that **Pure Being** has two عرض (accidents); eternal life in all past time and eternal life in all future time. It has two وصف (qualities); God and Creation. It has two نعت (definitions); uncreatableness and creatableness. It has two names اسماء; God and Man. It has وجهان (two faces); the manifested (this world) and the unmanifested (the next world). It has حکمان (two effects); necessity and possibility. It has اعتبار ان (two points of view); from the first it is non-existent for itself but existent for what is not itself; from the second it is existent for itself and non-existent for what is not itself. With **these bits of Hegelianism** the author closes this difficult speculation and begins his second chapter on the name.

Name, he says, fixes the named in the understanding, pictures it in the mind, presents it in the imagination and keeps it in the memory. It is the outside or the husk, as it were, of the named, while the named is the inside or the pith. Some names do not exist in reality but exist in name only — as: عنقاء (a fabulous bird). It is a name the object of which does not exist in reality. Just as عنقاء is absolutely non-existent, so God is absolutely present although it cannot be touched and seen. The عنقاء exists only in idea while the object of the name الله exists in reality and can be known like عنقاء only through its names and attributes. The name is a mirror which reveals all the secrets of the Absolute Being; it is a light through the agency of which God sees Himself.

In order to understand this passage we should bear in mind the three stages of the development of Pure Being, enumerated by the author in his chapter on the Illuminations of the Essence. There he

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5 طار طائر القدس في فضاء هذا لجو الخالي وسبح بكليته في هواء هذا الفلك العالي — فغاب عن الاكوان واخترق الاسماء والصفات بالتحقيق والعيان ثم طار محلقا علي اوج العدم بعد ان قطع مسافة الحدوث والقدم فوجده واجبا لا يجوز وجوده ولا يغيب مفقوده — (صفحه ١٠ جزء الاول)

propounds that the Absolute existence or Pure Being when it leaves its absoluteness undergoes three stages :—(1) Oneness. (2) He-ness. (3) I-ness. In the first stage there is absence of all attributes and relations yet it is called one and therefore oneness marks one step away from the absoluteness. In the second stage the Pure Being is yet free from all manifestation while the third Stage I-ness is nothing but an external manifestation of the He-ness or, as Hegel would say, it is the self-diremption of God. This third stage is the sphere of the name Allah (الله); here the darkness of Pure Being is illuminated, nature come to the front, the Absolute Being has become conscious. He says further that the name Allah is the stuff of all the perfections of the different Phases of Divinity and in the second stage of the progress of Pure Being, all that is the result of Divine self-diremption was potentially contained within the titanic grasp of this name which, in the third stage of the development, objectified itself, became a mirror in which God reflected Himself and thus by its crystallisation dispelled all the gloom of the Absolute Being.

In correspondence with these three stages of the **Absolute Development** the perfect man has three stages of spiritual training, but in his case the process of development must be the reverse, because his is the process of ascent while the Absolute Being had undergone essentially a process of descent. In the first stage of his spiritual progress he meditates on the name, studies nature on which it is sealed; in the second stage he steps into the sphere of the Attribute and in the third stage he enters the sphere of (ذات) the Essence. It is here that he becomes the **god-man**; his eye becomes the eye of God; his word the word of God and his life the life of God — participates in the general life of Nature and "sees into the life of things." It will appear at once how strikingly the author has anticipated the chief phase of the **Hegelian Dialectic** and how greatly he has emphasised the **Doctrine of the Logos** — a doctrine which has always found favour with almost all the profound thinkers of Islam, and in recent times has been readvocated by **M. Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian,** probably the profoundest theologian among modern Indian Muhammadans. The chapter ends with a fanciful discussion about the meanings of the different letters of the word Allah each letter of which word, he says, marks a separate Divine Illumination.

The third chapter is a brief discussion of **the nature of the Attribute.** The author's views on this most interesting question are very important because it is here that his doctrine fundamentally differs from Hindu Idealism. He defines Attribute as an agency which gives us a knowledge of the state of things.[4] Elsewhere he says that this distinction of Attribute from the underlying reality is tenable only in the sphere of the manifested because here every attribute is regarded as the other of the reality in which it is supposed to inhere. This otherness is due to the existence of combination and disintegration in the sphere of the manifested. But the distinction is untenable in the domain of the unmanifested because there is no combination or disintegration there. It should be observed how widely he differs from the advocates of the Doctrine of Maya; he believes that the material world has real existence; it is the outward husk of the real being, no doubt, but this outward husk is not the less real. The cause of the phenomenal world, according to him, is not a real entity hidden behind the sum of attributes, but it is a conception furnished by the mind so that there may be no difficulty in understanding the material world. Berkley and Fichte will so far agree with our author but his view leads him to the most characteristically Hegelian doctrine — **Identity of Thought and Being.** In the 37th chapter of the 2nd volume of his book, he clearly says that Idea is the stuff of which this universe is made: Thought, idea, notion is the material of the structure of nature. While laying stress on this doctrine he says, "Dost thou not look to thine own belief? Where is the reality in which the so-called Divine attributes inhere? It is but the idea."[5] Hence nature is nothing but a crystallised idea. He would give his hearty assent to the

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4 الصفة ماتبلغك حالة الموصوف اي ماتوصل الى فهمك معرفة حالة و تكفيه عندك وتجمعه في وهمك و توضحه في فكرك وتقربه في عقلك فتذوق حالة الموصوف بصفته — (صفحه ٢٢ جزء الاول)

5 ان الخيال اصل الوجود والذات الذي فيه كمال ظهور المعبود الاترى الى اعتقادك في الحق وان له من الصفات والاسماء ماهوله اين محل هذا الاعتقاد الذي ظهرلك فيه الله سبحانه وتعالى انما هوالخيال فلا جل هذا قلنا انه الذات الذى فيه كمال ظهوره سبحانه وتعالى فاذا عرفت بذاظهرلك ان الخيال اصل جميع العالم لان الحق هو اصل جميع الاشياء ... الخ . (صفحه ٢٦ جزالثانى)

results of Kant's *Kritik of Pure Reason* but, unlike him, he would make this very idea the essence of the Universe. **Kant's Ding an sich** to him is a pure non-entity; there is nothing behind the collection of attributes, the attributes are but the real things, the material world is but the objectification of the Absolute Being; it is the other self of the Absolute — another which owes its existence to the principle of difference in the nature of the Absolute itself. Nature is the idea of God, a something necessary for His knowledge of Himself. While Hegel calls his doctrine the identity of thought and being, our author calls it the identity of attribute and reality. It should be noted that the author's phrase (عالم صفات) "world of attributes," which he uses for the material world is slightly misleading. What he really holds is that the distinction of attribute and reality is merely phenomenal and does not at all exist in the nature of things. It is useful because it facilitates our understanding of the world around us, but it is not at all real. It will be understood that the author recognises the truth of Empirical Idealism only tentatively and does not admit the absoluteness of the distinction. These remarks should not lead us to understand that the author does not believe in the objective reality of the thing in itself. He does believe in it, but then he advocates its unity, and says that the material world is the thing in itself; it is the "other," the external expression of the thing in itself. The *Ding an sich* and its external expression or the production of its self-diremption, are really identical, though we discriminate between them in order to facilitate our understanding. If they are not identical, he says, how could one express the other? In one word, he means by *Ding an sich* or ذات, the Pure, the Absolute Being and seeks it through its manifestation or external expression. He says that as long as we do not realise the identity of attribute and reality, the material world or the world of attributes seems to be a veil; but when the doctrine is brought home to us the veil is removed; we see ذات itself everywhere and find that all the attributes are but ourselves. Nature then appears in her true light; all otherness is removed and we are at one with her. The aching prick of curiosity ceases and the inquisitive attitude of our minds is replaced by a state of philosophic calm. To the person who has realised this identity, discoveries of science bring no new information and religion with her *rôle* of supernatural authority has nothing to say. This is the spiritual emancipation.

After these profound remarks the author proceeds to classify the different **Divine Names and Attributes** which have received expression in nature or the crystallised آلوهيت — a doctrine similar to that of the Vedanta. His classification is as follows: —

۴	۳	۲	۱
الاسماء والصفات الجمالية	الاسماء والصفات المشتركة وهى الكمالية	الاسماء والصفات الجلالية	الاسماء والصفات الذاتية [6]
العليم الرحيم	الرحمن الملك	الكبير المتعال	الله
السلام المومن	الرب المهيمن	العزيز العظيم	الاحد
البارى المصور	الخالق السميع	الجليل القهار	الواحد
...	...	...	الفرد
...	...	...	الوتر
...	...	...	الصمد

Each of these names and attributes has its own particular effect by which it illuminates the soul of the perfect man. How these illuminations take place and how they reach the soul is not explained by the author. His silence about these matters throws into more relief the mystical portion of his views and implies the necessity of spiritual Directorship.

[6] The names and attributes of God as He is in Himself (Allah, The One, The Odd, The Light, The Truth, The Pure, The Living); the names and attributes of God as the source of all glory (The Great and High, The All-powerful); the names and attributes of God as all Perfection (The Creator, The Benefactor, The First, The Last); the names and attributes of God as all Beauty (The Uncreatable, The Painter, The Merciful, The Origin of all).

Before considering the author's views of particular Divine Names and Attributes we should note. that **his conception of God,** implied in the above classification, is very similar to that of Schleiermacher While the German theologian reduces all the divine attributes to one single attribute of power, our author sees the danger of advancing a God free from all attributes, yet recognises with Schleiermacher that in Himself God is an unchangeable unity and that His attributes "are nothing more than views of Him from different human standpoints, the various appearances which the one changeless cause presents to our finite intelligence according as we look at it from different sides of the spiritual landscape."[7] In His absolute existence He is beyond the limitations of names and attributes, but when He externalises Himself, when He leaves His absoluteness, when nature is born, names and attributes appear sealed on her very fabric.

Let us now consider what the author teaches about particular Divine Names and Attributes. The first Essential Name is **Allah** or الوهيت (Divinity) which forms the subject of the 4th chapter. Divinity means the sum of all the realities of existence with their respective order in that sum. This name is applied to God as the only necessary existence. Divinity being the highest manifestation of Pure Being, the difference between them is that the latter is visible to the eye but its where is invisible, while the traces of the former are visible, itself is invisible. By the very fact of her being crystallised divinity, Nature is not the real divinity; hence Divinity is invisible and its traces in the form of Nature are visible to the eye. Divinity, as the author illustrates, is water; nature is crystallised water or ice, but ice is not water. The ذات is visible to the eye **(another proof of our author's Natural Realism or Absolute Idealism)** although all its attributes are not known to us. Even its attributes are not known as they are in themselves; their shadows or their effects only are known. For instance, generosity itself is unknown, only its effect or the fact of giving to the poor is known and seen. This is due to the attributes being incorporated in the very essence of ذات. If the expression of the attributes in its real nature had been possible, its separation from the ذات would have been possible also.

After these remarks on the Divinity, the author proceeds to explain the other Essential Names of God — The Absolute Oneness and Simple Oneness. The Absolute Oneness marks the first step of Pure Thought from the darkness of Cecity (the internal or the original Maya of the Vedanta) to the light of manifestation. Although this movement is not attended with any external manifestations, yet it sums up all of them under its hollow universality. Look at a wall, says the author, you see the whole wall but you cannot see the individual pieces of the material that contribute to its formation. The wall is a unity — but a unity which comprehends diversity; so the ذات or Pure Being is a unity but a unity which is the soul of diversity.

The third movement of the Absolute Being is واحديت or Simple Oneness — a step attended with external manifestation. The Absolute Oneness is free from all particular names and attributes, the Oneness Simple takes on names and attributes but there is no distinction between them; one is the essence of the other. The الوهيت is similar to the Simple Oneness, but its names and attributes are distinguished from one another and even contradictory: as generous is contradictory to revengeful.[8] The third step or, as Hegel would say, Voyage of the Being, has another appellation رحمانيت **(Mercy).** The First Mercy, the author says, is the Evolution of the Universe from Himself and the manifestation of His own Self in every atom of the result of His own self-diremption. The author makes this point clearer by an instance. He says that nature is frozen water and God is water. The real name of nature is God (Allah); ice or condensed water is merely a borrowed appellation. Elsewhere the author

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[7] Matheson's *Aids to the Study of German Theology*, p. 43.

[8] This would seem very much like the idea of the phenomenal Brahmana of the Vedanta. Personal Creator or the Prajapati of the Vedanta makes the third step of the Absolute Being or the Noumenal Brahmana. Our author seems to admit two kinds of Brahmana — with or without qualities like the Samkara and Bâdarâyana. To him the process of creation is essentially a lowering of the Absolute Thought which is Asat, in so far as it is absolute and Sat, in so far as it is manifested and hence limited. Notwithstanding this Absolute Monism, our author inclines to a view similar to that of Râmânuja. He seems to admit the reality of individual soul and seems to imply, unlike Samkara, that Iswara and His worship are necessary even after the attainment of the higher knowledge — a remark which tends to free our author's doctorine from the political and social dangers of the Vedanta.

calls water the origin of knowledge, intellect, understanding, thought and idea. This instance leads the author to guard against the error of looking upon God as immanent in nature or running through the sphere of material existence. He says that immanence implies disparity of being; God is not immanent because He is Himself the existence. Eternal existence is the other self of God, it is the light through which He sees Himself. As the originator of an idea is existent in that idea, so God is present in nature. The difference between God and man (as one may say) is that His ideas materialise themselves, ours do not. It will be remembered here that Hegel would use the same line of argument in freeing himself from the accusation of Pantheism.

These remarks on Mercy are followed by a brief notice of the word ربوبيت **(Providence).** He defines it as the sum of all that existence stands in need of. Plants are supplied with water through the force of this name. The natural philosopher would express the same thing differently: he would speak of the same phenomena as resulting from the activity of a certain force of nature. Our author would call it a manifestation of ربوبيت, but unlike the natural philosopher, he would not advocate the unknowability of that force. He would say that there is nothing behind it, it is the Absolute Being itself. This brief chapter ends with some verses of his own composition, one of which is given here, though marred in the rendering: —

"All that is, owes its existence to you and you owe your existence to all that is."[9]

Another Sufi has expressed a similar thought still more boldly: —

"I owe to God as much as God owes to me."

We have now finished all the essential names and attributes of God and proceed to examine the **nature of what existed before all things.** The Arabian Prophet, says the author, was once questioned about the place of God before creation. He said that God, before creation, existed in عماء **(Blindness).** It is the nature of this Blindness or primal darkness which the author now proceeds to examine. The chapter is particularly interesting, because the word translated into modern phraseology would be **"The Unconsciousness."** This single word impresses upon us the foresightedness with which the author anticipates metaphysical doctrines of modern Germany. He says that the Unconsciousness is the reality of all realities; it is the Pure Being without any descending movement; it is free from the attributes of God and creation; it does not stand in need of any name or quality because it is beyond the sphere of relation. It is distinguished from the Absolute Oneness because the latter name is applied to the Pure Being in its process of coming down towards manifestation.

This brief but very interesting chapter ends with a very important caution. He says that when we speak of the priority of God and posteriority of creation, our words must not be understood as implying time, for there can be no duration of time or separateness between God and His creation. Time, contiguity in space and time, are themselves creations and how can one piece of creation intervene between God and His creation. Hence our words before, after, where, whence, *etc.*, in this sphere of thought, should not be construed to imply time or space. The ذات or the real being is beyond the grasp of human conceptions; no category of material existence can be applicable to it, because, as Kant would say, the laws of phenomena cannot be spoken of as obtaining in the sphere of noumena. It is a matter of regret that the author does not touch here upon the anthropomorphic conceptions of God inculcated by positive religion but ends his chapters with some verses which run as follows: —

"O Thou who art one having the effect of two. Thou hast comprehended under thyself all the beauties of perfection, but owing to their being heterogeneous to one another, they became contradictories which became one in thee."[10]

كان الوجود بكونكم — و بكونه قد كنتم (صفحه ۳۲ جزء الاول) [9]

يا جوهرا قامت به عرضان — يا واحدا في حكمه اثنان [10]
جمعت محاسنك العلا فتوحدت — لك باختلاف فيهما ضدان (صفحه ۳۶ جزء الاول).

The 13th, 14th, and 15th chapters are nothing but a jumble of mystical phraseology. We have already noticed that man in his progress towards perfection has three stages: the first is the meditation of the name which the author calls the illumination of names. He remarks that "when God illuminates a certain man by the light of His names, the man is destroyed under the dazzling splendour of that name, and when thou calleth God, the call is responded to by the man." The effect of this illumination would be, in Schopenhauer's language, the destruction of the individual will, yet it must not be confounded with physical death because the individual goes on living and moving like the spinning wheel, as Kapila would say, after he has become one with Prakriti. It is here that the individual cries in pantheistic mood: —

"She was I and I was she and there was no-one to separate us."[11]

The second stage of the spiritual training is what the author calls the Illumination of the Attribute. This illumination makes the perfect man receive the attributes of God in their real nature in proportion to the power of receptivity possessed by him — a fact which classifies men according to the magnitude of this light resulting from the illumination. Some men receive illumination from the divine attribute of Life and thus participate in the soul of the universe. The effect of this light is soaring in the air, walking on water, changing the magnitude of things (as Christ so often did). In this wise the perfect man receives illuminations from all the Divine attributes, crosses the sphere of the name and the attribute and steps into the domain of ذات (Essence) — Absolute Existence.

As we have already noticed, the Absolute Being, when it leaves its absoluteness; has three voyages to undergo, each voyage being a process of particularisation of the bare universality of the Absolute Essence. Each of these three movements appears under a new Essential Name which has its own peculiarly illuminating effect upon the human soul. Here is the end of our author's spiritual ethics; **man has become perfect,** he has amalgamated himself with the Absolute Being, or **has learnt what Hegel calls The Absolute Philosophy.** "He becomes the paragon of perfection, the object of worship, the preserver of the universe."[12] He is the point where عبوديت (Man-ness) and الوهيت (God-ness) become one and result in the birth of the god-man.

Although the author devotes a separate chapter to the perfect man in the second volume of his book, yet we will consider that chapter here in order to secure a continuous view of his doctrine. Here he unfolds **his Doctrine of the Self-diremption** in a new dress. He says that the perfect man is the pivot round which revolve all the "heavens" of existence, and the sum of the realities of material existence corresponds to his unity. The عرش corresponds to his heart; the كرسي (The Chair) to his I-ness; the سدرة المنتهى (The Plum Tree) to his spiritual position; the قلم (Pen) to his intellect; the لوح محفوظ (The Preserved Tablet) to his mind; the elements to his temperament; matter to his faculty of perception; air to the space he occupies; the اطلس (Heaven) to his opinion; the starry heaven to his intelligence; the seventh heaven to his will; the sixth to his imagination; the fifth to his perseverance; the fourth to his understanding; the third to his fancy; the second to his reflection, and the first to his memory. Of the above-mentioned correspondences, the author has very obscure explanations and goes on to enumerate all the phases of material existence in order to explain the truth that the perfect man is truly a microcosm and moves in every sphere of thought and being.

His doctrine implies that **angels** have not a separate existence of their own; all have their source in the faculties of the perfect man; in one word they are personifications of his faculties. The Qalb (قلب) of the perfect man is the source of اسرافيل (the source of life), his intellect the source of

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فكنت انا هي و هي كانت انا وما—لها في وجود مفرد من ينازع (صفحه ۴۰ جزء الاول) 11
(The identity of the *tat* and the *tvam.*)

ان الحق اذا تجلى علي عبده وافناه عن نفسه قام فيه لاطيفة الهية فتلك الطيفة قد تكون ذاتية 12
وقد تكون صفاتية فاذا كانت ذاتية كان ذالك الهيكل الانساني هو الفرد الكامل والغوث الجامع عليه
يدور امرالوجود وله يكون الركوع والسجود وبه يحفظ الله العالم— (صفحه ۴۸ جزء الاول)

جبرائيل (the source of revelation), that part of his nature which is subject to the illusions of fear, the source of عزرائيل (the angel of fear), his will the source of ميكائيل, and his reflection the source of the rest of the angels. The interpretation of these phrases is very doubtful, but it seems to be that what are called angels are nothing but different phases of the activity of the different powers of his nature. How the perfect man reaches this height of spiritual development, the author does not tell us, but he says that at every stage he has a peculiar spiritual experience in which there is not even a trace of doubt or agitation. The instrument of this experience is what he calls the **Qalb** (heart), a word very difficult of definition. He gives a very mystical diagram of Qalb and explains it by saying that it is the eye which sees the names, the attributes and the Absolute Being successively. It owes its existence to a mysterious combination of soul and mind (نفس وروح) and becomes by its very nature the organ for the recognition of the ultimate realities of existence. Perhaps Dr. Schenkel's sense of the word **Conscience** would approach our author's meaning of the word. All that the قلب, or the source of what the Vedanta calls, the Higher Knowledge, reveals is not seen by the individual as something separate from and heterogeneous to himself; what is shown to him through this agency is his own reality, his own deep being. This characteristic of the agency differentiates it from the intellect the object of which is always different and separate from the individual exercising that faculty. But the spiritual experience, as the Sufis of this school hold, is not permanent; moments of spiritual vision, says Matthew Arnold,[13] cannot be at our command. The god-man is he who has known the mystery of his own being, who has realised himself as god-man; but when that particular spiritual realisation is over, man is man and God is God. Had the experience been permanent, a great moral force would have been lost and society overturned.

Let us now sum up the author's **Doctrine of the Trinity.** We have seen the three movements of the Absolute Being or the first three categories of Pure Being; we have also seen that the third movement is attended with external manifestation which is the self-diremption of the Essence into God and man. This separation makes a gap which is filled by the perfect man who shares in both the Divine and the human attributes. The author holds that the perfect man is the preserver of the Universe, hence in his view, the appearance of the perfect man is a necessary condition for the continuation of nature. It is easy, therefore, to understand that in the god-man, the Absolute Being which had left its Absoluteness, returns unto itself and but for the god-man it could not have done so, for then there would have been no nature, and consequently no light through which God could have seen Himself. The light through the agency of which God sees Himself is due to the principle of difference in the nature of the Absolute Being itself. He recognises this principle in the following verses: —

> If you say that God is one, you are right, but if you say that He is two, this is also true.
>
> If you say no, but He is three, you are right, for this is the real nature of man.[14]

The **perfect man,** then, is the joining link. On the one hand he receives illumination from all the essential names, on the other hand all the divine attributes reappear in him. These attributes are: —

1. Independent life or existence.
2. Knowledge which is a form of life as the author proves from a verse of the Qur'ân.[15]
3. Will — the principle of particularisation or the manifestation of Being. The author defines it as the illumination of the knowledge of God according to the require-

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[13] "We cannot kindle when we will
The fire which in the heart resides."

[14] ان قلت واحدة صدقت و ان تقل — اثنان حق انه اثنان
او قلت لا بل انه لمثلث — فصدقت ذاك حقيقة الانسان (صفحه ٨ جزء الاول)

[15] أو من كان ميتا فاحييناه يعني جاهلا فعلمناه و جعلنا له نورا يمشي به في الناس
(صفحه ١٥ جزء الاول)

ments of the Essence; hence it is a particular form of knowledge. It has nine manifestations all of which are different names for love, the last is the love in which the lover and the beloved, the knower and the known merge into each other and become identical. This form of love, the author says, is the Absolute Essence; as Christianity teaches God is love. The author guards, here, against the error of looking upon the individual act of will as uncaused. Only the act of the universal will is uncaused; hence he implies the Hegelian Doctrine of Freedom, and holds that the acts of man are both free and determined.

4. Power which expresses itself in self-diremption — creation. The author controverts Shaikh Muḥyu-d Dîn ibn 'Arabi's position that the Universe existed before its creation in the knowledge of God, as Hamilton holds. He says, this would imply that God did not create it out of nothing and holds that the Universe, before its existence as an idea, existed in the self of God.

5. The Word or the reflected being. Every possibility is the word of God; hence nature is the materialisation of the word of God. It has different names — The tangible word, The sum of the realities of man, The arrangement of the Divinity, The spread of Oneness, The expression of the Unknown, The phases of Beauty, The trace of names and attributes, and The object of God's knowledge.

6. The Power of hearing.

7. The Power of seeing.

8. Beauty — that which seems least beautiful in nature (the reflected beauty) is in its real existence, beauty. Evil is only relative; it has no real existence; sin is merely a relative deformity.

9. Glory or beauty in its intensity.

10. Perfection which is the unknowable essence of God and therefore Unlimited and Infinite.

We have now **the doctrine of the perfect man completed.** All through, the author has maintained his argumentation by an appeal to different verses of the Quran[16] and to the several traditions of the Prophet the authenticity of which he never doubts. Although he reproduces the Christian doctrine of the Trinity except that his god-man is Muhammad instead of Christ, he never alludes to his having been ever influenced by Christian Theology. He looks upon the doctrine as something common between the two forms of religion and accuses Christians of a blasphemous interpretation of the doctrine — of regarding the Personality of God as split up into three distinct personalities. Our own belief, however, is that this splendid doctrine has not been well-understood by the majority of Islamic and even Christian thinkers. The doctrine is but another way of stating the truth that the Absolute Unity must have in itself a principle of difference in order to evolve diversity out of itself. Almost all the attacks of Muhammadan theologians are directed against vulgar beliefs while the truth of real Christianity has not sufficiently been recognised. **I believe no Islamic thinker will object to the deep meaning of the Trinity as explained by this author, or will hesitate in approving Kant's interpretation of the Doctrine of Redemption.** Shaikh Muḥyu-d Dîn ibn 'Arabi says that the error of Christianity does not lie in making Christ God but that it lies in making God Christ.

[16] While remarking on the Bible the author says: — "The Bible begins with the name of the Father, the Son and the Mother, just as the Quran begins with the three Divine Names رحیم, رحمن, الله. But the people of Christ did not understand the real meanings of the Bible and interpreted the Father, the Mother, and the Son as the Spirit, the Virgin and Christ respectively. They could not understand that the Father meant الله; the Mother the real nature of the Pure Being and the Son the Book — the Universe in itself or that which is the offshoot of the deep reality of the Essence. Although the author accuses Christians of a very serious misunderstanding yet he regards their sin as venial holding that their شرک (the splitting up of the Divine Personality) is the essence of all توحید (Unity).

After these remarks on the Doctrine of the Trinity let us now review the remainder of the author's treatise. His principal doctrine is complete before us but he has got something more to say. He devotes a separate chapter to the He-ness, the second movement of the Absolute Being, but drops no new remark here. He then goes on to consider the I-ness, the third movement of the Absolute and defines it as the contrast of God with what is His own manifestation and says that I and He are but the outside and the inside of the same thing. In the three succeeding chapters the author considers the words Eternity and Uncreatableness and guards against the error of understanding them as implying time. The 31st chapter goes under the heading of "The Days of God" by which phrase the author means the different manifestations of the Absolute. The Absolute Being has two phases; in Himself He is one and unchangeable, but in the second phase He is the cause of all diversity — nay is the diversity. That which appears is not unreal, it is the Absolute Being itself. It is interesting to observe that the author uses here the word تحوّل which exactly means **Evolution** implying the identity of the object under all its diverse forms. The first volume ends here with brief notices of the Qurân, the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms and the Bible. The author's remarks on the different Books are very interesting but are not directly connected with the main theory he propounds. We, therefore, proceed to estimate the value of his philosophical labour. While summing up his Doctrine of the Perfect Man, we have seen that although he has anticipated many of the chief doctrines of modern German Philosophy and particularly Hegelianism, yet he is **not a systematic thinker** at all. He perceives the truth, but being unequipped with the instrumentality of a sound philosophical method, he cannot advance positive proofs for his position or rather cannot present his views in a systematic unity. He is keenly alive to the necessity of philosophical precision, yet his mysticism constantly leads him to drop vague, obscure remarks savouring of Platonic poetry rather than philosophy. His book is a confused jumble of metaphysics, religion, mysticism and ethics, very often excluding all likelihood of analysis. In his defence of the Islamic Institutions, he implies that religion is something quite different from metaphysics, yet in his general treatment he is so firmly convinced of their identity that he regards religion as applied metaphysics and to a great extent **anticipates the views of the modern Neo-Hegelian School of England.** Amidst the irregularity and general want of clearness, his chief doctrine, however, is sufficiently clear — a doctrine which makes the principle merit of our author and brings him out as the triumphant possessor of the deep metaphysical meaning of the Trinity. In the garb of mysticism he has dropped remarks which might be developed so as to result in a philosophical system, but it is a matter of regret that this sort of Idealistic Speculation did not find favour much with later Islamic thinkers.

SOME NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHITRĀL, AND IDIOMATIC SENTENCES AND TRANSLATIONS OF TEN ORIENTAL STORIES.

BY COLONEL J. DAVIDSON, I.S.C.

(Continued from p. 200.)

(1) The Old Woman and the Goose.

Ī wāo balibat hāléistai ki har anusār ī aikūn surmo draóshoi. Ī bār
An old woman a goose possessed which every day on one egg of gold used to lay. One time
wāo tan herdiār khiāl arĕr (dunistai) agar haio balibato jibarūm ziād kōm
old woman own heart in thought made (thought) if this (of) goose of food more I shall make
har anus jū surmo aikūn dōi (drēir). Wāo hamūsh gumān kori har anus
every day two gold of eggs it will lay. Old woman thus thought having made every day
balibato-ta kandūri ki rai koraóshoi jibarūm dióshéi. Wa ī kama basār balibat
goose to as much as a desire it used to make food she used to give. Then a few days in goose
bo - thul biti ziād aikūn no drēistai.
very fat having become more eggs not laid.

(2) The Bull and the Fly.

Ī anus ī lott reshū niāmaten muji ootai (?). Ī magas mutakabar giti horo
One day a big bull crops among was grazing. A fly conceited having come it of
surongo sora nishai. Magas tan herdiā lū prai awa bo kāwi assúm; agar haiera hāl — bōm
horn on sat. The fly own heart in word gave I very heavy am; if here remain shal
albatta reshū tan kapāl bhūm ār āh nēiko no bōi. Wa magas dūl lū
assuredly the bull own head ground from above to lift up not shall be able. Then the fly loud voice
prai "He reshū! burtuiman ki tā ta bo mushakat dōm, hamush ki shēr lū dēt awa
made "Oh bull! I fear that thee to much trouble I am giving, thus if it is word give I
shau bīm." Reshū lū prai "He magas! mā bachan fikarmand ma bōs haio
quickly will go." The bull word gave "Oh fly! of me for sake of anxious not be thou of this
bachan ki kya wokt apat ki tu mā ta lū no práu awa tā nishikār
for sake of that what time until that thou me to word not gavest thou I of thee sitting from
khabar no biróoshtam."
news (aware) not was."

(3) A Midsummer's Walk.

Ī mosh grānishā ī khor mosho poshāwa togho duro ta bagheai. Hasa mosh tan
A man at midday one other man for seeing of him house to went. That man own
dur ār poshitai ki hasa khor mosh goyan, khor tan shādirāno ta réistai "kya wokt
house from saw that that other man is coming, and own servants to said "(at) what time
ki hēs mā bāba bashār kói ki 'duro khasam kurē asúra' bisa lū
that that (person) me concerning enquiry makes that 'house of owner where is' you word
dyōr 'hanisē ī khor mosho guna shapik jibiko bachan bagheai.'" Hamūnia mosh
give 'now one other man to food to eat of for sake has gone.'" In the mean time the man
toristai ochē bashār arēr "duro khasam kurē asúra?" Hatēt lū prāni "ispa lottro beri
arrived and enquiry made "house of owner where is?" They word gave "of us master outside
bī asúr." Mosh réistai "haiya tāfiā ki beri bī asúr lott akmak asúr." Duro
gone is." The man said "this heat in he who outside gone is big fool is." House of
khasam tan sor tsalakhduriār nēi lū prai "tu ki haiya wokt kasīsan
owner own head window from having put out word gave "thou who this time art moving about
lott akmak asús, awa durust anus tan durā nishi asúm."
big fool art, I right (all) day own house in seated am."

(4) The Old Man who did not know his own Mind.

Ī bap adrukhār ī bār paliko dār gāni tan durota bagha-oshoi.
One old man forest from one load burning of wood having taken own house to was going.
Kya wokt ki tsakro pōn kosiástai bap khasmat biti bār tan
What time that somewhat road he had marched old man tired having become load own
kutuār bhumā petzistai ochē dul awāz arēr "He marak firishta! mā haiya bala ār
shoulder from ground on threw and loud noise made "Oh of death angel! me this misery from
khalās kōrē." Hasa wokt briko malik togho pusht i rupitai ochē lū prai "mā kya
loose make." At that time dying of angel of him front in stood up and word gave "me what
bachan mashki asúsa? khor mā sum tā kya koram shēr?" Bap haiya
for sake of calling art thou? and me with (to) thee what business is?" The old man this
burtu nassu sūrat poshi ronzitai; réistai "He brār! mihrbāni kōrē khor mā sum yār
fear like (?) form having seen trembled; he said "Oh brother! kindness do and me with friend
bōs haio bachan ki awa hai bār wā tan kutuā gānim, fakat haio bachan
be of this for sake of that I this load again own shoulder on may take, only this of by reason of
tā māshki asúm."
thee calling am."

(5) The Negro and the Snow.

Kashmiro watanā i sodāgar kūwatino i māristan ásistai ki
Of Kashmir in country one merchant powerful (rich) of one slave was (such) that
hátoqho post rokhnio barābar shāh oshoi. Ī anus yomuno wokt māristan tan chillai
of him skin charcoal of like black was. One day winter of time slave own clothes
nikistai (nēistai ?) khor tsakro hīm gāni bo mushakato sum horo · tan hadama
took off and a little snow having taken much labour with of him own body on
koshiko prai. Hamūniā horo lottro hái, khor hai koram nozhān poshi
to rub began (gave). In the mean time of him master came, and this work curious having seen
reístai "haiera kya kosan ?" Māristan lū prai " tan hadam yuzo sora kashēiman
said " here what doest thou ?" Slave word gave " own body ice with I am rubbing
haio bachan ki haio watano roiāno barābar ishpēro bōm." Horo lottro
this of for sake of that this of country of men of equal white I may become." Him of master
hossi reístai " He akmak! abas tan — sora mushakat ma kōrē. Albatta (wanga)
having laughed said " Oh fool! in vain self — with labour (do) not make. Certainly (perchance)
ta hadam himo birēir magar ta hadam haio bachan ishpero no bōr."
thy body snow will melt but thy body this of by reason of white not will become."

(6) A Haughty Spirit and its Destruction.

Ī anusā i leshu niāmatan jiba oshoi; hatētān muji bo baqhuzan azhēli ishtuk korā
One day on one ox crops was eating; them among many frogs young play making
óshoni. Nāgāhan hatētāno mujār i-wāli leshūo pōngo mul ta ghāri
were. By chance of them among from one ox of foot underneath having been trampled
obristai. Khor baqhuzān haia koram poshi tan duro ta ushturistani khor tan nanota
died. Other frogs this work having seen own house to fled and own mother to
hai wākiya lū prāni, ochē reístani " He nan! hamūni lott haiwān ispa kya wokt no
this occurrence word gave, and they said " Oh mother! so big animal we any time not
poshi asúsi." Hai lū kārā ditti lott baqhuz tan shikam bo shupritai, reístai " Hasa
seeing are." This word ear in having given big frog own belly much blew out, said " That
hamūni lott oshoia ?" Azhēliān lū prāni " Di. Hamo sar bo lott oshoi."
(animal) so big was ?" The young ones word gave " Yes. That than much big was."
Achhār hasa tan shikamota ju di harūn farākh arēr, bashār arēr, " Hēs hamūni
Afterwards she own belly two even as much extended made, enquiry made, " It thus
lott oshoia ?" Lū prāni " He nan! Hasa hamo — sar hazār bār lott asúr."
big was ?" Word they gave " Oh mother! It that — than a thousand times big is."
Magar, lott baqhuz takabaro sora tan shikam hamo sar di besh farākh kora óshoi khor
However, big frog pride with own belly that than also more extended make did and
ākhir koro post phat biti obristai.
at last of it skin (split in) half having become she died.

(7) The Simple Thief.

Ī mosho durār i rupio khālta choqhi hoi. Rupio khasam diko kāziota
One man of house from one rupees of bag stolen became. Rupees of owner town of judge to
khabar arēr. Kāzi khashap duro roiān mashkitai magar bo takik koriko
news made. The judge immediately house of men called up but much enquiry making of
sora choqh nēiko no obestai. Ākhir hamitānota reístai "wazeno ta bisa durustiānota igān
with thief to pick out not was able. At last them to he said " night at you all to each
igān wetuk phat gaz drung dōm, khor harūsh bōi ki choqho wetuk khor
each a stick half yard (cubit) long I will give, and thus it shall be that thief of stick other
roiāno wetukān sar i chamūto drung bōi." Hamūsh lū ditti kāzi har
men of sticks than one inch of long shall become." Thus word having given judge every

rói ta ĭ wetuk prai kh̲or hamitāno rukh̲sat arĕr. Chui barābar chogh̲ burtuitai
man to one stick gave and them leave to depart made. Night exactly (midnight) thief feared

kh̲or tan herdiā kh̲iāl arĕr "Agar tan wetuko ĭ chamūto puri chinim
and own heart in thought made "If own stick one inch of length of (?) I shall break off

chucho wokt kh̲or wetukāno barābar bōi." Hamūsh̲ kh̲iāl kori tan wetukār
morning time other sticks of equal it will become." Thus idea having made own stick from

ĭ chamūt kori puri chinistai. Pinga chui kh̲or roiāno sum ĭ biti
one inch having made length of (?) he split. In the morning other men with one having become

bagh̲eai. Kāzi wetukan posh̲i haio hikmato sora chogh̲ dositai.
he went. Judge sticks having seen this trick with thief caught.

(8) Justice on the Principles of Human Nature.

Ju kimiriān igh̲o-guna giti azh̲ēlio bachan kōt honi;
Two women one with another having come a child for sake of quarrelling became;

khalau gawa no ásistani. Hamitān kāzio guna bagh̲āni, kh̲or i-wāli teztez lū
other (?) witness not were. They judge of near went, and one strong (persistently) word

prai "hai azh̲ēli ma asúr," kh̲or hasa ĭ reósh̲oi "hai azhēli mā asúr, gh̲urma!
gave "this child of me is," and that (other) one was saying "this child of me is, your worship!

mā haka insāf kōrē." Kāzi lā ilāj biti kongor-dyako
of me in the right justice do." The judge without remedy having become sword-smiter

māsh̲kitai kh̲or hamota lū prai "hai azhēlio ju bash̲ kōrē kh̲or ĭ bash̲ ĭ kimiriota dĕt ochē
called for and him to word gave "this child of two parts make and one part one woman to give and

ĭ bash̲ ĭ kimiriota dĕt." Kongor-dyak kāzio lū kār kori tan kongor
one part (other) one woman to give." The sword-smiter judge of word ear having made own sword

nĕistai kh̲or azhēlio ju bash̲ koriko bachan taiār hoi. Haio tamāsh̲o muji ĭ
drew out and child of two parts to make for sake of ready became. This show in one

kimiri phik biti rupitai kh̲or hech̲ kya lū no prai, magar hasa ĭ kimiri dūl lū
woman silent being rose up and any word not spoke, but that (other) one woman loud word

sora kelitai kh̲or reístai "He sahib! mā azhēli ma māre, agar harūsh̲ insāf sh̲ĕr awa tan
with cried out and said "Oh Sir! my child not kill, if thus justice is I own

dāwa shokh̲sh̲istam; Kh̲udāo bachan haso kimirota mā azhēli dĕt." Kāzi "hai
claim have foregone; God of for sake of that woman to of me the child give." The judge this

lū kār kori tan herdiā yakīn arĕr ki hai kimiri azhēlio sh̲angūr-nan asúr.
word ear having made own heart in certain made that this woman child of womb (?)-mother is.

Kāzi azh̲ēli hatogh̲o ta prai kh̲or hasa ĭ kimirio jaza prai, kh̲or tan roiānota
Judge child her to gave and that other woman to punishment gave, and own men to

bandĕistai ki "hai changak kimirio haio watanār dalāōr."
ordered that "that lying woman this country from expel."

(9) The Flatterer's Tale.

Lo ĭ kāgo kano phurā nish̲i assika posh̲itai, kh̲or tan apzkā tsakro kilāl.
A fox one crow tree of branch on sitting being saw, and own mouth in a little cheese.

Tan herdiā gumān arĕr ki "awa hai zogh̲alo lusnik tan hostā kechān gānim?"
Own heart in thought he made that "I this delicious morsel own hand in how shall I take?"

Achhār lo dul hawāz sora reístai "He kāg! ma jān! Hanun tā posh̲iko sum bo
Then the fox loud voice with said "Oh crow! my soul! To-day thee seeing with very

kh̲ush̲ān asúm. Ta mirza surat ochē pochān sh̲ah ma herdi behosh̲ arĕni. Mā
rejoiced I am. Thy noble form and feathers black my heart without sense have made. Me

bachan ĭ sh̲irīn bash̲āo, haio bachan ki gh̲icho kh̲ush̲āni ochē herdio kh̲ush̲āni ĭ
for sake of one sweet (thing) sing, this for sake of that eye of pleasure and heart of pleasure one

barābar bāni." Hai kāg hai ish̲kālio lūan kār arĕr, tan bash̲ēiko hunar posh̲ēiko
equal may become." That crow that flattery of words ear made, own singing of skill showing

bachan tan apak huritai. Tan apak huriko sum kilālo lusnik pasta prai. Lo
for sake of own mouth opened. Own mouth opening with cheese of morsel down gave. Fox
khushap horo gāni ushturitai ochē lū prai "He mā jān! tā awāz hanun dish shēr.
immediately it having taken fled and word gave "Oh my soul! thy voice to-day bad is.
Mā tsak dudaira biko pat tu phik bōs. Haio muja mā nasīhat kār kōrē
My somewhat far being until thou silent become. This meanwhile in of me advice ear make
'ishkāli koryako lūo kār ma kōr.'"
'flattery maker of word ear not make.'"

(10) Silence is Golden.

Ī zap-nagako ī gordokh oshoi ochē horo gurzen muji rochiko
One clothes-washing (man) of one ass was and it garden in to graze of
bachan lakhordoóshoi. Gurzeno roiān gordokho dati horo haterār
for purpose of he used to let loose. Garden of people the ass having beaten it from there
daleístani. Ī anus zap-nagak purdumeri hasa gordokho anjiroóshoi ochē reístai "Chuio woktā
drove out. One day clothes-washer tigerskin that ass on put on and said "Night of at time
gurzeno muji rochiko bachan bagho, magar hatera kya ghau-ghau ma kōrē. Hamūsh
garden in to graze of for purpose of go, but there any noise do not make. Thus
har chui gordokh purdumeri anji gurzeno ta bogha óshoi. Kya wokt ki roiān
every night the ass tiger skin having put on garden to going used to be. What time that the men
chui wokt horo poshitani gumān arēni ki albatt haia purdum asúr. Ī chui gurzeno
night time him saw thought they made that verily this a tiger is. One night garden of
khasam tan togho poshitai khor burtui kānā nisai. Hamūniā ī khor
owner himself him saw and having feared tree on sat. The meantime in one other
gordokh, ki shui ásistai, luitai, khor hatogho awāz zap-nagako gordokho kārā prai
ass, which near was, brayed, and him of sound clothes-washing of ass of ear on gave
khor hasa di luitai khor chik gordokhāno ghunē luiko prai. Gurzeno khasam hai
and that one also brayed and all asses like to bray of he began. Garden of owner this
gordokhāno luik kārā prai khor hosh arēr ki hasa kya
asses of the braying ear on gave and understanding made that that (ass) what sort
rakh birai. Kānār khwamitai khor gordokh bo prai khor horo gurzenār
thing (goods) is become. Tree from he descended and ass much he beat and him garden from
daleitai. Ham-ghār haio bachan hosh-korakan khiāl
he drove. This from (thenceforth) this of by reason of understanding-makers (the wise) idea
arētani ki "gordokhāno bachan phik biko jam."
have made that "asses of for sake of silent to be (is) good."

THE 400 LYRICS: PURRA-NÂNNÛRRU.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, M. A., D. D., BALLIOL COLLEGE AND INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD.

The Côran King, Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan, who fell at Kuḷa-muttam.

THIS king is celebrated in eighteen songs, by ten different minstrels. One lyric (173) is ascribed to the king himself. **Kiḷḷi** was the family name of a renowned dynasty of Çôra kings, eight of whom are mentioned in this collection. Its derivation is doubtful, but it may mean a digger, and is in fact a synonym of **Paḷḷava.**[1] He is said to have conquered the Çêra kingdom and taken Karûr, its then capital; and fell in battle at the village of **Kuḷa-muttam** ('Pavilion by the Tank').[2] This portion of the anthology is of peculiar interest to Tamil scholars.

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[1] The Tamil root *paḷ* = *kiḷ*.

[2] Called also *Kurá-paḷḷi*. See 373.

I.

The first song, relating to **Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan** here (34) is by **Âlattûr-Kiṛâr** ('Lord of the Manor of Banyan-tree Town'), and is every way very noteworthy.

Ingratitude, the only unpardonable Sin.

'Whatever sins men do in hurting kine, —
All heinous crimes,[3] and wrongs to Brâhmans wrought, —
Where fault is pondered and confess't, a place
May yet be found to wash away the stain.
But they, who benefit conferred have slain
Can ne'er escape,' — so virtue's self hath sung.
O spouse of her with jewels rare adorned !
Each morn and eve at twilight hour, in song, —
With grain and flesh and milk and honey fed,—
I and my clan say, 'long live our king great Vaḷavan !'
In spacious court beneath the Itti's[4] shade,
The needful words of kindly courtesy,
He speaks with heart that knows no hidden guile,
And gives the minstrels feast of pure white riçe,
Then lasting store of various wealth bestows !
If thus I sing not aye thy glorious might,
The lord of many rays shall know no rise,
Great king ! I'm poor ; but if the good
In this world done by men of worth endures,[5]
Oh, may'st thou joyous live more years
Than are the rain drops, shed by sweet-voiced[6] clouds
That come wind-wafted from Himâlaya's height.'

Here the first six lines are an avowed quotation from, and amplification of, **Tiruvaḷḷuvar's** fine couplet.[7]

'Who every good have killed, may ruin flee ;
Who benefit has slain, shall ne'er scape free.[8]

II.

This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous; but somewhat headstrong. Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels ; and he seems to have been all the better for it. The following lines are worth noting. They are by the same sweet singer.

Good Counsel for the young King (35).

The Tamiḷ Lands.

The pleasant Tamil lands possess
For boundary the ocean wide.
The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
Upon their brow rests as a crown.
Fertile the soil they till, and wide.

3 In the original: 'cutting the udder of kine, and procuring abortion.' Comp. Tirū-viḷai-âdal, 26; Taylor's *Oriental Hist.* MSS. p. 75.

4 The Itti or Iratti — a species of fig-tree.

5 The idea that any deeds, good or bad, once done, have thenceforth a real existence, and are among the abiding, active, ever operative, energies of the universe, is of primary importance. (See my *Nal.* pp. 66-69; and *Kurraḷ*, Ch. XXXVIII.)

6 The voice of the rain-cloud is peculiarly the sweet promise of plenty to lands depending solely on the monsoon.

7 Book I., 'on Virtue,' Ch. XI· 110.

8 This establishes the priority of the K. to the P. N. N. — Comp. also Nâlaḍiyâr, 111 (and note there), 344, 356, 357 (and esp. lex to Nâl. under root *kol*).

Three kings with mighty hosts this land
Divide ; but of the three, whose drums
Sound for the battle's angry strife,
Thou art the chief, O mighty one !

Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise ;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline ;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep,
Kâvêri flows with bright refreshing stream,
Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.

Let me speak out to this rich country's king !
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though
The lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will ! —
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest
In vault of heaven : — So let thy canopy
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around
Not gloom, but peaceful shade ! Let all thy victories
Be the toiling ploughman's gain !
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,
And lack the praise : such is the usage of the world.

It thou hast marked and known this well,
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.

III.

At one time this king besieged **Karûr,** the Çêran's capital. The bard of **Âlattûr** ('Fig-tree Town') thus intercedes for the sorely straitened people.

Tactful Intercession for Weak Adversaries (36).

Whether thou wilt destroy or wilt release,
'Tis thine to ponder which befits thy name ! —
The axe, bright-edged, long-handled, sharp by file
Of smith black-handed, smites the fragrant boughs
Of guardian trees in every park around ;
They crashing fall and scatter the white sands
Of *Ân-poruntham's* river cool, where sport
The damsels with their golden bracelets gay ;
Thro' town, and all the guarded hall are echoes heard,
And yet their king in pleasure slumbers on !
With bow-armed host, thy war-drum sounding loud,
'Twill shame thee to have fought such feeble foes !

The intercession was unsuccessful ; the fair city fell.

IV.

The following is by **Nappaçaliyâr of Mârrokkam,**[9] seven of whose are songs in this anthology. His grief for its destruction is evident.

[9] A small district near the ancient Korkai.

Karûr (37).

Thou scion of the Çôṛa Lord who saved
The dove from woe, — Chief of the wrathful hosts,
Armed with the gleaming darts that ruin work,
As when a fiery dragon, angry, fierce, —
Bearing five heads, with gleaming poisonous tooth,
Has enter'd cavern vast of mountain, where
The golden creepers twine; — fire from the sky
That writhes forth issues, and hot thunderbolt;—
Thou saw'st the lordly city old, whose king
Was circled round by girded elephants.
There in dark deep moat the alligators congregate.
In the wide waters of the guarded lake
Are crocodiles that fierce in fight
Dart forth to catch the shadows cast
By gleam of watchman's torch at midnight hour.
Its walls like burnish'd copper shone.
This seemed not fair to thee : Thou didst destroy,
For thou in wasting war art mighty, glorious king!

V.

Here is a bit of adroit but somewhat gross flattery by **Mûlam Kiṛâr of Âvûr**: —

The Çôṛa-land preferred to Swarga (38).

O mighty king, lord of the wide array
Whose wavy banners multiform,
By youthful hill-like elephants borne on,
Seem as the very heaven they swept!
Fire devastates the place on which thou frown'st!
Where thy favouring glance alights gold gleams!
Wer't thou to wish for moon-beams from the sun,
Or sunny radiance from the pallid moon,
Power hast thou to perform thy will!
Wherefore, since we were born and brought up neath thy shade,
What must the goal of our fond aspirations be?
Thus, even in the regions of thy foes,
Do suppliants think upon thy land, —
Since it is thine, — and say,
'They who dwell within the blest domains, great Indra's paradise,
In whose soft glades grows golden fruit, their bliss,
Enjoy the fruit of good deeds, and cease from works
Of charity, — **they from their labours rest**;
Nor there are found the rich who give, or poor who ask.
That were no home for us! But all its joys
Are found here in **the Çôṛa-land.**[10]

VI.

This is a panegyric by **Nappaçaliyâr of Mârrôkkam**:—

Vaḷavan's Praise (39).

Descendant of him who to save a dove from grief did'st enter the weighing scale, whose beam was tipped with the carved white tusk of elephant with ponderous foot! Giving in grace was born with thee : and is not thy peculiar praise.

[10] Vaḷavan is Indra; and his land is Paradise, which, however, it excells; since its king still bestows charitable benefactions.

And, when one ponders how thy sires of old destroyed the mighty 'fort suspended in the sky'[11] which foes dreaded to approach, — to slay thy foes is not thy peculiar praise!

And since the council of *Urraiyûr*, impregnable city of the valiant Çôṛar, is the abode of Equity;— Justice is not thy peculiar praise!

O Vaḷavan, swift horseman, whose stout arms are like fortress-bars, whose wreath fills every eye, how then shall I sing thy praises?

How shall I tell of thy glorious prowess that withered the fadeless Vañji, destroying the Çêran king with chariot huge of cunning work, who planted his guarded bow-banner on the long gold tipped peaks of Imayam, whose bounds none measure?[12]

At **Chezarla** in the Karnûl district there is a temple dedicated to **Kapôlêsvaran** (the 'Dove Lord,' —an epithet of Çivan). The legend connected with this shrine is briefly as follows :—

"King Sivi, who came from Kashmir, resolved to perform 100 (yâga) sacrifices by which he hoped to gain the realm of Brahmâ. The three, Çivan, Vishṇu and Brahmâ, resolved to interrupt the sacrifice and prevent this; and accordingly Vishṇu assumed the form of a dove which Çivan as a hunter pursued with his bows and arrows until it took refuge with Sivi, who took it to his bosom, and refused to give it up to the hungry sportsman. At length it was agreed that he should be permitted to ransom the dove by giving an equal weight of his own flesh. The bird was placed in one scale, and Sivi threw portions of his own body into the other; but the disguised gods prevented the scale from turning, till the king, strong in his heroic self-sacrificing love, cut his own body in halves and threw one into the scale. The gods, overcome by this self-devotion, now assumed their proper shapes, and Çivan offered the king a new and more beautiful body, and to make him an emperor. He declined all earthly gifts, asking only the bliss of Kailâsa for himself and his people." Such was the ancestor assigned by the poet to his patron (39, 43, 46)![13]

VII.

The next (40) by **Mûlam Kiṛâr of Âvûr** refers to **the destruction of Karûr,** and is a delicate lyric warning the youthful conqueror against arrogance.

Thou art the mighty one, who sparing not the guarded fort broke thro' and slew its king and made the yellow gold erewhile his crown anklets to grace, hero! thy conquering foot.

Thy land maintains seven lordly elephants in tiny spot where a little one might lie![14]

That we may ever see, as now, the necks of thy despisers bend, and those who laud thee raise their heads, be thou, great king! pleasant of speech, and easy of access.[15]

VIII.

The following is by **Iḍaikâḍanâr** (= 'he of the herdsman's forest land') :—

The Warrior-king (42).

Insatiate giver! Lord of murderous war!
Thine elephant looms like a lofty hill;
Thy warring hosts roar like the billowy sea;
Thy pointed spear gleams like the lightning's sheen;
Thus art thou cause of trembling to earth's kings.
No blame to thee, 'tis thine ancestral way!

[11] Muir, IV. p. 223. This attribution to Vaḷavan's ancestor of this feat seems to imply the descent of the king from Mahâdêva.

[12] This refers to the legend of King Sivi. See a paper in *Madras Government Records (Archæology)*, dated April 30th, 1899, by A. Rea, Esq.

[13] The outlines of this story are found in a Buddhist *Jâtaka*. See Fausboll, Vol. III. pp. 224-227. — It is given in the *Mahâbhârata, Vana-parvan*, 13275, etc. And here it is mentioned as connected with an ancestor of a Çôṛa king. To extract history from such sources is impossible.

[14] It is amazingly fertile.

[15] See Kurral, 525, 548, 565.

As tiger guards its whelps thou guardest us,
Safe neath thy sceptre just, thou Lord of festive land,
Whose homesteads flourish mid the genial soil.
The reapers from the border-sluices draw rare fish;
The ploughmen turtles in the furrows find;
The cutters of the cane rich honey bring;
The maidens at the fountains lilies cull;
To feast their kinsfolk from less favour'd fields.

Like many rivers rushing from the hill
From far converging towards the mighty deep,
The tuneful bards all turn their eyes to thee.
Thou smit'st with axe whose blows no healing know,
Thine eyes regard the lands of hostile kings
With wrath, as though death's self were raging there!

IX.

This is by **Kôvûr Kiṟâr,** a sweet singer and friend of many kings. No less than 15 of his compositions are in this collection. Of these, No. 47, '*The Intercession*,' addressed to another chief, is most noteworthy.

'The Terrors of Invasion' (41).

E'en death must bide his time. You choose your own,
O king, and slay whene'er and wheresoe'er
It pleases you: so fall the mighty lords of spearman-hosts!
At all eight points the fiery meteors fall away;
From lofty trees the leafless branches droop;
On every side fierce meteor-suns blaze forth;
Voices of evil-omened birds are heard;
Teeth fall to earth; oil drips upon men's heads;
The wild boar rushes forth; garments fall to earth;
Bright weapons with their stands are overturn'd;
Things rarely seen in dreams, never in waking hours,
O valiant warrior, wait upon thy warlike path!
When rumour of thy dreaded coming spreads,
Dwellers in town unguarded, panic struck,
Kiss their children's flowerlike eyes, and haste
To hide their boding sorrows from their wives;
And all the people frighted flee.
O Vaḷavan, thou hero in the strife,
Thy march is like the fire before the mighty wind!
So fares the land that hath provoked thy wrath.

Nine portents alarm the people whose lands are invaded. These are the evil omens still dreaded in India.

X.

A chieftain called **Malayamân** (probably the same that goes by the name of **Kâri** — see 121, etc.) fell under Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan's displeasure, and in some way the little sons of the vassal fell into his hands. These he ordered to be killed by having their heads crushed by an elephant to whose tread they were to be exposed, — a cruel, but not uncommon, punishment in S. India in those days.[16] The poet **Kôvûr-Kiṟâr** saved them by his intercession (46), nor was this his only successful advocacy. (See 45, 47.)

[16] The victim was buried in the earth, the head only protruding and an elephant driven over the spot.

(46)

Thou art of the royal line of him who saved the dove from affliction and many others.
These are children of the race that protects the learned from want, who share their food with the hungry, and under whose fostering care men lead happy lives.

See these little innocents, how first they stood fearing the sight of thine elephants; then, forgetting that, were daunted by the aspect of thy hall; and now stand trembling with troubles ever new!

Hear me, and then follow the promptings of thine own desire!

They were released.

(To be continued.)

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 193.)

Group II.

Anarawthazaw Cycle.

(Nats Nos. 16, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 36.)

Group II. consists of 9 Nats, whose story purports to centre round the great conqueror, King Anawrathâzaw of Pagàn. Hence my name for the Cycle. **The outline of this group of legends** is as follows:— King Kyaungbyû Min of Pagàn had three sons. Two by one Queen, named Kyîzô and Sûkadê, who deposed their father, and a third younger one, Anawrathâzaw, who became the great conqueror, by another Queen. Kyîzô succeeded first and was accidentally killed and afterwards Sûkadê was slain and dethroned by Anawrathâzaw. Anawrathâzaw had in his service two brothers, named the elder and the younger Shwêbyin, natives of India, whom he sent to fetch a holy tooth-relic from China, but slew on their return for resisting his orders. They had a guardian, who was a Brahman and Minister to the King, with the title of Mandalê Bôdaw. He and his sister were slain at the same time as the brothers.

There are **two other connected legends** relating to this period. Firstly, King Yinzaw, or Yèzaw, of Pagàn had a son, Maung Shin, who was killed while swinging. Secondly Manuhà, King of Thatôn, was conquered by Anawrathâzaw, and he and his family were all turned into pagoda slaves at Pagàn, where one of them died of leprosy.

Of the above-mentioned personages, the wife of King Kyaungbyû Min and her sons, Kyîzô and Sûkadê, and also Maung Shin all became Nats. So did the Brahman Minister, his sister and his two wards. The leper Prince of Thatôn also became a Nat.

The Nats rising out of this group of legends are: — No. 28. Tîbyûsaung Nat, who is King Sôkkadâ. No. 30. Yômàshin Mingaung Nat, called also Bayinmàshin Mingaung Nat, is King Kyîzô. No. 29. Tîbyûsaung-Mèdaw Nat, is their mother. No. 27. Minthâ Maung Shin Nat is their brother. Nos. 25 and 26 are the two Indian brothers known as the Shwêbyin Naungdaw Nat (the elder) and Shwêbyin Nyîdaw Nat (the younger). No. 24. Màndalê Bôdaw Nat is their Brahman guardian, who is also known as Kyetyôk. No. 36. Shingwâ Nat is his sister. No. 16. Nyaung-gyin Nat is the leper relative of King Manuhà of Thatôn.

Respecting the Shwêbyin Nats, Taw Sein Ko has some valuable remarks; thus. "The apotheosis of the next Nats in the pantheon, *viz.*, the brothers Shwêp'yînnyînaung, follows on similar lines [to that of Mahâgîri and his sister]. About the beginning of the XIth century A. D., Anawrathâzaw, King of Pagàn, had in his service a Kalâ [Indian] adventurer from the Talaing kingdom of Thatôn. This man married a *balûmà* or ogress of Pôpâ, and two sons were born to him, who

were respectively named Shwêp'yingyî and Shwêp'yinngè. When these two brothers were grown up they took service under the king; and when the latter led an expedition to China to secure the holy tooth of Gotama Buddha, which was enshrined there, they accompanied him. The Chinese Emperora ppears to have treated the Burmese king with some contempt, and to have refused to hold anyco mmunication with him. Thereupon the two brothers, who led a charmed life and could make themselves invisible, entered the king's palace at night, drew three lines with lime on his body and retired after writing on the walls enjoining him to meet the Burmese king. In consequence of this mysterious writing, the two rulers met in a friendly way and entered into a compact of amity and friendship. In the meantime, however, the holy tooth had disappeared miraculously, and Anawrathâzaw returned home, suffering from the pangs of disappointment. On the return journey Shwêp'yingyî and Shwêp'yinngè incurred the royal displeasure and were executed at Wayindôk, a few miles to the north of Mandalay. At the same place the king had built a pagoda called Sudaungbyê, and after its consecration resumed his journey by boat. On the way down the river Irrawaddy the royal boat appeared to be held by the rudder and its progress was stopped. The king consulted his ministers about the mystery, and they informed him that the two brothers, Shwêp'yingyî and Shwêp'yinngè, who were executed by royal command, had become Nats, and that they resented that their valuable services should have been requited by death. It was only when king Anawrathâzaw had directed a Nat temple to be built near his pagoda at Wayindôk, and ordered the people in the neighbourhood to make regular offerings to the Nats, that he was able to resume his journey and arrive at his capital in safety."

These legends have confused and incorrect reference to definite historical facts, which are unfortunately not so connected as the legends themselves. King Ngyaungûzaw Yahàn of Pagàn (924-957) was a usurper and not of the regular line, but during a long reign of 33 years he introduced serpent *(nagâ)* worship under Ari (Indian) priests all over Burma. He was at length deposed by King Kyaungbyû of the regular line (957-979), who in turn was deposed by King Kyîzô, a son of Ngyaungûzaw Yahàn (979-985). Kyîzô reintroduced the serpent worship and was succeeded by his brother Sôkkadâ (985-1010). Sôkkadâ, the serpent-worshipper, was deposed and slain by Anawrathâzaw, son of King Kyaungbyû, and so of the regular line (1010-1052). Anawrathâzaw was the great hero and conqueror and renowned restorer of the Buddhist faith to Burma.

Manuhà, King of Thatôn, was conquered by Anawrathâzaw about 1030, and his whole family were turned into pagoda slaves at Pagàn, and the untimely fate of one of these unfortunates, who died of leprosy, has led to his worship as a Nat.

Amongst many other adventures all round his kingdom, Anawrathâzaw marched to Yunnàn in search of the holy tooth-relic preserved in China, marrying a Shan princess of Maw during the expedition, a fact which has given rise to a popular Burmese play; but he did not get his tooth-relic, and no doubt the legend of the Brahman Minister, the Mandalê Bôdaw, and his family is connected with this journey.

It is nevertheless quite as likely that **the story of the Mandalê Bôdaw** preserves the equally well known and splendidly tragical tale of King Narathû or Kalâkyâ Min of Pagàn (1160-1164). This blood-thirsty monarch began by killing his father, the venerable and revered Alaungsîthû, and during his short reign of four years he, amongst other crimes, killed his father's widow with his own hand. She was the daughter of the King of Pallikarâ (? Pâla of Bengal) in India, and in revenge for her death that monarch sent eight soldiers, disguised as Brahmans, to the Burmese Court, who slew Narathû and then committed suicide. Hence Narathû's title of Kalâkyâ Min, *i. e.*, the King killed by foreigners.

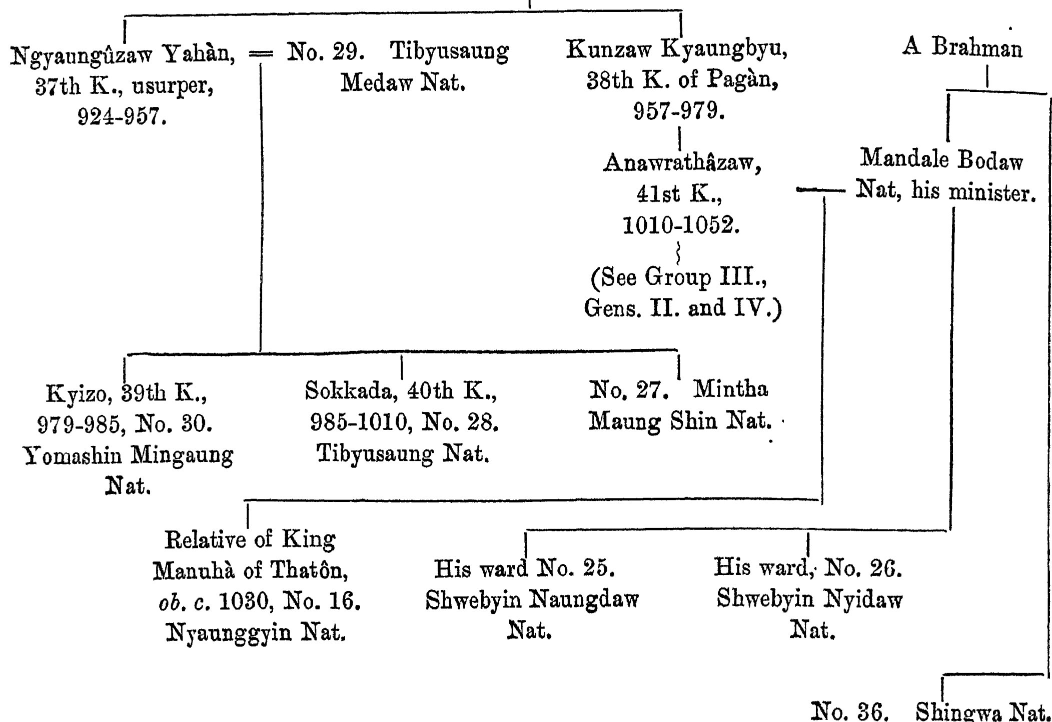
Another story seems to be mixed up with this legend. King Yinzaw of Pagàn had a son, Minthâ Maung Shin, who was killed accidentally in a swing. This Min Yinzaw, whose name can also be read Yèzaw, is, I take it, the same personage as Ngyaungûzaw Yahàn, the serpent-worshipper, and thus Prince Maung Shin, the Nat, would be the brother of the royal Nats, Kyîzô and Sôkkadê.

To clear the relationship of this Group to each other two Genealogies are necessary.

Group II.

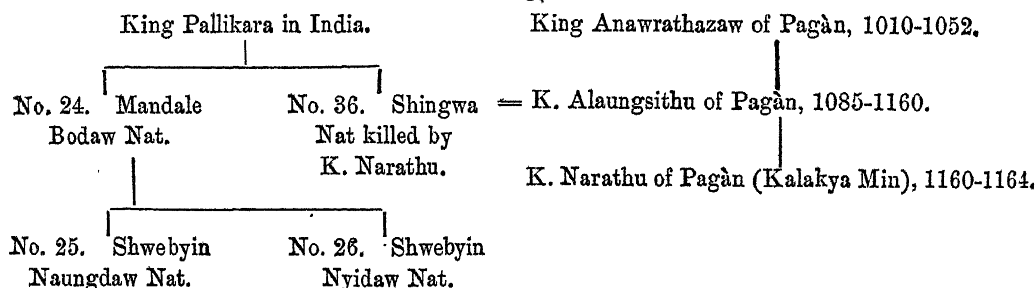
Genealogy I.

Thenzwin, 26th King of Pagàn, 731-737.
(See Group III., Gen. III.)



Group II.

Genealogy II.



I may now proceed to describe the illustrations of Group II., or Anawrathâzaw Cycle, premising that the description will be according to the people's legends and not according to the real history of the time.

Illustrations of Group II.

Anawrathâzaw Cycle.

No. 28. Tîbyûsaung Nat.

No. 29. Tîbyûsaung Mèdaw Nat.

No. 30. Yômàshin Mingaung Nat, called also Bayinmàshin Mingaung Nat.

Kyaungbyû Min had, among others, three sons: two by one queen, named Kyîzô and Sûkadê, and the great king Anawrathâzaw by another queen. Anawrathâzaw was much younger than the other

two. Kyîzô and Sûkadê dethroned their father in 348 B. E. (986 A. D.) and Kyîzô became king. He was a mighty hunter, pitching his camp at Nyundun on the Chindwin. When 28 years of age he was accidentally killed at Pagyî near Mt. Pôpâ by an arrow from a huntsman and became the Yômàshin Mingaung Nat. And so in 354 B. E. (992 A. D.) Sûkadê became king and married his step-mother, who was the mother of Anawrathâzaw. As soon as he was old enough, Anawrathâzaw rebelled against Sûkadê, who was killed by a lance.

When Kyaungbyû Min was dethroned, his family were sent to a monastery, and the king himself was forced to turn monk. On his death Sûkadê became the Tîbyûsaung Nat.

The mother of the above Nats became the Tîbyûsaung Mèdaw Nat. Her votaries are women, who carry a rosary and wear a golden head-dress.

In this case Tîbyûsaung Nat is represented in ordinary Court dress of the unceremonious sort, seated. Tîbyûsaung Mèdaw Nat as a girl kneeling in full Court dress. The outward turned elbow is an accomplishment of which Burmese young ladies are very proud. Bayinmàshin Mingaung Nat is seated in full Court dress of a high class.

No. 27. Mintha Maung Shin Nat.

Maung Shin was the son of Min Yinzaw of Pagàn and settled in Kyauk-thànbauk and Pabetmyô. He died from an accidental fall from a swing while at play.

This Nat is represented in Court dress, seated and playing the Burmese harp.

No. 24. Mandale Bodaw Nat, called also Kyet Yok Nat.

No. 25. Shwebyin Naungdaw Nat (The elder Shwebyin Nat).

No. 26. Shwebyin Nyidaw Nat (The younger Shwebyin Nat).

The two Shwebyin were brothers and the sons of a native of India in the service of King Anawrathâzaw by an ogress he met with on Mt. Pôpâ, whither he had been sent to get certain flowers for the king. They also served under the king and were sent by him to China for the holy tooth-relic from the royal palace there. They returned with the relic and the king erected a pagoda for it, requiring a brick from each of his officers. The two Shwêbyin failed to supply a brick each, and were killed by being castrated and became Nats. Mandalê Bôdaw was the title of a Minister of Anawrathâzaw, who was a Brahman and the guardian of the two Shwêbyin. He was killed together with them. He tried to get away on a marble elephant, which he could vivify by placing an enchanted white thread round it, but failed and was captured and killed. All three became Nats.

In this case the Mandalê Bôdaw Nat is represented standing in the full official Court dress of a Minister of the King. He bears a sword, and his right hand is in the conventional attitude of preaching. This appears to refer to his dual character as a warrior and a priest.

The two Shwêbyin brothers are in the Court dress of officials, seated and bearing swords in the right and left hands respectively.

No. 36. Shingwâ Nat.

She was a sister of the Mandalê Bôdaw and was killed at the same time, becoming a Nat.

This Nat is represented as a young girl in Court dress standing.

No. 16. Nyaung-gyin Nat (called also Nyaung-gyin O Nat).

He was a member of Manuhà's family and died of leprosy in the days of Anawrathâzaw.

This Nat is represented as a leper in high class Court dress leaning on a staff. He has lost the ends of both fingers and toes, and his face is marked with the usual signs of tubercular leprosy.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 228.)

THE EVIL EYE.

Section II. — Powers.

IN spite of their general sameness the working of the Evil Eye differs both from the working of a possessing spirit and from the working of witchcraft. Unlike the possessed or demoniac the victim of the Evil Eye, though the glance may sicken, kill or ruin him, does not lose his personality under the oppression of the possessing spirit. The victim of an evil glance when pressed regarding his symptoms does not affirm that he is the person from whose glance he is suffering as the possessed or demoniac affirms when he speaks as the spirit that possesses him. The exercise of the Evil Eye differs from the practice of witchcraft since the power of injuring by a glance may be an unwitting power while the evil caused by witchcraft is planned and intended by the witch. In seventeenth century Scotland, a distinction was accepted between the Evil Eye and witchcraft. Witchcraft was alone held to be criminal. The use of the Evil Eye might be unintentional, even unconscious. But witchcraft was the malicious exercise of an evil power carefully acquired and used with knowledge and criminal intent.[30] This distinction does not seem to have been accepted in Ireland where the dread of eye-bite was keener than in Scotland. Towards the close of the sixteenth century (1580-1603) Irish eye-biting witches were executed for causing cattle-disease.[31] In 1601, in Ireland, Mary Lampton seems to have been charged with overlooking, as if overlooking was not less evil than witchcraft. Her defence was not the Scottish defence that the mischief done by overlooking was unwitting. Her defence was the doubtful contention that overlooking was less harmful than bewitching, since overlooking could do no harm unless the overlooker touched the victim.[32]

The chief powers which have been attributed to the Evil Eye are :—

I. — To sicken even to death cattle, children and men.

II. — To spoil food and drink, (*a*) by making them unfit for use, (*b*) by corrupting food and drink immediately before or during the process of use.

III. — Certain special powers.

I. — As regards **the disease-dealing power of the Evil Eye** the Greeks and Romans held that the human eye carried disease and death as well as love and delight to men, animals and trees.[33] At the same time the power of causing death by a glance was considered unusual. Pliny (A. D. 50) noted as peculiar that the glance of Illyrians with double eye-balls might cause death, and Plutarch (A. D. 150) that the glance of certain Thebans and Cretans was believed to be fatal.[34] Early Greek-Christian and Italian writers held that the infection passed from the eye by means of evil and poisonous exhalations.[35] The Prophet Muhammad (A. D. 612) accepted the existing Arab view that the Evil Eye caused disease and death and this view prevails in all countries of Islâm.[36] The same belief was general in seventeenth-century Scotland and Ireland.[37] It is still common in many parts of England, Scotland and Ireland. The Germans say : — "The Evil Eye of a witch dries a mother's milk or makes a babe consumptive."[38] The belief of the Nicaraguans of Central America is in agreement with the universal experience of early tribes and peoples, the looks of some people are fatal to men and the glances of certain eyes are fatal to children.[39] Breeders of the unwholesome camel explain its

[30] Compare Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 6. Aubrey (England, 1660, *Miscellanies*, p. 173) held the same view as the Germans : — "All witches have evil eyes but not all who have evil eyes are witches."

[31] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 11.

[32] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 10.

[33] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 183.

[34] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 10, 11.

[35] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, pp. 183-4 ; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 6 and 33.

[36] Stanley Lane Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*. (Reference mislaid.)

[37] Martin in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 24 ; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 11 ; Reginald Scott, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, p. 50. That the skaith or Evil Eye caused sickness and death was still the general belief in Scotland in 1825. Compare Hone's *Every Day Book*, Vol. II. p. 687.

[38] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1099.

[39] *Descriptive Sociology*, Vol. II. p. 43.

sudden causeless and often fatal sickness by a stroke of the Evil Eye. The Moors of North Africa think that their camels die from the glance of the local Negroes.[40] Pliny (A. D. 50) says: — "The sorcerers of North Africa can by their look cause cattle to perish, trees to wither, and infants to die."[41] Rearers of silk-worms in south France believe that the Evil Eye can kill silk-worms.[41]

II. — As regards **the power of the Evil Eye to make food unfit for use,** in West England, among other evils overlooking is believed to spoil beer and milk,[43] and in Germany to rot apples.[44] The dread of an evil glance settling on food and drink immediately before or at the time of use is widespread. In parts of Africa no one eats in public in case he may be watched by a man who envies him.[45] To prevent any evil glance reaching their food African and American chiefs, when eating or drinking, are screened, their food is covered, and served by persons who look neither at the eater nor at the food. In the case of the chiefs of Dahomey and of the Congo to look at the king when he is eating is a capital offence.[46] Strict Hindus dread keeping their drinking water or taking their food where any one can see them. All Moslims and Jews hold that food on which the Evil Eye has fallen carries no blessing. They agree with King Solomon (Proverbs, xxiii. 6-8) that such a morsel the eater will vomit.[47] To avoid the risk of an envious glance the people of the Levant and the eighteenth century Irish, when they dined, kept their doors open and invited all passers to share their meal.[48]

III. — Among **the special powers of the Evil Eye** Latin and Italian writers note the breaking of plates, of blocks of marble and of gems, and the fouling of mirrors.[49] In Kashmir, in 1837, his guides told the traveller Vigné that certain spots of quartz in a trap rock were due to the Evil Eye.[50] An Indian Musalmân proverb runs: — "The Evil Eye shatters stones."[51] The Italians dread an Evil Eye falling on a pregnant woman, the evil spirit will pass into the woman and she will either miscarry or have a monster for a son.[52] The Germans dread an evil glance falling on a nursing mother as it will dry her milk.[53] The Chinese dread the eye of a pregnant woman falling on a child: she will covet the child's soul for her unborn babe.[54]

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

(Continued from p. 235.)

Alcarchofa. *s. v.* Artichoke: 27, i.

Alcatief. *s. v.* Alcatif: ann. 1726: 7, ii.

Alcatif. *s. v.*: 7, i; *s. v.* Cuttanee: 224, i; *s. v.*: ann. 1608-10: 7, i; *s. v.* Alleja: ann. 1648: 8, i.

Alcatifadas. *s. v.* Alcatif: ann. 1578: 7, i.

Alcatifas. *s. v.* Alcatif: ann. 1540: 7, i; ann. 1560: 7, i.

Alcatrarces. *s. v.* Albatross: ann. 1593: 6, ii.

Alcatrarsa. *s. v.* Albatross: ann. 1564: 6, ii.

Alcatrarses. *s. v.* Albatross: ann. 1564: 6, ii.

Alcatrarzi. *s. v.* Albatross: ann. 1604: 6, ii, twice.

Alcatraz. *s. v.* Albatross: 6, i; *s. v.* Albatross: ann. 1608-10: 6, ii.

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[40] Denham and Clapperton's *Africa*, Vol. I, p. 173.

[41] In Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 11.

[42] *A Little Step Daughter*, p. 127.

[43] Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 22.

[44] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1099. According to another German authority (*Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 1100) the glance of the Evil Eye kills snakes, scares wolves, hatches ostrich eggs and breeds leprosy.

[45] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 14.

[46] Burton's *Visit to Dahomey*, Vol. I. p. 245: Vol. II. p. 45; Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 98; Cameron's *Across Africa*, p. 98; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 426, 427.

[47] The Egyptian Moslim has a saying: — "The food that is coveted or upon which the Evil Eye has fallen carries no blessing." Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, p. 145.

[48] *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, "Manners and Customs," p. 60.

[49] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 185.

[50] Vigné, *Travels in Kashmir* (reference mislaid).

[51] *Nazarse pathar tut jae.* Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.

[52] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 203.

[53] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 1100.

[54] Gray's *China*, Vol. II. p. 31.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY W. IRVINE.

THE following notes on some Anglo-Indian words that I have come across in the course of my reading may be of use to the readers of this *Journal.* I have separated the examples into two divisions :— Words not to be found in Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary,* and Additional Quotations to words already given by Yule.

A.—Words not to be found in Yule.

1. Alighol, Allygole, Allygool, Alleegole.

1796. — The Nezibs (Najîb) are Matchlock men, and according to their different casts, are called **Allegoles** or Rohillas; they are indifferently formed of high cast Hindoos and Musselmans, armed with the country Bandook, to which the ingenuity of De Boigne had added a Bayonet. — W. H. Tone, *A Letter on the Maratta People*, Bombay, 1798, p. 50.

1804. — **Alleegole.** — A sort of chosen light infantry of the Rohilla Patans: sometimes the term appears to be applied to troops supposed to be used generelly for desperate service. — J. B. Fraser, *Military Memoirs of Lt.-Col. J. Skinner, C. B*, 2 vols., 1851, II. pp. 71 (note), 75, 76.

1817. — The **Allygools** answer nearly the same description. — V. Blacker, *Memoir of Operations in India*, 1817-19, 4to, 1821, p. 22.

1819. — The rest **Allygoles** and Nejeebs. — Lt.-Col. Fitzclarence, *Journal of a Route to England*, 1819, p. 21.

2. Bound Hedge.

Equal *quasi* to **Boundary Hedge.** — The wide and thick plantation often found round a native fort, either of bambû or prickly-pear. The one at Bobili, 140 m. N.-E. of Vizagapatnam, is described by Orme, *Mil. Trans.* II. 256 (reprint), and that at Aḥmadnagar in the Dakhin in Fitzclarence's *Journal*, p. 241. See also Thorn, *Memoir of the War in India*, 1803-6 (1818), p. 435.

1790. — **Bound Hedge.** — A broad strong belt of planting, chiefly of the bamboo tree, the prickly-pear . . . . — E. Moore, *A Narrative of Captn. Little's Detachment*, 1794, Glossary, p. 502. See also Major Dirom's *Glossary* in *A Narrative of the Campaign in India*, 1792, 4to, London, 1793.

1792. — A **bound hedge**, formed of a wide belt of thorny plants (Seringapatam). — Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, III. 217 (1817).

3. Cailletoque, Kaitoke, Kaitok, Kayetoc.

A long matchlock, from the little-used قيدوق **Qaidûq.** This is evidently a Turkish or Chaghatâe (Eastern Turkish) word, but not to be found, so far as I know, in any dictionary. I have once found it used by a native writer, and that is in the *Aḥmadnâmah* (Irvine MS.) by 'Abd-ul-laṭîf, written at Lakhnau in 1184 H. (1770). This is a rhyming chronicle of events in the reign of Aḥmad Shâh (1748-1754). In describing the attempted assassination of Ṣafdar Jang, the Wazir, the author says:—

Miyan-i-rah kase qâbû giriftah,
Zadah qaidûq ba rûe û nihuftah,
Ba qaṣd-ash garchah û dâ'ih zad,
Wa-le Ezad khiyâl-ash sâkhtah radd.

1753. — Fusils à mèche, qu'on appelle **kaitok**, couverts de drap rouge. — J. B. J. Gentil, *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, 8vo, Paris, 1822, p. 59.

1757. — **Cailletoque** — fusil à mèche, très long, que l'on tire ordinairement en le posant sur un pié fait en espèce de fourche. — Anquetil Duperron, *Zend Avesta*, I. xliv., and Index, 4to, Paris, 1771.

c. 1769. — **Kaitoke.** — De la Flotte, *Essais, Historiques sur l'Inde*, 12mo, Paris, 1769, I. 258.

c. 1774. — Les armes sont des sabres des piques et des flèches; des lances et des **Kayetocs.** — E. Barbé, *Le Nabab Renè Madec*, Paris, 1894, p. 54.

4. Chain elephants.

This phrase arises from a curious misapprehension of the ordinary locution *zanjir-i-fîl*, when speaking of elephants. *Zanjîr* is literally "chain," but is here akin to our expressions, a "pair," "couple," "brace" of anything. The art of *Siyâq* has a long list of such words, as *râs* (head) for horses and cattle, *dânah* (seed) for pearls, *dast* (hand) for shields, *qâlib* (mould) for bricks, and so forth. *Zanjîr* (chain) for the enumeration of elephants was no doubt meant as a reference to the iron chain, by which an elephant is hobbled or picketed when not in use. In an account 100 elephants would be entered thus:

Fîl

Zanjîr

100.

1826. — Very frequent mention is made in Asiatic histories of **chain-elephants**; which always means elephants trained for war; but it is not very clear why they are so denominated. — *Historical Researches on the Wars and Sports of the Mongols and Romans*, by J. Ranking,[1] 4to, 1826, Introduction, p. 12.

[1] Resident upwards of twenty years in Hindoostan and Russia.

5. Cherry Merry.

A word used in Bombay. In reply to an enquiry Mr. James Douglas has kindly supplemented the statement of his book by a letter from Bombay, dated the 15th April 1900: — "Cherry Merry has been in constant use among the natives here when appealing for gratuity to the English for a century at least. It seems the same as *bakhshish*. Corrupt English don't-yer think? Sailors' doggrel perhaps — 'Give one something to make us merrie and cherrie.'"

1900. — "But you will require cherry merrys *in numero* . . . . mendicants who will persecute you and howl you sick until you give them an obolus." — Mr. James Douglas, *Glimpses of Old Bombay* (1900), p. 153, line 31.

6. Derajât.

The country west of the middle Indus, between the river and the hills. The word is the Persian plural of *derah*, a house, a habitation, a tent, a settlement. The place owes its name to the towns Derah Ismâ'îl Khân and Derah Ghâzî Khân, which lie within it. The following curiously perverse etymology is worth noting:—

1875. — The Arabs still term this district 'the country of the Zott.' [*Note.* — Derajât, that portion of the Punjaub which stretches for fully 200 miles along the course of the Upper Indus . . . .]. — *Account of the Gypsies of India* by De Goeje edited by David MacRitchie (1886).

1886. — Dera-Jat in the Punjab is still emphatically 'the country of the Jauts.' — *Id.* (MacRitchie's Appendix) p. 78.

7. Ding Ding.

The Mahomedan war cry Dîn! Dîn! Muḥammad, that is, The Faith, the Faith, Muḥammad.

c. 1760. — The sound of Ding Mahomed. — R. Orme, *Military Transactions*, Madras reprint, II. 339.

1764. — When our seapoys observed the enemy they gave them a ding or huzza. — C. Carraccioli, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, I. 57 (4 vols., 1775 ?).

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME BUILDING CUSTOMS OF THE PANJABI HINDUS.

When a house is finished, or at a convenient time afterwards, an auspicious day is fixed for the ceremonial entrance or *jathkhânâ*, the house-warming. A *gharâ* (earthen pot) is first sent to the house. The owner with his wife and family, and the family priest (*parohit*) and his friends then make a formal entry. Sometimes the owner and his wife go with their *châdars* (cloak, sheet) tied together as on their wedding day, but this is by no means an invariable custom. Then the great powers are worshipped: Ganesh, the elephant-god, for prosperity; Sûraj, the sun; Chând, the moon; Agni, the fire; Nâg, the serpent, for protection (?); Kumbh, Aquarius; Tirsûl, the Trident (of Siva). Lastly, there is a formal ceremony called *haman*, a sort of fire worship.[1]

J. L. Kipling in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

ASPECT OF HINDU WORSHIP.

Hindus ordinarily pray towards the sun. In the morning that will be to the east; but which way do they face if they worship at noon or in the evening? I am also told that some Hindus pray towards the north, and others towards the moon. What Hindus follow these customs, and why?

Denzil Ibbetson in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

PHALLIC WORSHIP IN THE HIMALAYAS.

In the Himâlayan Tarâî the Thârûs of Oudh make a mound in front of their houses, fix on it a stick in the form of a phallus which they worship.

When a Thârû dies his corpse is painted with vermilion and saffron and put for a night on the mound, always kept up in front of his house for his worship of the phallus. All that night incantations are carried on to prevent animals from injuring the crops.

W. Crooke in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

SOME BIRTH-CUSTOMS OF THE PARSIS.[1]

The woman is brought to bed on a plain *chârpâe*, placed over a bare white-washed place in the room, in which nothing else is placed. Beyond it are spread carpet and the household furniture. Before cutting the umbilical chord money is placed on it and given to the nurse.

R. C. Temple in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

SOME BIRTH-CUSTOMS OF THE PANJABI MUSALMANS.

Among Musalmâns on the birth of a child some cutting instrument of iron, as a sword, knife or billhook, is tied to the bed, and remains there for the 40 days of defilement to keep away demons.

F. A. Steel in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

[1] [See *Journal*, Society of Arts, 1883, p. 738. — Ed.]

NOTES ON INDIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

The places mentioned in the spurious Alṭêm grant.

THIS record has been edited by me in this Journal, Vol. VII. p. 209 ff.; and a lithograph of it has been given in Vol. VIII. p. 340. The original plates were obtained, many years ago, by Capt. T. B. Jervis, of the Bombay Engineers, at some unspecified place in the so-called Southern Marâṭhâ Country, and were presented by him to the British Museum. And the record has been conventionally known as **the spurious British Museum grant.** As, however, it is desirable to connect all the records, as far as possible, with the places to which they really appertain, this one may be better named **the spurious Alṭêm grant,** because we can now recognise clearly that, even if it was not actually obtained at that village, it must, at some time or another, have been in the possession of the priests of a Jain temple at that village.

The record is **a Jain record.** And it is **a spurious record;** that is to say, whatever basis of fact there may be at the bottom of it, it was not really issued by the authority of the king whose acts it purports to register, or at the date which it puts forward. It is not necessary to go into any of the details which shew that it is a spurious record. It is sufficient to remark that it puts forward for the Western Chalukya king Pulakêśin I. a date, in A. D. 488, which is known to be about sixty years before his real period (from about A. D. 550 to 566-67), and that the characters shew that it cannot have been written until at least about three and a half centuries later than even that period. But most of the spurious records present **matter of interest** from some point or another. And I propose to discuss this record now in respect of **the geographical names and details** given in it, which I was not able to deal with at the time when I edited it.

The record purports to register certain grants which, it asserts, were made by **the Western Chalukya king Pulakêśin I.** (lines 15, 16), — son of Raṇarâga (line 9), son of Jayasiṁha I. (line 7), — whom it styles **Satyâśraya-Pulakêśin** in line 15, and whom it mentions as simply **Satyâśraya** in lines 31, 34, and 36. And, after the passages which usher him in, it then introduces a prince named **Goṇḍa,** allotted to **the Rundranîla-Saindraka race** (lines 16, 17).[1] His son, it says, was **Sivâra** (line 18). And Sivâra's son was **Sâmiyâra** (line 21), a servant, dependent, or feudatory of him (Pulakêśin).

While **Sâmiyâra** — (it continues) — was governing **the Kuhuṇḍi country** (*vishaya*), which he had obtained through his (Pulakêśin's) favour (lines 21, 22), he founded **a Jain temple named Tribhuvanatilaka,** "the ornament of the three worlds" (line 27), in the eastern quarter (line 26) at **the city of Alaktakanagarî, in that country** (line 22), which was **the chief town of (a district composed of) seven hundred villages** (line 23). This was done, the record asserts, — that is to say, the building of the temple was finished, — **in the Vibhava saṁvatsara, Saka-Saṁvat 411 expired** (lines 28, 29). When the temple was finished, then, at the time of **an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of the month Vaiśâkha** (line 30), he (Sâmiyâra) preferred a request to the king **Satyâśraya,** who through friendship had come to his house after performing the ablutions that are appropriate on the occasion of an eclipse (lines 30, 31), and asked for a field worthy to be devoted to the worship of that temple (line 32). And **Satyâśraya** gave such a field, to the Tribhuvanatilaka-temple, during the eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Vaiśâkha (lines 35, 36).

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[1] The personal names put forward in this part of the record are not known from any other records. In the word Rundranîla, there is, possibly, some allusion to the *nîladhvaja*-banner of one of the branches of the Sinda family, for which see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 577.

The record then introduces **a Jain teacher named Siddhanandin,** belonging to **the Mûlagaṇa lineage,** "a (*veritable*) tree that sprang up on (*the mountain*) **Kanakôpala** (line 37).[2] His chief disciple was **Chitakâchârya** (line 39). By Chitakâchârya, **Nâgadêva** was initiated in **the Kâkôpala âmnâya** (lines 39, 40).[3] Nâgadêva's disciple was **Jinanandin** (line 41). And — (the record says) — the king gave some towns, and some *taḷabhôgas* or usufructs of lands, to the *Âchârya* Jinanandin (lines 42 to 44), — evidently, on behalf of the Tribhuvanatilaka-temple.

Lines 44 to 55 define the boundaries of two fields which were granted at the city itself. And the record then proceeds to enumerate and define the boundaries of allotments at **various other villages.** When the record was edited, there was nothing to lead us to look for those villages so far to the north as the locality in which we now find them; chiefly because, though the Kuhuṇḍi country, — or, rather, a certain part of it called the Kûṇḍi three-thousand, — was well known from the records of the Raṭṭa princes,[4] the conception of it was then associated with only the southern half of the Belgaum district, including Belgaum itself, and Saundatti, in the Parasgaḍ tâluka, which was the original capital of the province. And so the places were not identified.

The villages are now found — (nearly all of them) — on the east of Kôlhâpur, between the rivers Vârṇâ, Krishṇâ, and Pañchgaṅgâ. The identification of them enables us to identify, with certainty, Alaktakanagarî. And, as it is convenient to give the positions of them with reference to that town, we may state, first, that **Alaktakanagarî is the modern Aḷtêṁ,** — the **'Ulteh'** of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), in lat. 16° 46′, long. 74° 28′; and the **'Alta'** of the Bombay Survey sheet No. 239 (1887), and of general official usage,[5] — a large village, about twelve miles E. N. E. from Kôlhâpur, from which the Alta subdivision of that State — (with its head-quarters, however, at 'Hatkulungra,' 'Hátkanagale') — has derived its name. The two names of the place are, in fact, identical. The word **alaktaka** means the red dye, lac, obtained from the cochineal or a similar insect, as well as from the resin of a particular tree; see the new edition of Monier-Williams' Sanskrit

[2] The language of all the introductory part of the record is rather stilted. And Kanakôpala seems to denote the hill at Maleyûru in the Châmrâjnagar tâluka, Mysore district. There are records there, which call it Kanakagiri (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 144, 150, 153, 159, 160), Kanakâchala (*ibid.* Ch. 158), and Hêmâdri (*ibid.* Ch. 149). And two of them (Ch. 151, 153) mention the Mûlasaṁgha; as also do two others at the same place (Ch. 157, 161).

[3] *Âmnâya* is synonymous with *saṁgha, saṁtâna, kula,* and *kulakrama.* I have not, at present, any other reference for the Kâkôpala community or lineage.

[4] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 549 ff.

[5] In the compilation, issued in 1878, entitled *Bombay Places and Common Official Words,* the name is given as Álta in English characters, and is certified as Âḷtêṁ in Nâgarî characters, with the long *â* in the first syllable. It is shewn as Álte, again with the long *â*, in the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, published in 1879, which gives also another place, Alte, with the short *a*, in the Sâṅglî State. And it was given to me as Âḷtêṁ, with the long *â*, in 1884 or 1885 (see above, Vol. XVI. p. 20). But it is given as Alta, with the short *a*, in the Kôlhâpur volume (1886) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* pp. 1, 256, 291, 292. And there can be little doubt, if any, that the short *a* is correct. — Regarding the general difficulty of determining the real undeniable forms of many modern place-names, and the unreliable nature, in this detail, of official compilations and modern maps, I would invite perusal of a note which I am giving on the name Aṇṇigere, in a paper on the Nîlgund inscription of Amôghavarsha I. of A. D. 866 in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. In many cases, it is only by personal inquiries, made locally, that one can ascertain what the names really are. And it is the cultivators of the villages and the hereditary village-officers, — not the district officials and their clerks, — who can help best in the matter. My experience has always been that, among publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects a better guide than any others, in spite of the apparent want of system in them, or, rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at a system which in those days had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. And the present case is an instance in point; as the *u* which the Indian Atlas gives in 'Ulteh' means the short *a*, and the *eh* represents the ending *êṁ* much better than *a* does. The Indian Atlas sheet, it may be added, gives the same spelling, 'Ulteh,' in the case of two other villages, one of them about nine miles N. N. W. from Tâsgaon and twenty-five miles towards the E. S. E. from Karhâḍ, and the other two miles further north. — It may be noted that, as we know well from epigraphic records, the ancient form of the name Kôlhâpur was Kollâpura. The Bombay Survey sheet No. 240 (1894) gives, naturally enough, according to official custom, 'Kolhápur.' But the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852) gives 'Kolapoor.' And it seems, from this, not impossible that the now current form of the name has come into existence during the present century, since the time when archæological interest was aroused, and as the result of simply an etymological speculation, known to me thirty years ago, which sought to connect the name of the place with the word *kôlâ*, or more commonly *kôlhâ*, 'a jackal.'

Dictionary, under *alaktaka* and *lâkshâ*. Molesworth and Candy's Marâṭhî Dictionary gives **aḷatâ**, with the meaning of a dye of lac, *lôdhra, etc.*, as a corruption of *alaktaka*. The place-name **Aḷtêṁ**, is plainly identical with this word *aḷatâ*, = *alaktaka*.[6] And a record of A. D. 1009 gives us **the intermediate form Alatage**.[7]

Taking **the villages, named in the record,** in the order in which they are mentioned, we have first **Narindaka** (line 55). This is **'Nurundeh,' 'Naranda,'**[8] three and a half miles N. N. W. ½ N. from Aḷtêṁ. In defining the land alleged to have been granted at this village, in the south-west quarter, mention is made of a tank between the roads (from Alaktakanagarî) to Narindaka and **Sâmarivâḍa** (line 56). This latter place is **'Sawurdee,' 'Sávarda,'** five miles N. W. from Aḷtêṁ, and three miles on the west of 'Nurundeh,' 'Naranda.' It is mentioned again in line 88.

The next is **Kiṇayige** (line 58). This is **'Kinnee,' 'Kini,'** ten miles N. W. from Aḷtêṁ, — a large village, with a travellers' bungalow, on what used to be the mail-road between Kôlhâpur and Sâtârâ, and near the river Vârṇâ.

The next is **Pantigaṇage** (line 63), in connection with which there is mentioned **Komarañche** (line 66), which was somewhere on the south-west or south of Pantigaṇage. These are, no doubt, **'Hatkulungra,' 'Hátkanagale,'**[9] two miles towards the S. E. by S. from Aḷtêṁ, and **'Korochee,' 'Károchi,'** one mile and a half further in the same direction.

The next is **Maṅgali** (line 70), in connection with which there is mentioned **Rûvika** (line 72), which was somewhere on the west of Maṅgali. Rûvika is evidently **'Rooee,' 'Rui,'** on the Pañchgaṅgâ, six miles almost due south from Aḷtêṁ. Maṅgali seems to have disappeared; or else its name has been replaced by that of 'Kubnoor,' 'Kabnur,' two miles E. N. E. from 'Rooee,' 'Rui.'

The next is **Karandige** (line 75), in connection with which there are mentioned **Chandavura** and **Pandaraṅgavaḷḷi** (line 76), which were somewhere on the west of it. Karandige is plainly **'Eenchulkurunjee,' 'Inchalkaranji,'** on the Pañchgaṅgâ, the head-quarters of a feudatory State in Kôlhâpur, — certified in *Bombay Places* as Iṁchalkaraṁjî, = **Iñchalkarañjî**,[10] — seven miles S. E. by S. from Aḷtêṁ. Three miles W. by S. from Iñchalkarañjî, there is **'Chundoor,' 'Chandur,'** also on the Pañchgaṅgâ. Pandaraṅgavaḷḷi seems to have disappeared, unless it may be represented by 'Mangaon,' 'Mángáon,' seven miles towards the W. by N. from Iñchalkarañjî, which would answer to the intimation given in the record that the land granted at Karandige lay between the roads to Chandavura and Pandaraṅgavaḷḷi; but there is the objection that the track from Iñchalkarañjî to Mângaon passes through 'Rooee,' 'Rui,' which suggests that Pandaraṅgavaḷḷi lay between Karandige and Rûvika, as, otherwise, the road would have been better specified as the road to Rûvika.

The next is **Dâvanavaḷḷi** (line 78); and we are told that the land granted there was on the west of that village and between the roads to Alaktakanagara and **Kumbayija** (line 78-79). Dâvanavaḷḷi is **'Danoolee,'** on the Vârṇâ, six and a half miles towards the N. E. by E. from Aḷtêṁ. And Kumbayija is **'Koombhoj,' 'Kumbhoj,'** three and a half miles on the west of 'Danoolee.' It is mentioned again in line 87, which speaks of a group of villages known as **the Kumbayija twelve.**

[6] As, in fact, is recognised in the Kôlhâpur volume, p. 291, — "Alta, from *alta* a red colour formerly made in the town."

[7] See page 276 below.

[8] In each instance, I give the spelling presented in (1) the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), and (2) the Bombay Survey sheets No. 239 (1887), 240 (1894), and 272 (1894); sheet No. 271, which is wanted for Dâvanavaḷḷi, Arjunavâḍa, and Pellidaka, is apparently not yet published.

[9] The Survey sheet No. 240 seems to have somehow or other succeeded in restoring here a form which is more correct than the 'Hatkulungra' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 and the 'Hátkalangda' of the Kôlhâpur volume (pp. 10, 297), which appear to be due to only a local legend about "a stone hand or *hât* which was set up in memory of a man who passed an ordeal by dipping his hands in boiling oil," but who, apparently, became maimed (*laṅgaḍâ*) thereby. — The Kôlhâpur volume mentions the other village as 'Korochi' (p. 10).

[10] The map opposite page 1 of the Kôlhâpur volume gives 'Inchalkaranji;' but elsewhere we find 'Ichalkaranji' (pp. 1, 254, 255, 298). I can only say that the name is thoroughly familiar to me with the nasal after the initial *i*. — With the change of *ndi* to *ñji*, compare Karañjawaḍê as the modern representative of the ancient Karandivaḍê (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 390).

The Indian Atlas shews the old track from 'Danoolee' to 'Koombhoj.'[11] And the Survey sheet No. 239 shews a cart-track from Altêṁ, evidently leading straight to 'Danoolee.'

The next is **Nandiṇige** (line 82); and we are told that the land granted there was on the east of that village and between the boundary of **Baravulika** and the road to **Srîpura** (line 82-83). In connection with this we may take the next village, **Siripaṭṭi** (line 84), in respect of which we are told that the land granted there lay in the west of it and on the south of the road to **Srîpura.** And it is quite plain that Nandiṇige is **'Nandnee,' 'Nándni,'** near the Pañchgaṅgâ, nine miles towards the E. S. E. from Altêṁ; that Siripaṭṭi is **'Seerhuttee,' 'Shirti,'**[12] — certified in *Bombay Places* as **Sirhaṭṭi,** — on the Krishṇâ, fifteen miles E. by S. ¼ S. from Altêṁ; and that Srîpura is **'Sheerool,' 'Shirol,'** the head-quarters of another subdivision of the Kôlhâpur State, — certified as **Sirôḷ** in *Bombay Places*,[13] — three and a half miles E. by N. from 'Nandnee,' 'Nándni,' and two and a half miles N. W. by N. from Sirhaṭṭi. Srîpura is mentioned again in line 89, which speaks of a group of villages known as **the Srîpura twelve.** From the modern name, we can recognise that the Srîpura of this record is the Sanskritised form of the name **Sirivoḷal** or **Sirivoḷal.**[14] Baravulika seems to have disappeared, unless it is represented by the modern 'Huroolee,' 'Haroli:' the site of this village is about half a mile on the south-west of 'Nandnee,' 'Nándni;' but the lands of it may easily have extended to the Pañchgaṅgâ, so as to be partly on the east or south-east of Nandiṇige.

And the last village in which allotments are claimed to have been made, is **Arjunavâḍa** (line 85); we are told that land was granted there in the west of it and on the north of the road to **Srîpura** (line 86). Arjunavâḍa is **'Arjoonwar,'** on the Krishṇâ, fourteen miles almost due east of Altêṁ, and three miles towards the N. E. by N. from **Sirôḷ.** The Atlas sheet shews the old track; and the Survey sheet indicates that it has now been converted into a made-road from Sirôḷ to Miraj.

In addition to claiming allotments in the above villages, the record asserts that four entire villages were granted; namely, **Rûvika in the Kumbayija twelve** (line 87), **Sâmarivâḍa** (line 88), **Laṭṭivâḍa in the Baddhamâḷe twelve** (line 88-89); and **Pellidaka in the Srîpura twelve** (line 89). Kumbayija has already been identified with **'Koombhoj,' 'Kumbhoj,'** four miles towards the N. E. by N. from Altêṁ. The Rûvika of this passage seems clearly to be another village of that name, which has now disappeared, and not to be identical with the Rûvika which has been identified with 'Rooee,' 'Rui,' fourteen miles S. by W. from 'Koombhoj,' 'Kumbhoj.' Sâmarivâḍa has already been identified; it is **'Sawurdee, Sávarda,'** five miles to the N. W. from Altêṁ. Laṭṭivâḍa is **'Latowreh,' 'Látavda,'** near the Vârṇâ, six and a half miles to the N. W. by N. from Altêṁ. And Baddhamâḷe is probably **'Badoola,' 'Bhádola,'** about a mile and a half on the north-west of 'Latowreh,' 'Látavda.' Pellidaka, in the Srîpura twelve, seems to have disappeared.

Mention has been made above of **the intermediate form Alatage.** This is found in the Kauthêṁ grant of A. D. 1009,[15] which registers the donation of the village of Koddasî in **the Alatage seven-hundred in the Kûṇḍi country.** The record defines the village of **Koddasî** as being bounded on the east by **Duddhîgrâma,** on the south by **Vaṭṭâra,** on the west by **Bheṇḍevâḍa,** and on the north by **Vaṅgî.** Koddasî is the modern **'Kochee,' 'Khodsi,'**[16] on the south

[11] The tracks shewn in the Indian Atlas sheets mostly denote cart-tracks; and nearly all of them have undoubtedly existed from ancient times, and represent the old *pathas, mârgas, râjapathas, râjamârgas, etc.* Close on the east of Nêsargi in the Belgaum district, there are traces of a fine old road of this description, leading southwards towards Saṅgôḷi. The word *mârga* is still habitually used by the villagers of the Kanarese districts, to denote the tracks along which carts can go, but which are not made-roads.

[12] This spelling, in the Survey sheet No. 272, is decidedly feeble.

[13] The Kôlhâpur volume gives 'Shirol' on pages 1, 256, 257, 319, 320; but the map opposite page 1 presents 'Shirále.'

[14] Which, in fact, occurs as Sirivoḷala in a record of A. D. 1058 (see page 277 below).

[15] Above, Vol. XVI. p. 15.

[16] The Survey sheet No. 239, which gives 'Khodsi,' very likely restores a form which is more correct than the 'Koochee' of the Atlas sheet No. 40. But the Postal Directory gives 'Kuchi.' And in 1884 or 1885, when I had the record in hand for publication, the name was certified to me as Kuchî or Kochî; this, however, may have been done because I could only point to the 'Kochee' of the Atlas sheet, and ask to be supplied with the proper spelling of the name of the village in Nâgarî characters. The Kôlhâpur volume gives "Khodsi or Khochi" (p. 303).

bank of the Vârṇâ, six and a half miles N. by W. from Aḷtêṁ. Vaṭṭâra is **Waṭâr or Waṭhâr** — ('Watar,' 'Vathár-Vadgáon), — and Bheṇḍevâḍa is **Bheṇḍawaḍêṁ** — ('Bhendowreh,' 'Bhendavda'), — on, respectively, the south and west of 'Kochee,' 'Khodsi.' Vaṅgî is **Bâgṇî** — ('Bagnee,' 'Bagni')[17] — on the north bank of the Vârṇâ, two and a half miles almost due north of 'Kochee,' 'Khodsi.' And Duddhîgrâma is **Dûdhgaon** — ('Doodgaon,' 'Dudhgáon) — also on the north bank of the Vârṇâ, two miles on the north-east of 'Kochee,' 'Khodsi.'

All these identifications make it quite certain that the **Alaktakanagarî** of the spurious grant is the **Alatage** of the genuine record of A. D. 1009, and is the modern **Aḷtêṁ**, about twelve miles east-north-east from Kôlhâpur. And the record of A. D. 1009 establishes it, unquestionably, as **the chief town of a seven-hundred district,** that is to say, of a district which included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptation, seven hundred cities, towns, and villages. In view of the way in which the numbers of the villages in the ancient territorial divisions were, manifestly, sometimes exaggerated,[18] we need not accept that statement too literally. But the ancient **Alaktaka or Alatage seven-hundred** was, no doubt, an appreciably larger territory than the present Alta subdivision, which comprises only forty-nine villages,[19] and includes, on the west, some villages, — for instance 'Heirleh,' 'Herla,' — which did not belong to the ancient seven-hundred district. Its **western boundary** must have run, at one point, quite close to Aḷtêṁ itself; for, an inscription of A. D. 1118 at 'Heirleh,' 'Herla,' six miles to the W. by S. from Aḷtêṁ, locates that village, which it mentions by probably the name of Vaguṁbana-Haṛulage, in the Eḍenâḍ district.[20] We might infer that, to **the east,** the district included all the places, named in the two records, lying on the south of the Vârṇâ,[21] and extended as far as the Kṛishṇâ: but to this there are the objections, that the Kuṇṭavâḍa grant of A. D. 1058[22] distinctly places in the Miriñja country (*dêśa*), which it seems to describe as a three-thousand province, the Sirivoḷala twenty-four — (composed, perhaps, of the Śrîpura twelve and the Kumbayija twelve of the spurious record), — and locates in the Sirivoḷala twenty-four two villages the modern representatives

[17] The Survey sheet No. 239 has here omitted to mark the long *â*.

[18] On the general question of the meaning and bearing of the numerical components of the names of the ancient territorial divisions, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, note 2. We have not, as yet, any very full information in this direction about the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency. But the records mention, among the larger territorial divisions — (there are many smaller ones, which we need not take into consideration here), — the Kavadidvîpa lâkh-and-a-quarter, the Palasige twelve-thousand, the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Toṛagale six-thousand, the Karahâṭa four-thousand, the Kûṇḍi three-thousand, the Noḷambavâḍi thirty-two-thousand, and the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand. These figures give a total of two hundred and ninety thousand cities, towns, and villages, for an area covering not much more than the southern parts of Bombay, the Bellary district in Madras, and the province of Mysore. But there are not as many as twenty thousand villages in Mysore, and not quite forty-four thousand villages and hamlets in the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

[19] See the Kôlhâpur volume, p. 1; and the whole of the Kôlhâpur territory includes only one thousand and seventy-nine villages (*ibid.*).

[20] I quote from an ink-impression. In the prefix, the syllable *guṁ* is very doubtful. In the name, the first syllable may possibly have the vowel *e*, — Heṛulage, or Hêṛulage; but, on the whole, I think not. In the second syllable, the vowel is *u*, not *i*; that is to say, the name is not — (though we might have expected it to be) — Heṛilage or Hêṛilage, which occurs elsewhere in the case of Hâvina-Heṛilage (see page 279 below); or, at any rate, it is not so written here.

[21] And possibly, but not necessarily, Bâgṇî and Dûdhgaon on the north of the Vârṇâ.

[22] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India), p. 101. This record was "found near Mirija (Meritch), in the Dekkan" (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. II. p. 385). As the exact find-place is not known, it may conveniently be named the Kuṇṭavâḍa grant, from the village which it conveys, and which is identified.—In editing this record, I rendered the words *sahasra-tritaya-Miriṁja-dêśâbhyantarê* (lines 46, 47) as meaning "in the Miriñja district of the (Kûṇḍi) three-thousand." And it may be noted that the Miraj inscription of A. D. 1144 speaks of only the Miriñje *nâḍ*, without any numerical specification (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 96, line 44), and the Miraj grant of Vîra-Satyâśraya (of doubtful authenticity) speaks of the Miriñje three-hundred *kampaṇa* (above, Vol. XIV. p. 141, lines 16, 17), which, however, may have been only the head-quarters subdivision of a much larger province. But the Miriñja country was certainly not in the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti (see further on). And I think that the record of A. D. 1058 really means to speak of "the Miriñja three-thousand country," as I have already assumed in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 546 f.

of which are found, within six miles of Śirôḷ, on the west bank of the Kṛishṇâ,[23] and that the Khidrâpur inscription of A. D. 1213[24] places in the Miriñji country (*dêśa*), and at a confluence which is described as Kûḍala-Kṛishṇavêṇî-Bheṇasî-saṁgama, a village named Kûḍala-Dâmavâḍa, which, — as no river of the slightest importance flows into the Kṛishṇâ from the east anywhere in that neighbourhood, — must be placed on the west of the Kṛishṇâ, and the name of which is, in fact, evidently preserved in the name of the modern 'Danwar,' 'Dánvád,' on the north bank of the Dûdhgaṅgâ, close to the confluence of that river with the Kṛishṇâ, and five miles W. S. W. from Khidrâpur. On the whole, it seems probable that the so-called seven-hundred district of Alaktaka or Alatage was a comparatively small territory, **bounded on the south** by the Dûdhgaṅgâ. Its **eastern boundary** may have been the Kṛishṇâ; or it may have been some line which ran up on the west of that river, excluding the villages which the records of A. D. 1058 and 1213 place in the Miriñja territory. Its **western boundary** was probably a somewhat irregular line, which left the Dûdhgaṅgâ somewhere near the modern Kâgal, ran up somewhere on the west of 'Rooee,' 'Rui,' and then turned to the north-west along the range of hills between Aḷtêṁ and 'Heirleh,' 'Herla;' after that, it may have turned north to join the Vârṇâ somewhere on the west of 'Kinnee,' 'Kini,' or it may possibly have continued along the range on which are the hill-forts of Panhâḷâ and Pâvangaḍ as far as the Western Ghauts. The **northern boundary** was probably the Vârṇâ, which is for a considerable distance the dividing line between the Kôlhâpur territory and the Sâtârâ district.[25]

The Kûṇḍi country.

We have still to consider the bearing of the statement, which we must accept as authentic in at any rate the genuine Kauṭhêṁ grant of A. D. 1009, that the Alaktaka or Alatage seven-hundred district was in **the Kuhuṇḍi or Kûṇḍi country.**

This territorial name is known best in connection with **the Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti,** whose hereditary province was called **the Kûṇḍi three-thousand.** And we now know that the Kûṇḍi three-thousand included, towards the north, Têrdâḷ,[26] the head-quarters of the Têrdâḷ subdivision of the Sâṅglî State, about fifty-six miles almost due north-east from Beḷgaum, and also Bhôj,[27] in the Chikôḍi tâluka, about forty-seven miles nearly due north of Beḷgaum, and only sixteen miles south of Aḷtêṁ. But the Raṭṭa princes certainly did not hold any of the country round Aḷtêṁ.

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[23] Namely, Kannavâḍa, = 'Kunwar,' 'Kanvad;' and Kuṇṭavâḍa, = 'Kootwar,' 'Kutvad.' The other two villages, Hâdalivâda and Gâḷikuṭṭi, seem to have doubled up into the modern 'Ghalwar.'' — In 'Kanvad' and 'Kutvad,' the Survey sheet No. 272 has omitted to mark the long *â* of *vâd*.

[24] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 10. The original village Kûḍala-Dâmavâḍa must have been a large one, as the record describes it as extending from the confluence at which it was situated up to a second confluence which is spoken of as śrîmat-Kṛishṇavêṇî-Kuvêṇî-nadî-saṁgama. And, doubtless for that reason as well as from not knowing then the exact spelling of the name of Kurundwâḍ or Kurandwâḍ, I suggested, in editing the record, that it might be Kurundwâd itself. But the name Kurundwâḍ, Kurandwâḍ, has its own etymology and meaning; being evidently connected with *kuranda, kurunda,* 'the corundum stone.' It is plain that 'Danwar,' 'Dánvád,' is a remnant, and preserves the name, of the ancient Kûḍala-Dâmavâḍa, and that the lands of that village were, at some time or another, broken up, to form the lands of Bastwâḍ, near Kurundwâḍ, and of a few other villages. And there can be little doubt that the village-site of the ancient Kûḍala-Dâmavâda was where the site of the modern 'Danwar,' 'Dánvâd,' now is; otherwise, the name could hardly have been preserved at all.

[25] According to the identifications (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 390) of villages mentioned in the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga, of A. D. 754 (above, Vol. XI. p. 108), it might be held that the Koppara five-hundred *bhukti* lay immediately on the north of the Alaktaka or Alatage seven-hundred, on the other side of the Vârṇâ. But the village-names in that record have been tampered with and altered; that is to say, the grant, though a genuine one, was fraudulently applied, at some subsequent date, to secure possession of a property other than that which was actually conveyed by it. And, consequently, those villages do not necessarily locate the Koppara five-hundred, the name of which has not been tampered with; and the Koppara district may have to be looked for in a totally different part of the country.

[26] Above, Vol. XIV. pp. 21, 25. The record contains dates in A. D. 1123, 1181, and 1187, and is at Têrdâḷ itself. It expressly places Têridâḷa, the chief town of the Têridâḷa twelve, in the Kûṇḍi country (*dêśa* and *vishaya*) (lines 4, 5), and, more explicitly, in the Kûṇḍi three-thousand (line 58).

[27] Above, Vol. XIX. p. 243. The record, obtained at Bhôj itself, and dated in A. D. 1208, expressly places Bhoyija in the Koravalli *kampaṇa*, and the latter in the Kûṇḍi three-thousand (lines 99, 100, 105).

On the other hand, the Kuntavâḍa grant of A. D. 1058[28] describes **the Silâhâra prince Gonka,** — the father of the Mârasiṁha who made the donation that is registered in that record, — as possessing Karahâṭa and **the Kûṇḍi country**, the Mairiñjâ country, and the great country of the Konkaṇ. But the Silâhâras of Karhâḍ did certainly not hold the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province, which was in the hands of the Raṭṭas from about A. D. 980 to 1228. They did, however, hold some territory, stretching down along the Ghauts to within thirty miles on the north-west of Belgaum, which must have been in the Kûṇḍi country: for, a record at Kôlhâpur, of the time of the Silâhâra prince Vijayâditya, and dated in A. D. 1143, registers the grant by him of a field, measuring one quarter of a *nivartana* according to the Kûṇḍi staff or measuring rod, at the village of Hâvina-Heṛilage in the Âjirage *kholla*;[29] Âjirage is certainly the modern Âjra (possibly Âjrêṁ), — the head-quarters of the Âjra subdivision of the Iñchalkarañjî State, — about twenty-seven miles to the north-west from Belgaum; Hâvina-Heṛilage must be located somewhere near Âjra, and is, I suspect, 'Hurlee,' nine miles towards the E. N. E. from Âjra; and the territory in which it lay, must have been at some time or another included in the Kûṇḍi country, in order to account for the measure of the field being expressed according to the Kûṇḍi staff.[30]

Taking everything into consideration, it now seems clear that **the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province** of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti was only **a part of a much larger territory known by the name of Kûṇḍi.** And this explains the statement, in a record of A. D. 1096 at Saundatti, that the Raṭṭa prince Kârtavîrya I. (A. D. 980) fixed the boundaries of the Kuhuṇḍi country,[31] that is to say of the Kûṇḍi three-thousand; the meaning being that he secured for himself and his descendants a certain portion of the whole Kûṇḍi country, and had the boundaries of that part of it determined, by agreement with the princes who held the other parts of it, or by some such means.

The Kûṇḍi three-thousand of the Raṭṭas was probably bounded on the north by the Kṛishṇâ and the Dûdhgaṅgâ, and on the west by a line which left the Dûdhgaṅgâ close on the west of Bhôj and, following for a short distance the course of the Vêdgaṅgâ, then left that river — (perhaps close on the east of 'Ankoll,'[32] five and a half miles to the south of Bhôj) — and ran irregularly southwards, on the west of Nipâṇi and Saṅkêshwar and the east of 'Hurlee,' towards Belgaum, — following from Nipâṇi, in fact, very probably, almost the present dividing line between the Belgaum district and the Kôlhâpur territory. In that part of the country, the name Kûṇḍi remained in use till A. D. 1249; as is shewn by the Chikka-Bâgewâḍi grant of that year, which mentions the village of Santheya-Bâgavâḍi in the Huvvalli twelve in the Kuhuṇḍi *dêśa*.[33] But it seems probable that, by the end of the century, the name died out there, and was replaced by some such appellation as **the Vêḷugrâma country,** and that the change came about in the following way. The original capital of the province was Saundatti, — the head-quarters of the Parasgaḍ tâluka in the Belgaum district, — which is mentioned in the ancient records by the ordinary name of Savadhavatti or Savandhavatti and the Sanskṛit appellation Sugandhavartin. And the province did not at first include Belgaum. That town was the

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[28] *Loc. cit.*, note 21 on page 277 above.

[29] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 208.

[30] Contrast the mention of the Edenâḍ staff, in connection with a grant made at the village of Kopparavâḍa in the Edenâḍ district (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 214). Prof. Kielhorn (*loc. cit.* p. 215, note 1) has, I think, quite rightly proposed to identify Kopparavâḍa with 'Kopurda,' 'Koparda,' seven miles on the west of Kôlhâpur, and Tîra-vâḍabîḍa, or "the camp of Tîravâḍa" (see a correction notified for the passage referred to), with "Bir,' 'Bid,' on the west of the Bhôgâvatî river, seven miles to the W. S. W. from Kôlhâpur. — The Kûṇḍi staff is mentioned again, in a Silâhâra record of A. D. 1150, in connection with the lands granted at the village of Maḍa[l]ûra to the Jain temple at that village (*ibid.* p. 211). The purport of this record points, in my opinion, to Maḍa[l]ûra being the ancient name of Bâmaṇî itself, — where the record is, at a Jain temple, — on the south of the Dûdhgaṅgâ. It does not seem very likely that there can be any connection between the modern Kâgal (so certified in *Bombay Places*) and the name of the ancient territorial division, ending in *golla*, in which Maḍa[l]ûra was situated. The first syllable of the name of that division is broken away; the remainder of the name appears to be *navu[ka]gegolla* or *ṇavu[ra]gegolla*; and a trace of the name may, just possibly, be found in the 'Akol' of the Survey sheet No. 241, which appears in the Atlas sheet No. 40 as 'Ankoll,' — a village thirteen miles towards the E. S. E. from Bâmaṇî, and five miles S. by W. from Bhôj: there is the objection, however, among others, that 'Ankoll,' 'Akol,' is separated from Bâmaṇî by the Vêdgaṅgâ.

[31] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 201.

[32] See note 30 above.

[33] Above, Vol. VII. p. 304.

chief town of a group of villages known as the Vêḷugrâma and Vêṇugrâma seventy district. This district was in the possession of the Kâdambas of Goa up to A. D. 1160.[34] Not long after that time, the Raṭṭas obtained it from them. The Raṭṭa records from A. D. 1199 onwards shew plainly[35] that their seat of government was transferred to Beḷgaum soon after the time when they obtained the district and incorporated it with their hereditary possessions; the reason being, no doubt, that it had become a place of considerable size and importance, as is indicated by the fact that one of the Beḷgaum records of the Raṭṭas, dated in A. D. 1201,[36] registers grants that were made by the four-thousand *Mahâjanas* of Vêṇugrâma. The latest date that we have for the Raṭṭas is A. D. 1228. Before A. D. 1238, they succumbed to the power of the Yâdava kings of Dêvagiri. And a Dêvagiri-Yâdava record of A. D. 1249 presents the appellation of the Vêṇugráma *dêśa*,[37] — applied, very possibly, in that particular record, to only a portion of the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province, but evidently calculated to become before long the standard name of the whole territory. A reminiscence of the original name, however, has survived to even the present day, in the title Mûrusâviradayya, "the *Ayya* of the three-thousand:" it is the title of an *Ayya* or Jaṅgam priest (Liṅgâyat) at Hubḷi in the Dhârwâr district; and he is evidently descended from a line of priests who were the pontiffs of some great Śaiva establishment in the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province.[38]

As regards **the larger Kûṇḍi country,** — on the authority of the Śilâhâra record of Vijayâditya of A. D. 1143, we may safely take it, on the west, to the Ghauts; while the genuine Kauṭhêṁ grant of A. D. 1009 and the spurious Aḷtêṁ grant shew that, on the north, it extended at least as far as the river Vârṇâ. And the statement in the Kuṇṭavâḍa grant of A. D. 1058, about the Kûṇḍi country (with the Koṅkaṇ, *etc.*) being held by the Śilâhâra prince Goṅka — (who certainly did not hold the whole of the Koṅkaṇ either), — is to be interpreted as meaning that he possessed, and transmitted to his descendants, that part of the Kûṇḍi country which lay on the west and north of the Kûṇḍi three-thousand province of the Raṭṭas. That part of the Kûṇḍi country seems to have become better known, by the end of the twelfth century A. D., as **the Kollâpura country;** as a note in a manuscript of the *Śabdârṇavachandrikâ* tells us that that work was composed in the Krôdhana *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 1127 (expired), = A. D. 1205-1206, in the reign of the Śilâhâra prince Bhôja, at a Jain temple which had been founded by (his grandfather) Gaṇḍarâditya at "the great place Âjurikâ (Âjra) in the Kollâpura *dêśa*."[39]

It remains to be added that there was **a town named Kûṇḍipaṭṭaṇa,** from which, no doubt, the country took its name. It is mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1135 at Kôlhâpur,[40] which registers the grant of certain local imposts to the god Pârśvanâtha of a Jain temple founded by the *Mahâsâmanta* Nimbadêvarasa at Santeya-Mudgoḍe in Kavaḍegoḷḷa. The record names, among the persons who made the grant, the five-hundred *Svâmins* of Ayyavoḷe, Bilhaṇaseṭṭi of Kollâpura, Bijjaseṭṭi of Miriñje, the *Heggaḍe* Râvaseṭṭi who was the *Sâsaniga* of the Âdityagṛiha or house of Âditya of **Kûṇḍipaṭṭaṇa,** Kannapayyaseṭṭi the *Prabhu* of Torambage, Śântiseṭṭi of Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa, and Khapparayya the *Prabhu* of Kavaḍegoḷḷa, — all of whom, representing the whole country, assembled and joined in laving the feet of Śrutakîrtitraividyadêva, the *Âchârya* of the Rûpanârâyaṇa *basadi* of Kollâpura. The town has to be looked for in the Beḷgaum district or in the Kôlhâpur territory. But I cannot as yet find it. And we shall probably eventually identify it with some place now possessing a totally different name.

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[34] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 570.

[35] See *ibid.* p. 556 ff.

[36] Sir Walter Elliot's *MS. Collection*, Vol. II., Edinburgh copy p. 576, London copy p. 322 *b*.

[37] Above, Vol. XIV. p. 70, lines 28, 29.

[38] The Dhârwâr volume of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* tells us (p. 755 f.) that the Mûrusâvirada *maṭha* is the largest and most substantial of the fifteen Liṅgâyat *maṭhas* at Hubḷi, — (the present building, however, only dates back to about A. D. 1820); — and it puts forward a local story which would account for the name by connecting it with a body of Basava's adherents, composed of three thousand ascetics, and would represent the Mûrusâvirada *Ayyus* as having come from Chitaldroog in Mysore. This is plainly only fiction. But we gather from it that any genuine tradition, which might have helped us to identify and locate the town of Kûṇḍipaṭṭaṇa (see further on), seems to have been lost.

[39] Above, Vol. X. p. 75, and p. 76, note 2.

[40] Not yet edited; I quote from an ink-impression.

THE 400 LYRICS : PURRA-NÂNNÛRRU.

BY THE REV. G. U. POPE, M. A., D. D., BALLIOL COLLEGE AND INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD.

(Continued from p. 256.)

XI.

I NOW give a specimen of the class of songs called **Âṭṭu-paḍai,** or introduction of a suppliant to a generous patron. The bard is supposed to meet the mendicant in the vicinity of the palace, and encourages him to press on.

Kindly Sympathy (69).

In thine hand is the faultless lute; thy body is hunger's prey, for there were none to aid! Around thy waist thou wrappest a cloth patched and darned, and moist with sweat, thou needy minstrel!

Around the world with thy want-wasted company hast thou been, and now enquirest of me.

Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan is he whose host slays on the reeking bloody plain where high banners wave, the tusked elephant, — he who is lord of *Urranthai,* whose spear is uplifted mid the warriors, strenuous invader of foeman's land, wearer of hero's wreath, and adorned with fire-flashing gems of various hues and ornaments of ruddy gold! Go to his presence! Thou wilt suffer no waiting before the gate.

And when thou him sees't face to face, who in open day[17] gives chariots to those that ask, still less shalt thou lack the lotus wreath around which no beetles swarm.[18]

XII.

The next is of the same character (70) :—

Minstrel, with little lute of sweetest strain!

Suppliant with words of old wisdom full!

Importunate thou askest me to rest and listen to the pleasant sounds of thy tambourine.[19]

But hear what I shall say!

The modest homes of **Pâṇan,**[20] whose hands are full of gifts, is near the wide city.

There food inexhaustible is found like the waters of the cool tank under January's moon, and the humming bees explore the sweets of the fragrant water-lily.

There he meditates the praise and glory of Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan; king of the good land that yields in abundance rice and sweet water, and that knows the fire that cooks, but not the fire that consumes.

If thither, — together with thy songstress, whose hair diffuses fragrance of the 'trumpet-flower,' the bright-browed, sweetly smiling, — you softly advance, you shall prosper well.

His gifts are not mere chance, like gold found by the woodman in the forest.

Hesitate not.

Long may he flourish!

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17 The Com. says the day has 30 *nâṛigai* (Tamil hours of 24 minutes). Of these 10, *i. e.,* from 6 a. m. to 10 a. m., are to be given to duties of domestic life. (See K. Book I.) The next 10, *i. e.,* from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m., are to be devoted to kingly duties; and the last 10, *i. e.,* from 2 to 6 p. m., being the heat of the day, would be spent in giving audiences and dispensing gifts.

18 It is of gold!

19 'Which has bright face and is fastened to a rod, as turtle from the tank is strung on iron skewer!'

20 Seems a play on the name Paṇṇan.

XIII.

A very remarkable lyric addressed to him, presumably at this period of his greatest glory, is by **Tâyam Kaṇṇanâr,** of Erukaṭṭur, a poet otherwise unknown. It forcibly recalls **Mâṇikka Vâçagar's** fine 'Morning Hymn in the Temple.' [*Tiruvâçagam*, XX.]

The King's Reveil (397).

The morning-star with silver radiance bright
Now fills the ample sky, and waking birds
From out their nests on lofty boughs send forth
Sweet sounds. On the lake's surface lotus-flowers
Have open'd wide their eyes; and one by one
The stars now slowly quench their golden fires.
And while the morning drum is sounding loud,
And shrill-ton'd winding shell its summons gives,
Swift on the yielding steps of fleeing night
The eager day triumphant presses on!
Come forth, O king, to view thy mustering hosts!
List to the morning uprise in the guardian camp,
Where sheen of spears dispels the hovering shades.
King, on whose breast hang wreaths of clustering flowers!
And hear the drummer at the outer gate!
He bids thee from thy slumber wake. I come
A suppliant, who loves to see thy state,—
Thou who dost give rich food with spices blent,
And palm-wine fragrant cool, in jewell'd flask,
With garments bright as when a snake its skin renews: —
Thus, showering blessings in thy bounty, like the rain
Thou dost with costly gifts relieve my pain,
That burnt like glow of scorching summer-sun.

Lord of the land where ever shine the fires
Lit by the sages, who six works perform,—
Around their brows the ruddy lotus wreathed,—
And virtue's work maintain; great **Vaḷavan,**
Whose strong right arm with golden circlets bound
Wields the sharp sword! Tho' we to farthest bound
Of the vast billowy sea should go; or tho'
The orb whose rays destroy should southward stray,
We nothing dread! beneath the mighty foot, —
That wears the hero's glorious jewelled band, —
Of him, whose conquering spear in arduous fight
Prevails, we rest secure.

XIV.

In the following verses (386) **Kôrûr-kiṛâr** seems to stimulate rather than restrain the young chieftain in his gay and thoughtless time: —

'Glory be thine, O giver, whose brow knows no sweat
From labour done, but only that from eager feasting! — Like drops of rain
That fall in the full lake, drips down the fat
From the meats they serve up; roasted flesh is
Carved and eaten; from their emptied porringers they
Quaff large draughts of milk! —
Thy fields of rice, — wide are their borders, where

The sweet cane flowers! Thy pasture lands, — with stalls
For herds, — there cattle graze!
Archers with fortified camps guard the flocks, and from the
Tree-tops on the wooded shore count the ships that cover thy sea! —
In the bay they load the abounding salt with which thy craggy mountains teem!
To thee, warrior chief, we come, — no warriors we!
Whether from East to West, or from West to East, or
From North to South, or from South to North, thou win
Thy ever widening way; — may his glory shine,
Who knows well to extend his conquests in every land!'

XV.

The following ode (393) to the same hero is by an unkown bard called **Nallirraiyanâr.** It is very imperfect in the original, and is here considerably abridged. To the student of Tamil it is of considerable interest.

'O king, I come from far,
With soul that thinks of thee,
And says, "What kindly ones in other lands
Are there to fill the empty dish
Borne by my spouse in sorrow, while with me
She sings, and begs from door to door,
In poverty unknown before.
With thee shall we obtain new garments for the old,
Bright as expanding leaves of the *paganrai*[21] flower;
And feast, departing rich in gifts.
Lord of the beauteous land **Kâveri** guards!
So shall we praise in varied song thy might
Renowned, and say, may **Vaḷavan** whose sword is sharp,
Flourish for aye!"'

XVI.

In several other pieces much the same topics are brought forward; but his death is the theme of those that follow. This took place at **Kuḷamuttam.** Tamiḻ kings are distinguished in legend sometimes by some victory gained, but oftener by the place of their death, or slumber, as it is called (*tuñju* = 'fall asleep').

Here we have an ingenious funeral elegy by **Nappaçalai of Mârrôkkam:** —

How Death secured his Victim (226).

If in his mind against thee he were wrath,
Or if in outward act he showed his rage,
Or if he touched thee with afflictive hand,
Thou couldst not have escaped, O death!
Thou took'st great **Vaḷavan**, entreating him,
Like minstrels, bowing low, with suppliant hand,
Praising, thou didst bear off his life,
Leader of hosts that crowd the glorious field,
Crowned with gold wreath, Lord of the mighty car!

Death would have been unequal to the contest with the valiant king, and only managed to take his life by appealing to his generosity.

21 The same as the *çinthil* : *Menispermum cordifolium.*

XVII.

Another song by **Mâçâttanâr of Âḍu-turrai** commemorates his death, using a quaint old commonplace of Tamiḻ verse. (Comp. 230).

Death's Want of Foresight (227).

Death! Right silly art thou, ruthless one;
Through lack of sense thou eat'st thine own seed-corn!
Thou yet shalt see the truth of what I say.
Warriors with gleaming swords, and elephant and horse
Fell on the battle-plain that flowed with blood;
Daily he was insatiate, slew his foes,
And fed thine hunger! Like thyself a strength
He had that knew no ruth nor vengeance feared.
This **Vaḷavan** who wore the mighty golden ornaments,
Whose flowery garland swarmed with humming bees,
Since thou hast borne away, — who shall appease thine hunger now?

XVIII.

These verses refer to **Vaḷavan's funeral,** and is attributed to **Muḍanâr** (= the lame bard) **of Aiyûr**: —

The Burial-urn (228).

'O potter-chief![22] maker of vessels!
Thou whose furnace sends up thick clouds
Of smoke veiling the outspread heavens,
Who makest vessels for the wide extended ancient town!
Thou art to be pitied! What toil hath befallen thee!
The descendant of Çôṛa kings,
Whose armies spread themselves to earth's utmost verge, —
Whom minstrels praise, — the truly glorious one, —
Whose glory shines afar,
As in the heavens the sun with resplendent ray, —
Vaḷavan, the great, on the brows
Of whose warrior-elephants bright banners wave, —
Hath gained the world of gods. And so
'Tis thine to shape an urn, so huge
That it shall cover the remains of such an one.
But if thou'st mould the needful urn, thy wheel,
The vast earth must be, and Mêru's mass
Sufficeth not for earth to mould its form'!

Bishop Caldwell says that at the time when these urns were used cremation must have been unknown, and burial the universal practice; but, in fact, the two customs have ever existed side by side. The ancient inhabitants of the South generally buried their dead, as will be seen by a careful study of **Purra-Poruḷ-Veṇbâ**; but Brâhmanical and Çaivite usages were found side by side, from very early times. In fact, the oldest funeral hymn, *Rigveda*, X. 18, might well seem to be one of these lyrics. It will be seen also by a reference to the two works already named (which are a perfect mine of information regarding the ancient manners and customs of the southern lands), and from passages scattered through the other Tamiḻ classics, that when heroes fell in battle they were often buried on the spot, and their effigies in stone placed over the grave. The same was done when kings and other great men retired

[22] The common words Kuya-van (Kuça-van, Kulâ-van) for 'potter' are all connected with S. *ku, kô, gô*. See *Maṇi-mê*, 28, 34.

How Kô = 'king' became the caste designation of a 'potter' is a puzzle.

into some lonely region (generally specified as the 'North'), and died there. This is exemplified, as we have seen,[23] in the very touching histories of the king **Kô-perum-çôṛan** and his devoted friends **Pottiyâr** and **Piçirôn.** This illustrates *Kurraḷ*, ch. lxxviii. 1.

'Ye foes ! stand not before my lord ! for many a one
Who did my lord withstand now stands in stone !'

Here the learned commentator, **Parimêlaṛagar** remarks that when heroes died on the field of battle, it was the custom to place their effigies on the spot where they fell. These heroes often became tutelary divinities, or demons, and were worshipped with offerings of food and flowers.

In the *Records* of the Madras Government (Archæological Department) under date 12th May, 1887, an account is given of **vessels discovered at Pallâvaram**, which evidently had been used for burial. These are precisely what this lyric speaks of.[24] Many of the articles of pottery found in connection with these kists may be accounted for by the well known customs referred to in P. N. N. 234, 249.

XIX.

The great friend of this ancient king was Paṇṇan (alluded to in Songs 70 and 388 also) who is only known as a petty chieftain of **Çirru-Kuḍi** (Little-Town). In regard to such friendships the reader may compare Pope's *Nâlaḍiyâr*, p. 135. In honour of this friend the king himself composed the following curious little song : —

Paṇṇan's Abode (173).

May **Paṇṇan** happy live as long as I enjoy this life.
See here, ye bards, this suppliant hither makes his way
By poverty compelled he listens for the sound of food dispensed.
Like to the birds that congregate upon the fruitful tree
In fertile soil, the suppliants come, in ranks,
Crowding like tiny ants that, when they know
The rainy season nigh, bear off their eggs
To some dry, favoured mound. — Although they see
The tribes with all their little ones advance
In thronging multitudes, again and yet again they seek
The dwelling of the man who heals the sore disease of penury.
'Ah tell us is it near or far,' they cry !

Here **King Vaḷavan** is surrounded by singers themselves suppliants in his court. To them he speaks of the generosity of his friend Paṇṇan, and blesses him. Then he points to an ideal picture of what may constantly be seen on the road to Paṇṇan's home, where, when the drum proclaims the feast to which all are welcome, crowds gather like the birds on every fruitful tree, while on the slope of the hill below his palace suppliants ask of those whom they meet returning satisfied and happy, in continuous train like the ants, — 'tell us how far it is to the dwelling of the generous chieftain for whose aid we seek : the healer of hunger's sore disease.' This illustrates, as do very many other songs in this anthology, the state of things in those days in the petty kingdoms of the South. Organised bands of medicants, — some of them poets, reciting their elaborate compositions, — often most ingenious, and sometimes quite beautiful, but full of fulsome and far-fetched adulation, — some of them musicians with all kinds of quaint instruments, — with bands of female singers and dancers, were perpetually making their way to and fro from one little mountain fortress to another, where their advent formed one of the few distractions of life for the chieftain, alternating with his hunting expeditions and warlike raids.

23 *Ind. Ant.* Feb. 1899.

24 See my article in J. *R. A. S.*, April, 1899.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 224.)

1791. — No. V.

FORT WILLIAM, the **13th July 1791.** The following **Letter from Lieutenant Cooke,** of His Majesty's Navy, was received Yesterday, with that enclosed in it from **the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis,** and they were circulated to the Members of the Board.

Lieut. Cooke, 12 July 1791.

Edward Hay, Esqr.

Sir, — Having just arrived from Madras with a Letter and **Chart** for Government I have taken the first opportunity of forwarding being prevented from delivering them myself as I am confined to my room.

I am, etca.,

(Signed) E. Cooke.

Commodore Cornwallis, 30th June 1791.

My Lord, — Having visited in November last **a Harbour at the north East end of the Great Andaman Island, which I think vastly superior for a Fleet of Men of War to Port Cornwallis,**[12] The latter I consider too confined, and liable to accidents, as well as being more subject from being surrounded with High Hills, to sudden and violent squalls, They are a like in respect to fresh Water, the Runs being Occasioned by the Rains, and in regard to defence, The Island is not near a Gunshot from the farthest shore which I tried by throwing shot across, when working out ; And tho' the Island is small there is a great deal dry at the lowest Tides, I should apprehend full sufficient for Battaries. — Mr. Blair has at my desire surveyed this Harbour, which will accompany this Letter,— if it should be your Opinion that the small Establishment now upon Chatham Island should be removed to the Harbour I recommend, I apprehend after the Rains are over in October, would be a proper time, and I shall be happy in rendering every Assistance in my Power with the Kings Ships under my Command. Lieutenant Cooke of the Navy will deliver this.

I have the Honor to be, etca.,

(Signed) **W. Cornwallis.**

Crown, Madras Road,
30th June 1791.

Ordered that the Opinion of Commodore Cornwallis as expressed in the above Letter, be communicated to the Governor General, and that a Letter to his Lordship, on the Subject of it be prepared, and laid before the Board.

Agreed also that the following **Letter be written to Commodore Cornwallis.**

To the Honble. William Cornwallis, Commodore in Chief of His Majesty's Ships in the East Indies.

Sir, — Upon the arrival of Lieutenant Cooke, at this Presidency, we had the Honor of receiving Your Excellency's Letter dated the 30th of last Month, with a Chart prepared by Lieutenant Blair, of an Harbour at the North East End of the Great Andaman Island, which you recommend as very much Superior to Port Cornwallis for a Fleet of Men of War.

12 [This Port Cornwallis is now Port Blair and the N. E. Harbour is now Port Cornwallis. — ED.]

We consider ourselves much Obliged by your Offer to render every Assistance in your Power, with the Kings Ships under your Command, in effecting **the Removal from Chatham Island to the Harbour in Question.**

We have agreed to refer the Question to the Governor General, and, that no Time may be lost in directing the Removal, if that should be determined on We shall request Lord Cornwallis to deliver his Sentiments on the Subject, to your Excellency, at once without waiting a further Reference to Bengal, and to transmit, by his Own Authority, such Instructions to Lieutenant Blair as his Lordship may think proper.

Fort William, We have the honor to be, etca.

13th July 1791.

1791. — No. VI.

Fort William, **29th July 1791.** The following Letters were written to Commodore Cornwallis and to the Governor General, on the 13th and 26th instant in consequence of the Resolution passed on the former of these.

[The Letter to Commodore Cornwallis given above. See last page.]

Lord Cornwallis. 26th July 1791.

To Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor General, etca., etca., etca.

My Lord, — We have the honour to Transmit to you a Copy of a Letter which we have lately received from Commodore Cornwallis, and of the Survey which accompanied it.

Your Lordship will be informed by our Answer to the Commodore's Letter (a Copy of which we also inclose) that We have thought it right to leave the point, referred to us entirely to your Lordships judgment; and We accordingly request of You to arrange the Matter finally with his Excellency in such manner as shall appear to you most expedient.

Fort William, We have the honor to be with great respect, etca.,

26th July 1791. My Lord, Your Lordships Most obedient H. Servts.

1791. — No. VII.

Fort William, 29th July 1791. Read a Letter from Lieutenant Wales.

Lieut. Wales. 28th July 1791.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — Agreeable to Your request I now send you **my opinion of the Harbour's North East, and Cornwallis,** I could have wished that Lieutenant Blair had sent his, as his experience, and ability, would point out many things that I do not immediately perceive; and many that I am not adequate to the forming an opinion on.

With respect to Situation little can be said in favour of one more than the other, except sailing from Port Cornwallis in the S. W. Monsoon, a Ship is much sooner in the Bay, than if she sailed from North East Harbour; as in leaving the latter she would be obliged to work down the East Coast of the Great Andaman and be liable to **the Sudden flewry's of Wind,** that constantly prevails to Leeward of High lands, and instead of having to work 24 Leagues, which is the distance between Port Cornwallis and **the South port of the Little Andaman;** she will have to work 57 Leagues, unless she goes out to the Northward, which in my Opinion would be very improper for supposing her to be bound for Madras, or any Port more Southerly situated, than the North end of the Great Andaman; immediately on quitting her Port she gets on a lee shore with a Fresh Gale, and heavy Sea to turn against.

Port Cornwallis[13] has many advantages that North East Harbour has not ; and the Contrary. In the first place Port Cornwallis can be easily defended from the Narrowness of the Entrance into the Inner Harbour, (being only 800 Yeards between **Chatham Island and Command Point)** and at the same time give protection to such defenceless Ships as might be in, without any inconvenience to them, but this narrowness prevents large Ships from Working with ease, and which in fact is the defence of the place : On the Contrary ; North East Harbour is spacious, and has room Sufficient in it to Manoeuvre a Fleet of Men of War, and they may be Moored in any form the Commanding Officer pleases, and Weigh at any time and with ease to themselves, its great breadth and easy access makes it hard to defend, at the same time it is easy for an Enemy to enter, neither is there so good a place for defenceless Ships to retire to as at Port Cornwallis.

Between Ross and Chatham Islands, is what is called the Outer Harbour but it has a great Depth of Water from 20 to 30 fathoms which makes it not so convenient to Weigh with Speed neither is it roomy enough for a large Fleet to Weigh at once, but the care [? ease] with which it may be defended, and give protection to disabled Ships, in the absence of the Men of War Makes it, in my opinion far preferable to **North East Harbour**[14] ; for the Instant an Enemy rounds either the North or South Ends of Ross Island they could be fired upon and the nearer he approached the More Batterys would Open upon him and from so many directions as would divide his fire and by that Means prevent his whole force being directed to one object. This cannot happen at North East Harbour, as an Enemys attention would be directed to one object, and from its extensiveness, there could be no Cross firing to divert him from the Main point.

There is one very great Article wanting at North East Harbour, that is, a sufficiency of first [fresh] Water for Supplying a Fleet, as in March last, none could be found; for after digging on one of the Islands to a great Depth, the Water was found brackish ; but this may be remedy'd, as there is a fine Rivulet at the Foot of the Saddle about 3 Leagues to the Southward of the Harbour, and without Doubt on so large a track of Land, Water may be had a little in land.

On the contrary; although there is not an over abundance of this article at Port Cornwallis, Yet plenty May be had, by building Tanks of Stone and Mortar at the foot of the Hills, where it runs down the Year round ; though in very small Streams at the Latter part of the N. E. Monsoon which is the dryest part of the Season there ; in the S. W. Monsoon there is sufficient to Supply any Number of Ships.

To conclude if the Harbour settled by Government is to defend itself, without the assistance of Men of War, and at the same time to give Shelter to such disabled, and defenceless Ships as might run in, I would give the preference to Port Cornwallis ; but if the Men of War are to be the Chief defence of the Harbour, Certainly North East Harbour would be the most convenient for them.

I am confident there may be many things that I have overlooked from my want of Sufficient experience as I never was at North East Harbour what I have said respecting it is from having made a Copy of it from Lieutenant Blairs Chart and from the Report of Lieutenant Blair and the officers on that Survey, Port Cornwallis I am well acquainted with and can Speak of its advantages and disadvantages without reserve.

Calcutta, I have the honor to be, etca. (Signed) J. Wales.

July 28th, 1791.

Ordered that Lieutenant Wales Letter do lie for Consideration.

(To be continued.)

[13] [The reader should be careful to remember that throughout this letter by "Port Cornwallis" Port Blair is meant. — ED.]

[14] [The present Port Cornwallis. — ED.]

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 259.)

Group III.

Mixed Ava Mingaung and Pagàn Alaungsîthû Cycle.

(Nats Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 31, 32, 34, 35.)

Group III. consists of 11 Nats, whose story is supposed to centre round the two kings named Mingaung (a common royal title), who flourished at Ava respectively at the very commencement and the extreme end of the XVth Century. But there is some confusion in the legends, caused by the attribution of the Northern Queen (**Anauk Mîbayâ,** a regular title of one of the chief queens of every Burmese ruler), who is a principal heroine of the story, to three husbands dwelling centuries apart. And so parts of the legend can be equally well referred to the days of King Thênzwin of Pagàn in the VIIIth Cent., ancestor of those early Pagàn kings about whom much of the legend of Group II. centres, and also to the days of the venerated Alaungsîthû of the same dynasty, who flourished in the XIth-XIIth Cent., to whom likewise part of the Group II. legend can be referred. In fact, in one view, the stories of Groups II. and III. can be looked upon as belonging to the same cycle of legends. Lastly, by what may be considered a natural confusion in the popular mind, the legend of Group III. has been mixed up with the history of the Shân dynasty of Pinyâ of the XVth Cent. On the whole the knots in the thread of this group of legends demand a good deal of patience in unravelling and this explains my title for the group: the mixed Ava Mingaung and Pagàn Alaungsîthû Cycle. **The outline of this group of legends is as follows:**—King Sinbyûshin Mintarâgyî of Ava died of fever and was succeeded by his younger brother, King Mingaung-gyî, who in turn was succeeded by his son King Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin. He was murdered at the Aungbinlè Lake by the Kôngbaung Sawbwâ, to be succeeded by his son, who died of fever. Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin had a concubine, who died very suddenly at Ava. The Second (Dûtiyâ) Mingaung's son was King Shwê Nàngyaw, under whom his nephew, Shwê Nawrathâ, was murdered by drowning for supposed rebellion.

Mingaung-gyî, by his Northern Queen, the Anauk Mîbayâ, had two sons, Sîthû and Kyawzwâ, who quarrelled and killed each other, and this caused the death of their mother. This Northern Queen is also said to have been the wife of King Alaungsîthû of Pagàn, and so Sîthû and Kyawzwâ would thus be *his* sons. Alaungsîthû's grandsons both came to the throne in due course, and the younger, Narabadîsîthû, murdered the elder, Narathêngâ, with the help of an officer, one Nga Aungzwâ, who was promised Narathêngâ's widow as a bride in reward, but was murdered instead.

This same Northern Queen is further said to have been the wife of King Thênzwin of Pagàn and stepmother of King Shwêlaung, which throws back the story of Sîthû and Kyawzwâ many centuries. King Shwêlaung's grandson, King Sawmun-hnit, had a son called the Hlaingdet Myôzâ, who was cruelly put to death for negligence during a campaign against the Shâns, and this caused the death of his mother from grief.

Of the above mentioned personages the following became Nats:—King Sinbyûshin Mintarâgyì the father, and King Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin the son, respectively of King Mingaung-gyî, his grandson Kyawzwâ, Thîhâthû's concubine, and King Dûtiyâ Mingaung's great nephew Shwê Nawrathâ. Also the Anauk Mîbayâ and her two sons, Sîthû and Kyawzwâ, and the ill-treated officer Nga Aungzwâ. And lastly the Hlaingdet Myôzâ and his mother.

The Nats who take origin in this group of stories are the following:—No. 7. Mintarâ Nat, who is King Sinbyûshin Mintarâgyî of Ava. No. 12. Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin Nat, who is King Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin of Ava. No. 11. Ngâzîshin Nat, who is Ngâzîshin Kyawzwâ of Pinyâ, confounded with Min Hlàngè of Ava. No. 35. Shingôn Nat is the concubine of King Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin. No. 9. Shwê Nawrathâ Nat, is the nephew of King Shwê Nàngyaw of Ava. No. 34. Anauk Mîbayâ Nat, who is the Northern Queen of King Mingaung-gyî of Ava (1480-1501), or of King Alaungsîthû of Pagàn (1085-1160), or of King Thênzwin of Pagàn (731-737). Nos. 31 and 32. Min Sîthû Nat and Min Kyawzwâ Nat are her two sons. No. 10. Aungzwâmàgyî Nat, who is

Nga Aungzwâ, promised the widow of King Narathêngà of Pagàn in marriage. No. 19. Shwê Sippin Nat, who is the son of King Sawkin-hnit of Pagàn. No. 20. Mèdaw Shwêsagâ Nat is his mother.

The historical references made in this group of legends are even more confused than those of the second group. To commence with the allusions to **the Ava Dynasty of the XVth Cent.:** — Sinbyûshin Tarâbyâ (Mintarâgyî is a mere general royal title), the third king of that dynasty, reigned for seven months between 1400-1401, when he was murdered, and was succeeded by his brother, Mingaung or Mingaung-gyî, who had a chequered career for 21 years and died in 1422. His son, Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin, became for a short time the husband of the famous Peguan Queen Shin Sawbû, but was deposed by the Shân Chief (Sawbwâ) of Unbaunglè, and died in exile in 1426. His infant son Min Hlângè (Prince Little Beauty) was placed on the throne, but was murdered within three months.

Later in the same dynasty came the Second (Dûtiyâ) Mingaung (1480-1501) and his son Shwênànshin (1501-1526). With them is associated the legend of the Nat Shwê Nawrathâ, who is said to have been put to death by drowning for rebellion. I think it, however, far more likely that the two Mingaungs have been mixed up, for the former had a son named Kâmarû, who, under the title of Nawrathâ, was governor of Arakan for his father. He was taken prisoner by the great king, Yâzadarît of Pegu, and barbarously murdered at Bassein about 1406.

That part of the legend which connects the Sîthû and Kyawzwâ Nats with the first Mingaung is interesting, because the mightiest general that served under that somewhat feeble king was his son Minyè Kyawzwâ, who was finally killed in battle in 1416 during his father's life, and was just the kind of personage to have become a Nat in the popular imagination.

The legend, however, that makes out the Sîthû and Kyawzwâ Nats to be the sons of King **Alaungsîthû of Pagàn** (1085-1160) carries us to the group already mentioned, which has arisen around one of the greatest heroes of Burmese history, King Anawrathâzaw of Pagàn (1010-1052), whose great-grandson Alaungsîthû was. Alaungsîthû's second son, Narathû, better known as Kalâkyâ Min (1160-1164), murdered him in extreme old age, and amongst other subsequent crimes he is said to have slain his father's widow with his own hands, for which deed he was himself murdered. All this would be good cause for her becoming a Nat. Kalâkyâ Min had two sons: one, Narathêngâ (1164-1167) killed by the other, Narabadîsîthû, a great monarch, who reigned 37 years (1167-1204), was a prominent Buddhist reformer, and built the great Gawdàpalin and Sûlamani Pagodas at Pagàn, which made him famous. The great dynasty finally came to a politically feeble end in the learned and pious Kyawzwâ, the last King of Pagàn (1279-1291), who was killed by the famous three Shân brothers on their founding the Shân dynasties of Pinyâ and Sagaing.

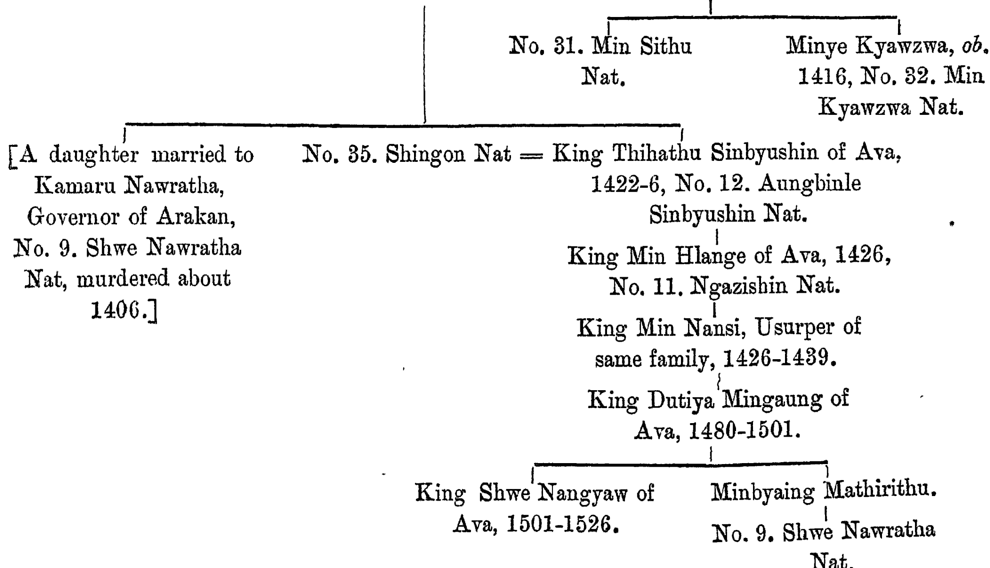
One version of the legends connects the Nats Sîthû and Kyawzwâ and their mother with King **Shwêlaung of Pagàn,** of whom and his father, Thênzwin, I at present know nothing, except that the *Chronicles* say that they reigned at Pagàn: — Thênzwin 731-737, and Shwêlaung 737-746, about 100 years after Thênga-Yâzà, the supposed founder of the present Burmese Era and some 300 years before the great hero of the dynasty, Anawrathâzaw. One of Shwêlaung's grandsons and his great-grandson both became King of Pagàn in succession, as King Munlut (778-795) and King Sawkin-hnit (795-822). They are both mixed up in the legends as King Sawmun-hnit, who put to death that unfortunate Nat, the Hlaingdet Myôzâ.

The whole of this difficult set of stories is further complicated by **confusing Thîhâthû Sinbyûshin (1422-1426) of Ava with Thîhâthû Tazîshin of Pinlè (1298-1322),** the younger and most powerful of the three Shân brothers, who founded the dynasty of Myinzaing and Pinyâ as successors to that of Pagàn in 1298. He married the widow of Kyawzwâ, the last king of Pagàn (1279-1298), whom he had deposed, and nominated her son Uzanâ (1322-1342) as his successor. Uzanâ was, however, deposed by Ngâzîshin Kyawzwâ, his half brother, *i. e.*, the son of the widow of Kyawzwâ of Pagàn and Thîhâthû Tazîshin. This is the personage "Kyawzwâ King of Pinlè" who is called Ngâzîshin Nat. He reigned 1342-1350 and was succeeded by another Kyawzwâ, his son (1350-1359). No doubt, the confusion and difficulties connected with this story are due to the unfortunate frequency of the name or title Kyawzwâ in Burmese History.

No less than four Genealogies are necessary to make clear the inter-relationship of the Nats mentioned in this Group.

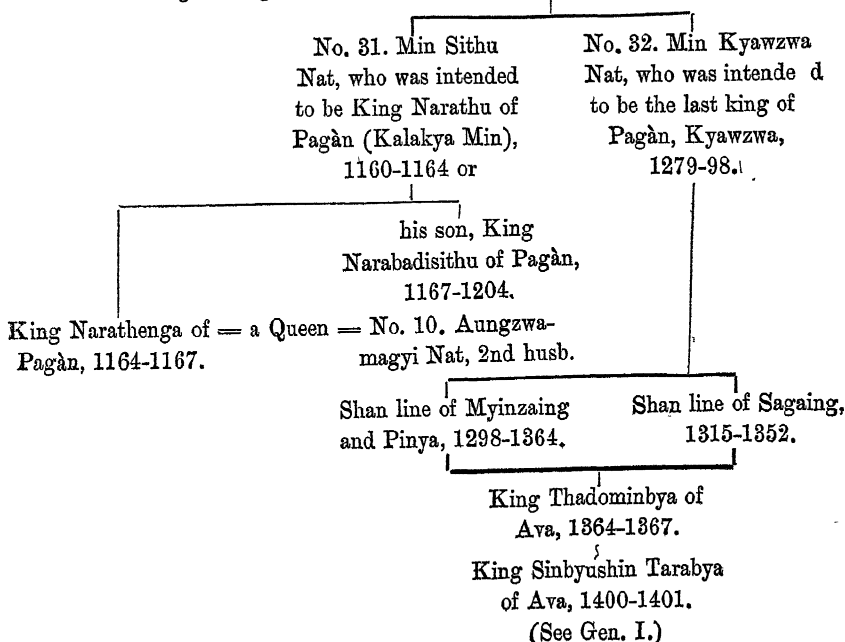
Group III.

Genealogy I.



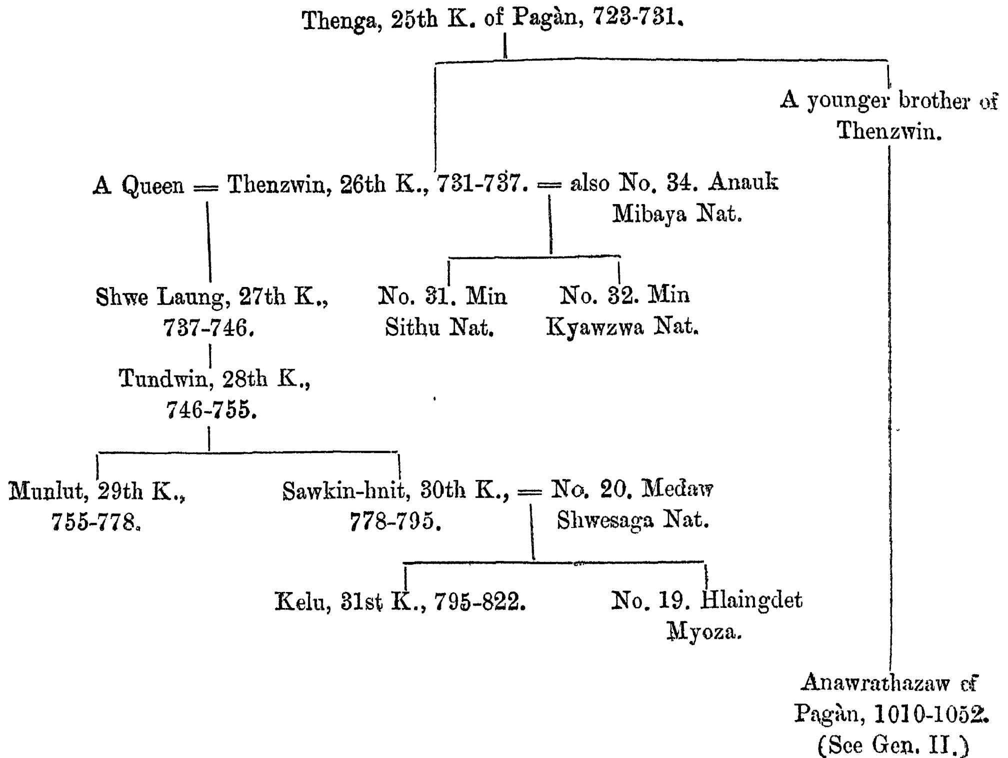
Group III.

Genealogy II.



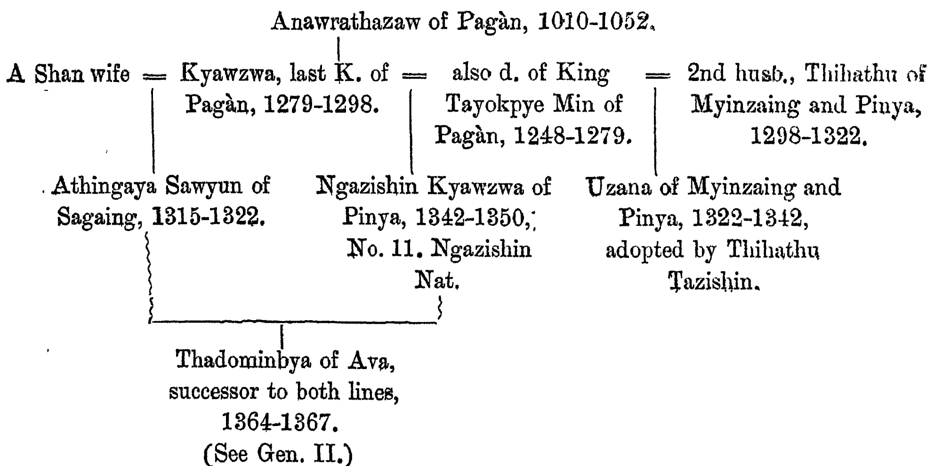
Group III.

Genealogy III.[2]



Group III.

Genealogy IV.



I will now proceed to describe the illustrations of Group III., or Mixed Ava Mingaung and Pagàn Alaungsîthû Cycle, according to the popular ideas.

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[2] See Gen. I., Gp. II.

Illustrations of Group III.

Mixed Ava Mingaung and Pagàn Alaungsîthû Cycle.

No. 7. Mintarâ Nat

(called also Mintarâgyî Nat).

He was the son of Sinbyûshin Mintarâgyî, and the elder brother of Mingaung-gyî of Ava. He died of fever and became a Nat.

He is represented seated with a fan in full high class Court costume, winged after the Yôdayâ, *i. e.*, Siamese fashion.

No. 12. Aungbinlè Sinbyûshin Nat.

Thîhâthû, King of Amarapûra, was the son of King Mingaung. He was killed in some rice land near the Aungbinlè Lake by the Kôngbaung Sawbwâ and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented standing in Court dress, with a swish in the left hand ; supported on a three-headed elephant, in token of his royalty no doubt.

No. 11. Ngâzîshin Nat.

Lord of the Five (White) Elephants.

Kyawzwâ, King of Pinlè, was the son of King Thîhâthû and procured five white elephants from over the sea. He died of fever and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented as a royal figure in Court dress seated, with a sword in the right hand, four umbrellas over him, and royal spittoon and betel box before him. He is supported by a five-headed elephant, which has pots for offerings in front of each head. All these accumulated insignia of royalty refer to the claim of this king in life to a descent from all the royal lines existing in his time.

No. 35. Shingôn Nat.

She was a concubine of Sinbyûshin Thîhâthû, who died suddenly at Ava, on returning from a trip to the Aungbinlè Lake and became a Nat.

She is represented as a young girl in the Court costume of a royal attendant.

No. 9. Shwê Nawrathâ Nat.

He was the son of Minbyaing Màthîrîthû and grandson of the second Mingaung of Ava. During the reign of his uncle, Shwê Nàngyaw, one of his servants, Nga Thaukkyâ, rebelled. On this account Shwê Nawrathâ was thrown into the Irrawaddy and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented in high class Court dress seated, as a Manipûrî with Polo mallet and ball. The modern English game of Polo came from the Manipûrîs through English officers in quite recent times.

No. 34. Anauk Mîbayâ Nat,

the Northern Queen.

She was the mother of the Nats Min Sîthû and Min Kyawzwâ. She was frightened to death on meeting Min Kyawzwâ, after he had become a Nat, on a pony, while amusing herself in a cotton field near Ava.

Another legend says she was the wife of Mingaung-gyî, son of Mingyîzwa.

This Nat is represented as a young woman in Court costume, kneeling and suckling an infant.

No. 31. Min Sîthû Nat.

No. 32. Min Kyawzwâ Nat.

King Thênzwin of Pagàn had two sons by his Northern Queen, the Anauk Mîbayâ, named Sîthû and Kyawzwâ. He determined to make another son, Shwê Laung, his heir, and in order to avert danger from him in consequence, he sent the brothers, Sîthû and Kyawzwâ, to suppress the Karens on the Tonghoo border, which service they performed with great success.

Subsequently they made a great dyke to drain the Myaungdû Village, founded by Min Nyènaung, and quarrelled over turning water into it; whereupon Sîthû killed his younger brother, Kyawzwâ, who became a Nat, and revenged himself by afterwards doing Sîthû to death by enchantments. Sîthû in his turn became a Nat, too.

There is another legend, which makes out Min Sîthû Nat to be Alaungsîthû, son of King Shwêgû-dâraka of Pagàn.

The Nat Min Sîthû is represented as a young man in high class Court dress, seated. The Nat Min Kyawzwâ as a young man in high class Court dress, riding.

No. 10. Aungzwâmagyî Nat.

One Nga Saung-gyàn raised a rebellion at Ngasingû, about six miles to the North of Mandalay, against Min Narathêngâ, king of Pagàn, and the king sent his younger brother, Narabadîsîthû, against him, in the hope that his brother might be killed, so that he might marry his widow, *i. e.*, his sister-in-law, the Wâlûwadî Princess. So Narabadîsîthû left his servant, Nga Aungzwâ, behind, with a promise that if he could kill the king, he should be married to the widow. The king was duly despatched, and Nga Aungzwâ demanded fulfilment of his promise, but the lady flatly refused to marry him, as he was not of the blood royal. When Nga Aungzwâ was told of this, he spat on the floor, and used some strong language about the fulfilment of promises. The new king, being enraged at this, had him put to death, whereon he became a Nat.

This Nat is represented as a young man in high class Court costume riding.

No. 19. Shwê Sippin Nat
(also called Shwê Sit-thî Nat).

His title was the Hlaingdet Myôzâ and he was the son of Saw-mun-hnit, King of Pagàn. He was set to suppress the insurrection of Kyaing-thin, son of the Pagàn Sawbwâ, but spent the time in cock-fighting, and so was put to death by having his legs buried in the earth and being left to die. He became a Nat.

This Nat is represented seated in high class Court dress with uplifted sword in his right hand.

No. 20. Mèdaw Shwêsagâ Nat.

She was the mother of the Hlaingdet Myôzâ, who became the Shwê Sippin Nat, and died of grief at the terrible end of her son. She became a Nat also.

This Nat is represented as a girl in full Court dress, kneeling, with her elbow in the fashionable state of dislocation.

(To be continued.)

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

Preface by R. C. Temple.

AMONG **the Debonnaire MSS.**[1] one of the most interesting gives **the original account by Evan Jones, the Chief Mate, of the wreck of the "Doddington," Indiaman, in 1755,** the proceedings of its survivors on **Bird Island** off the S. E. Coast of Africa, and their escape in **the "Happy Deliverance,"** a sloop they built for themselves on the island. The wreck was also the subject of a short anonymous **pamphlet** without date, but published no doubt about 1775, the existence of which in the India Office Library was pointed out to me by Mr. W. Foster. I give here the pamphlet and the MS. in full.

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[1] See *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 293. I may note here that the *Grantham* belonging to the Debonnaires is recorded in Hardy's *Register*, Ed. 1800, as having been "taken" in 1756.

The wreck is recorded in both Editions[2] of Hardy's *Register of Ships of the East India Company*, and in both wrongly as having occurred in 1756 or 1754. It was of course reported to the Government, and the spot has found its way on to the existing Admiralty and official charts and maps, with some of the names given to the locality by the survivors of the *Doddington* themselves, *e. g.*, **Bird Island, Seal Island** and **Doddington Rock.**[3]

The exact locality is now consequently well known, though there is little to enlighten us on the subject in the contemporary accounts. It is in fact the **N. E. corner of Algoa Bay,** in which Port Elizabeth is situated, and the position of Bird Island is given by Mr. L. Fitzmaurice, Master of **H. M. S. Stag,** who surveyed the spot in 1814, as 33° 48′ S. and 26° 29′ E.,[4] whereas the Chief Mate of the Doddington thought himself to be about 34° 30′ S. and 31° 30′ E. when the ship struck. The *Doddington* must have been wrecked as a matter of fact off Bird Island, and the dangerous rocks about 6 m. S. of it, now known as the **Doddington Rock,** must have been named at a later period. No other geographical difficulties arise out of the narrative.

As regards independent evidence as to the wreck, it is noticed in Horsburgh's *Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies*, Ed. **1809**, Pt. I., p. 169, in the following terms: — "About 13 or 14 leagues to the E. N. Eastward of Cape Recife, the small rocky island called **Chaos or Bird Island** is situated at the distance of two leagues or more from the shore, which is low and environed with rocks. This is the place where **the Doddington** steering E. N. E. by compass, struck and went to pieces in 1756. It happened in the night and nearly all the crew perished. This rocky islet is in the latitude about 33° 45′ S. and near **Cape Padron,** the projecting Point of land to the Eastward of Algoa Bay. To the Westward of this Point, between it and the Bay, the coast is composed of sand downs; further to the Eastward the hills become higher and appear in square patches."

In the **1841** Edition of Horsburgh the notice is in the following terms at much greater length (Vol. I. p. 248): — "**Bird Islands,** in lat. 33° 52′ S., lon. 26° 5′ to 26° 18′ E., by Capt. Owen's survey, distant about 10 leagues E. ¾ S. of Cape Recif, consist of three low islands, with several black rocks above and under water, extending 4 or 5 miles nearly N. W. and S. E., and distant 6 or 7 miles from the main land. H. M. Ship Stag examined these isles in March 1814, in search of the wreck of *the William Pitt*;[5] entering from the westward between them and the land, she anchored within them in 17 fathoms, and passed through to the eastward between them and Cape Padron on the following day. In mid channel the least water was 12 and 13 fathoms inside the isles, and in some parts 17 and 18 fathoms rocky bottom; but sounding in the boats, the depths decreased regularly to 6 or 7 fathoms close to the main, where the ground was found better for anchorage than near the islands. Bird Island is the easternmost of them and is of round form and about a quarter of a mile in extent; the landing was found difficult on account of the rocks; myriads of birds, particularly gannets and penguins, covered the isle. The next isle about half a mile in length, called **Seal Island,** and the third called **Stag Island,** with black rocks that extend from it to the westward were all covered with seals. There are two sunken rocks surrounded by others, partly visible at low water, but in fine weather the sea probably does not break high on them at high tide; one of these isles is 2½ miles from Bird Island, and S. W. by S. from the west end of the reef.

"Doddington Rock, bearing S. W. from the centre of Bird Island, at 6 or 7 miles' distance, is in lat. 33° 57′ S., lon. 26° 11′ E., by Capt. Owen's survey; and it was on this rock that in 1756 the Doddington, East Indiaman, struck in the night when steering E. N. E. She soon went to pieces and only about 23 of her crew with the chief mate reached Bird Island in pieces of the wreck, where they remained several months and built a boat, in which a few of the survivors reached the Comoro Islands. There are 25 and 26 fathoms water near the East and West extremes of Bird Isles and

[2] Ed. 1800 gives ships from 1707 to 1760: Ed. 1811 gives ships from 1760 to 1810.

[3] The Stag Id. of the maps is named from H. M. S. *Stag* which surveyed the Islands in 1814. The existing Doddington Rock is not that on which the ship was actually wrecked.

[4] Lat. 33° 50′ S., lon. 26° 17′ E. according to Taylor's *India Directory*, 1874, Vol. I. p. 84.

[5] Wrecked in 1813.

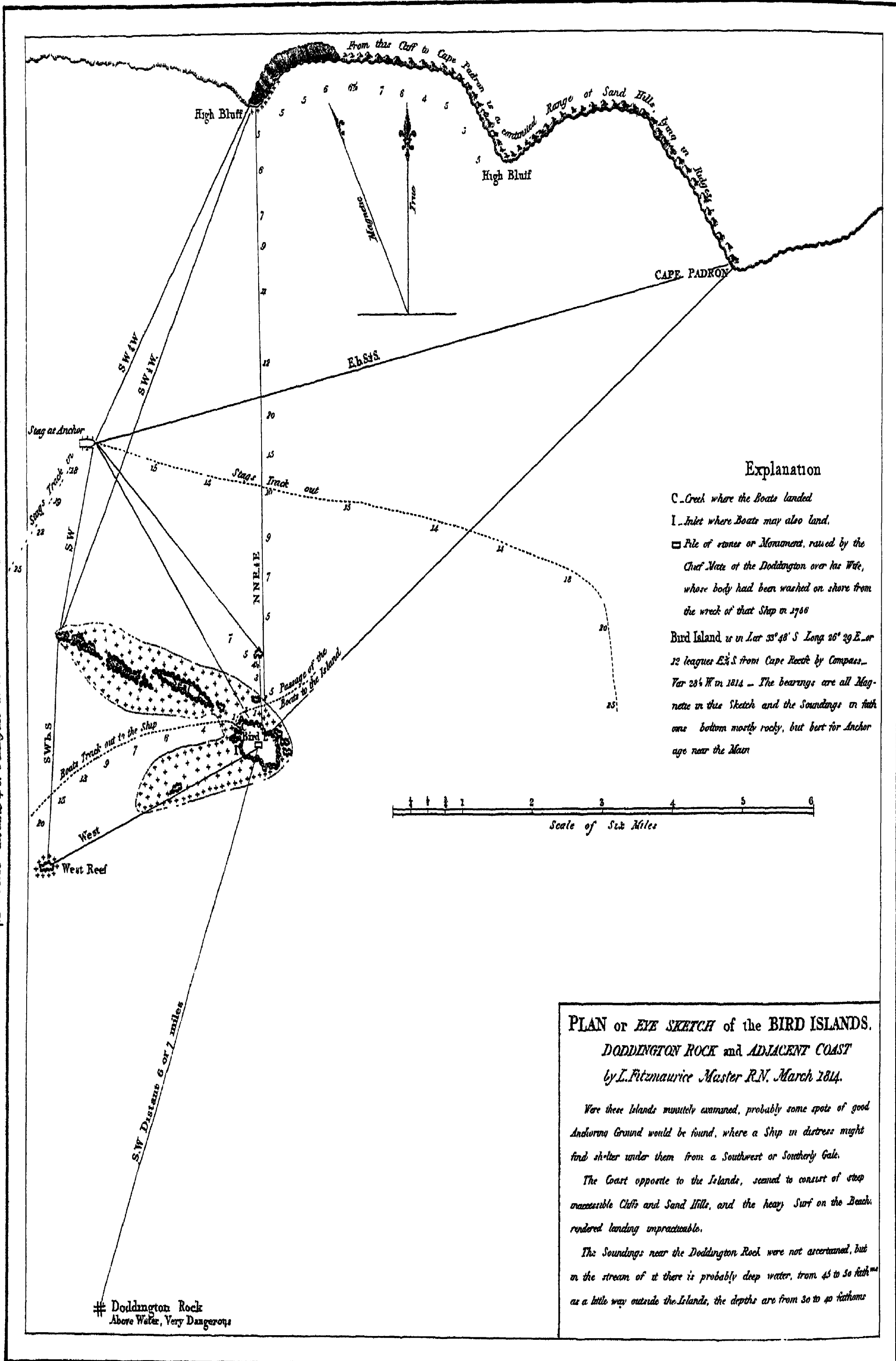
the depths are thought to be from 35 to 40 fathoms near **the Doddington Rock** on the outside, which is **very dangerous** for ships making the land hereabout in thick weather, or in the night, more particularly if standing toward the shore when working to windward. **Woody Cape** is to the northward of the Bird Islands, in lat. 33° 46′ S., lon. 26° 14′ E.

"Cape Padron, in lat. 33° 46′ S., lon. 26° 25′ E., by Capt. Owen's survey, bears E. N. E. from **Bird Islands**, but although there is a channel between these islands and the main, through which the *Stag* passed, as mentioned above, that might be used in case of necessity, yet it is uncertain if there be any secure anchorage inside of these islands in bad weather, on account of the bottom being rocky near them, as far as that ship explored."

To this description there is a footnote appended : — "this description of **Doddington Rock, Bird Islands** and the adjacent coast is chiefly by Mr. L. Fitzmaurice, R. N., who went in the *Stag* Frigate's boats to examine the isles and the channel. Although the **Bird Isles** were surrounded with high breakers two small inlets or creeks were discovered at the west end of the easternmost isles with smooth water where the boats landed. On the beach of the main, opposite to the isles, the high surf rendered it impracticable to land and steep cliffs with sand-hills seemed to present an impenetrable barrier to the interior."

Dunn's *Directory for the East Indies*, **1780**, p. 356 f., makes the following remarks when giving directions for proceeding towards the inner passage or between Madagascar and Africa: — "Consider the shocking account of **the loss of the Doddington Indiaman.** The day at noon, before she was lost, she was in latitude by observation 35° S. and had made longitude from Cape Lagullas, 12° 50′ E. They had winds from S. S. W. to S. S. E. strong gales with a large sea and altered their course at noon from E. to E. N. E. and run about 70 miles on that course, till about a quarter before one A. M. when she struck and went all to pieces in less than 20 minutes. The Doddington's latitude by account when she struck was 34° 6′ S. longitude made from Cape Lagullas 13° 45′ E. by carefully working their supposed run from the time she was lost. What variation they had is not known. It would be of use, not having been taken on that coast. This shocking circumstance of the loss of the Doddington and such a number of lives will make the skilful navigator shudder, and make him rack his invention to point out the cause of such misfortunes, and contrive how to avoid the like accidents happening for the future, by finding proper methods effectually to prevent them. The first cause of the loss of the Doddington seems to have been that their reckoning must have been very much ahead of the ship, occasioned by the current which runs strong to the westward, all along this part of the coast of Africa to Cape of Good Hope. The second cause; that the land is erroneously laid down in our draughts, charts and books, the land lying much more to the southward than it is laid down. The charts make it trench away to the northward too quick. This is a very great error. It deceives and misleads the navigator, making him haul to the northward too soon, running him into danger. Whereas he should keep more to the East to avoid it. The third cause is that the *Doddington* made her course too much northerly. She steered E. N. E. and must at least have had 25° W. variation, which is 2¾ points, with a great sea from the southward: so that he could not make her course better than N. E. ½ N., which was too northerly a course had she been 2° of longitude to the eastward of where she was by reckoning. The *Doddington's* reckoning seems to be very erroneous, for they had made longitude to where the ship was lost 13° 45′ E. from Cape Lagullas, and where the ship was lost is not more than 3° to the eastward of the said Cape. By the latest observations it was but 7° E. of Cape Lagullas. The variation hereabout, as well as several other parts, may be looked upon as a sure and principal guide in navigation. This unfortunate ship should be a caution for all navigators to be very cautious not to haul to the northward too soon, for the currents are very deceiving. It appears by the account of the people that were saved out of the *Doddington* that she was not the only ship that had been cast away on that island, for they saw the remains of several other ships that had been lost there: no doubt by the same cause that she was lost."

So that on the whole **the wreck of the Doddington was once a famous event on the sea,** and had its compensation in warning mariners for 100 years afterwards of the dangers created by the groups of rocks and islets on which the ship was lost.



Engraved by I. Bateman

Published by Jas. Horsburgh Hydrographer to the E.I. Comp.y 4th April 1818 — according to Act of Parliament

In modern times the conditions under which navigation is carried on have entirely altered the importance of **Bird Island** and its surroundings to sailors, as can be seen from the following quotation from Taylor's *East India Directory*, Ed. 1874, Pt. I., p. 84. The wreck and its importance and even its very name has now become entirely a thing of the past.

"**Bird Islands**, a cluster of low rocky islets, E. ½ S., 30 m. from Cape Recife and nearly S. S. W. 5 m. from Woody Cape, **were dangerous to navigation before the erection of a lighthouse on the largest of the group,** which has the appearance of a ship under sail. These islands are the resort of numerous seafowl, and are covered to the depth of several feet by an inferior kind of guano. It is 33 feet above sea. 800 yds. long and 600 yds. wide. No water is found on it, save in hollows of the rocks after rain. Eggs are abundant at seasons; a very palatable vegetable, not unlike spinach, grows on it. Fish may be had in plenty. About ¼ m. to the N. of Bird Island, two other islets, called **Stag and Seal,** lying near E. and W. are connected at low water. Outside or to the N. E. of these a rocky bed, with 2½ and 3 fathoms extends nearly 1 m. from the light-house and terminates in rocks above water called **the N. Patch.** To the W. of Seal Island are five black rocky islets.

"**Bird Island Lighthouse** in lat. 33° 50′ S., lon. 26° 17′ E., is a white wooden pyramid, with a broad black belt in the middle. It stands on the S. side of the island. It exhibits two fixed white lights, 61 and 51 ft. above H. W. visible 10 m. They are 18 ft. apart horizontally and when directly over each other point to the **Doddington Rock** upon a S. W. ½ W. bearing. The upper lantern has a shade on the N. or in-shore side, which renders the light invisible from the anchorage to N. E. of these islands when bearing between S. by W. and W. by S.

"**The Doddington and E. and W. Rocks are three dangers lying within 1½ m. of the Bird Island Light,** with it bearing between N. N. E. and E. The two former are awash and the latter has 2½ fathoms over it, but the sea is seldom so smooth as not to break. Close around the depths are 10 to 12 fms. Between these rocks and the islands the soundings are irregular between 5 and 10 fms. During heavy weather a tremendous sea rolls over the whole of this space, producing a surf truly terrific, the sea breaking in 8 and 10 fms. water to seaward. **It is necessary to give the Bird Island dangers a wide berth in passing,** since it is difficult to distinguish between the sea that breaks in 10 fms. and that which rolls over the reefs. This is one of the most dangerous parts of the coast especially to a stranger.

"**The Anchorage** is on the N. side, but the holding ground is not good and the bottom uneven. The best anchorage is with the lighthouse in line with N. Patch in 8 to 10 fms. water. Vessels that load here with guano usually anchor with the black rocky islets about in line with Stag Islet in 8 to 10 fms. as it is more convenient for boats to come off with cargo. It frequently happens that there is no landing, the rollers setting in during calm weather as well as in a gale. After these have subsided care is necessary in landing, as the sea sometimes breaks heavily and unexpectedly between the islands."

There are no other geographical difficulties that need be gone into here. **The map** given in illustration of the wreck is No. 11 in a collection of charts in the India Office, which once belonged to the *Castle Huntly* Indiaman, and is now known as *East India Pilot*, III. A. C. 16. It is that made by Mr. Fitzmaurice in 1814. The following are the "remarks" made on this map : —

"Plan, or Eye Sketch of **Bird Islands, Doddington Rock** and Adjacent Coast by L. Fitzmaurice, Master R. N. March 1814.

"Were these Islands minutely examined, probably some spots of good Anchoring Ground would be found, where a Ship in distress might find shelter in them, from the South-west, or Southerly Gale. The Coast opposite to the Islands, seemed to consist of steep inaccessible Cliffs and Sand Hills, and the heavy Surf on the Beach rendered landing impracticable. The Soundings near the **Doddington Rock**, were not ascertained, but in the stream of it there is probably deep water, from 45 to 50 fathoms as a little way outside the Islands, the depths are from 30 to 40 fathoms.

"Explanation: — C. Creek where the Boats landed. I. Inlet where Boats may also land. ▭ Pile of stones or **Monument** raised by the Chief Mate of the Doddington, for his Wife, whose body had been washed on shore from the wreck of that Ship in 1756.

"**Bird Island** is in Lat. 33° 48′ S. Long. 26° 29′ E. — or 12 leagues E. ¾ S. from Cape Recife by Compass — Variation 28½ W. in 1814. — The bearings are all Magnetic in this Sketch, and the Soundings in fathoms: bottom mostly rocky, but best for Anchorage near the Main.

"Published by James Horsburgh Hydrographer to the East India Company 4th April 1816 according to Act of Parliament."

The MS. under consideration is an account of the wreck of the *Doddington* and of the proceedings of the survivors **by the Chief Mate Evan Jones**, and consists of two parts: a diary of events and a private report on the conduct of the survivors. He seems to have been a weak man, unable to keep the rough men under him in order, and like a weak man he sent in publicly a colourless diary and privately a separate report complaining of the behaviour of those in his charge.

The original MS. has been extensively "improved" by some contemporary hand, probably one of the Debonnaires or one of their *employés*, and remarks by the writer apparently found unpalatable by his employers have repeatedly been scored out. In copying the MS. everything possible has been restored to the text by the competent hands of Miss Mary Anstey, to whose care and accuracy I here wish to pay a tribute. All the old alterations are shown between square brackets. I have, however, in printing placed the stops in accordance with the present practice in order to make the text intelligible.

The nature of the MS. makes one assume that it is found among the **Debonnaire** papers because they were the chief owners of the *Doddington*.[6] All I have been enabled to unearth, however, on this point is the following. In the E. I. Company's *Court Minutes*, 1754-5, "**Captain John Hallett** lets the Doddington to the Court of Directors on the 11th Dec. 1754. Capt. James Samson is accepted as Commander." Captain Hallett appears to be the **managing owner** of the vessel, as his name only is mentioned, while 'the owners' are spoken of generally. There is no mention of the Debonnaires in the volume.

It may be of interest to add here what has been unearthed about **the Doddington's companions.** In Hardy's *Register of Ships* from 1707-1801 published in 1800 are to be found the following entries under the year 1758-1759. "**Edgecote,** 4th Voyage [3rd in 1754-1755] 499 tons, Capt. Jno. Pearce, bound for China. **Houghton,** 3rd Voyage [2nd in 1754-1755] 499 tons, Capt. Chas. Newton, for Bengal and Bombay. **Houghton,** 4th Voyage, Captain Chas. Newton, for Coast and China. Sailed Portsmouth 6 May 1762. Arrived Downs 7 August 1764." The next time a '**Houghton**' is mentioned is in 1766-1767 when she is **a new ship** on her first Voyage. No further mention of the **Edgecote,** nor any mention of the **Pelham** after her 4th Voyage in 1754-1755, under Capt. George Lindsay, to the Coast and Bay. None of these Ships occurs in the list of 'lost' or 'not heard of.'[7] No other mention of them in the 1811 Register.

The following information is culled from the logs preserved at the India Office: —

Ship Pelham, 4th Voyage, 1755-1757.

The Log of the Pelham (Captain George Lindsay) begins 13th February 1755 and ends 18th March 1757. Sailed out of the Downs with the **Edgecoat, Streatham, Houghton and Doddington** on the 23rd of April. On 2nd May lost sight of Edgecoat and Doddington, and of the Houghton on the 10th. Reached St. Jago 21st May. Weighed for Bombay 27 thMay, in company with Streatham and Houghton. Reached St. Augustine's Bay Madagascar 17th August. Weighed from Madagascar with Streatham, Edgecoat and Houghton 30th August 1755. Reached Bombay Harbour 7th November, reached Tellicherry 11th November. Left Tellicherry 26th April

[6] Lord Metcalfe's mother was a daughter of John Debonnaire, the Elder, who is described in Kaye's *Life* as "a gentleman residing at the Cape of Good Hope," but the *Life* is not always quite accurate in family details.

[7] I have, however, an idea that I have seen somewhere a notice of the loss of the *Pelham* in 1759.

1756, and Anjengo 1st May. Reached St. Hellena the 1st August. Left the Harbour under convoy of the Man-of-war Hampshire on the 23rd August. Anchored in the River Shannon on the 29th October, in Margate Road 15th January 1757. Moored at Purfleet 22nd January. On the 18th March 1757 "About Noon came on board Mr. Bland the Inspector General with the proper officers and cleared the Ship." Here the Log ends.

Ship Edgecote, 4th Voyage, 1758-1760.

The Log of the Edgecote (Captain John Pearse) begins 18th October 1758 and ends 19th December 1760. The Ship reached Java 13th July 1759, and Wampoa (whither she was bound) on the 29th August. She left Wampoa 11th February 1760, reached Madura 5th March, St. Hellena 23rd June, and the Downs 23rd September. The Ship was moored at Woolwich until the 19th December 1760, when "the Gentlemen of the Custom House and Excise Office with the Honble. Company's Servants came on board and clear'd the Ship." Here the Log ends.

Ship Houghton, 4th Voyage, 1761-1764.

The Log of the Houghton begins 15th December 1761 and ends 5th September 1764. The vessel was at Deptford, Gravesend, and Spithead till 6th May 1762. She reached Madeira 24th May, Acheen Head 6th November, Ballasore Road 12th December, Madras 6th April 1763, Mallacca 19th June, Whampo 4th September, Bencoolen 13th February 1764. St. Hellena 4th June, Plymouth 18th August, up Channel 23rd August. The Log ends 5th September 1764 at Woolwich, is finished by one of the Ship's officers, who states that "Captain Smith came on Board and wrote me a Discharge."

As has been already noted **the survey of Bird Island in 1814 was due to the wreck of the William Pitt,** regarding which the following information is forthcoming from *the Marine Records and Register of Ships.* **The William Pitt, extra ship,** Captain Charles Butler, sailed on her first voyage in February 1813, bound for Madeira and Batavia. She was at Funchal on the 9th April and at Teneriffe on the 12th April. On the 11th May 1814 a letter is received by the Court of Directors from General Ross with an enclosure from Lieut. Col. Cruger, dated 'Uitenhaye Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 31st December 1813,' stating that a Box and several pieces of a Ship (which he supposes to be the William Pitt Extra Ship) have been cast upon the coast of the District under his Superintendence.

From the *Despatches from the Cape of Good Hope* we gather the following. On the 11th February 1814, John Pringle writes to William Ramsay Secretary —"It is with very sincere regret that I have to acquaint you with **the almost certain loss of the Extra Ship William Pitt** on the East coast of this Colony. I transmit therewith copies of all **the Documents** relative to this event, and have no hope that anything more particular will ever be known concerning her fate. Should however the smallest additional light be hereafter thrown on the subject, I shall not fail to communicate it to you." **The documents** alluded to contain the following particulars. — On the 16th December 1813 an officer at Algoa Bay saw a large Ship passing Westward, and on the 17th at 11-0 p. m. five signal guns (of distress) were heard in St. Francis or Camptoos Bay. At the time a strong wind was blowing from the Westward. On the 20th December pieces of a large Ship were driven on shore some way to the West of Algoa Bay. On the 21st, a small packing case marked Crauford, a deck plank, some yards, and other small wreckage came ashore. On the 22nd a Box was found addressed "H. Co.'s Ship William Pitt Gravesend." Much wreckage, all small, continued to come ashore but no bodies. The Vessel apparently foundered at sea between **Camptoos Bay and Point Recif.** All hands were probably drowned.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

(Continued from p. 270.)

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

SCREETORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

SIR, — The April number of the *Indian Antiquary* contains an account of the word screetore, and some passages where it has been found used. It might be of interest to find traces of the word *escritoire* in another corrupted form in some of the Indian vernaculars. In the Bombay Presidency, especially round about the cities of Bombay and Surat, the word may sometimes be heard in the form of **iscotri** or **iscutri**. It is used to indicate a receptacle for money and papers, and in common with many other words of English origin such as *box, table, desk, cup-board,* etc., relating to articles of furniture, and household use, it seems to have been adopted bodily, with the slight changes which are inevitable in the process of transition. The word, though of rare occurrence in good literary Marâṭhî, may occasionally be heard of used by old-world men and women of the middle classes as a colloquialism. Perhaps it is in the sister language, Gujarâthî, that it retains more vitality, it being a common occurrence to find Gujarâthî trades-people referring to their secret desk as the **iscutri**.

BALCRUSHNA V. WASSOODEW.

Bombay, 13th April 1900.

[I have somewhere seen the word corrupted in some Anglo-Indian document into **secretary**, but I cannot turn up the reference just now. — ED.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MONTHS IN WHICH HINDU MARRIAGE IS FORBIDDEN.

In the Panjâb proper no Hindû or Sikh marriage can take place in Chêt, Kârtik, or Pôh. In Hindustân, Sâwan, Bhâdôṅ, Asauj, and generally Mâgh are added to the prohibited list. Where does the custom change — that is, how far east or west does either custom obtain? And what is the origin — (1) of the prohibition, (2) of the difference in custom?

Denzil Ibbetson in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

NIM LEAVES AT FUNERALS.

The leaves of the *nîm* tree *(azidarachta indica)* are chewed at funerals as a sign of mourning. They are very bitter to the taste?

William Crooke in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

TATTOOING CHAMARS IN THE PANJAB.

Tattooing is universal among Chamâr women. It is said if a married woman is not tattooed she will not see her father or mother in the life after death. Unmarried girls are not tattooed.

F. A. Steel in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A LIST OF THE HINDU GODLINGS OF BOMBAY.

Here is a list of 40 Hindu demon-gods, the chief of whom is Vetâl.

	Vêtâl.		Khânis.
	Brahmâpurush.		Kâlimbâ.
	Bahirî.		Khâmbyâ.
	Bâpdêv.		Munjâ.
5	Bâlyâdêv.	25	Mhaskôbâ.
	Chôndî.		Mukâî.
	Chêtak.		Masâsur.
	Chandkî.		Mêtyâî.
	Dakhin.		Navlâî.
10	Girâ.	30	Nârâyandêv.
	Hêdlî.		Pavnâî.
	Hadalî.		Satvâî.
	Hirvâ.		Sômjâî.
	Jôkhâî.		Sambandhâ.
15	Jakhâî.	35	Savârî.
	Jugâî.		Sikâî.
	Jhôting.		Sâlbâî.
	Janâî.		Vagjâî.
	Kâfrî.		Vîr.
20	Kalsâî.	40	Vâghayâ.

K. Raghunathji in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE SASANAVAMSA.

We congratulate Mrs. Bode on her excellent edition of the Sâsanavaṁsa.[1] It is prefaced by a very interesting *résumé* of Burmese history from the sixth century B. C. to the time of Mindôn Min, who reigned from 1852 to 1878 A. D. The importance of the work consists in its being a purely ecclesiastical history dealing with the vicissitudes of the Buddhist Church in Burma since its foundation by **Sona and Uttara**, who were sent by the Third Buddhist Council convened under **Asoka**. The assumption, however, made in Burmese works that Buddhism was established in Burma in the third century, B. C., has yet to be substantiated. The frequent interruption in the *âcariya paraṁpara*, or succession of Buddhist monks, may be ascribed to the overthrow of dynasties and great political upheavals, but the fact remains that no traces of the Asoka Alphabet have been found in the Province, and that all available evidence goes to indicate Sanskrit rather than Pâli as the vehicle of Buddhism when it was introduced into Burma. The native Chronicles are silent about the Mahâyâna and Hinâyâna Schools, and take no note of the struggles for supremacy between the rival faiths in India. Frequent mention is made of intercourse with Ceylon, but there is hardly any notice of the countries bordering on Burma.

Burmese royal historiographers had to face two problems: (1) the direct descent of their patrons from Mahâsammata, the first ruler of the world, and their relationship to the Sakya race, to which Gotama Buddha belonged; (2) the direct succession of the monks of the present day from Upâli, who was a disciple of Gotama Buddha and recited the *Vinâya* at the First Buddhist Council, and who was the spiritual ancestor of Mahâthera Moggaliputtatissa, the President of the Third Council. In 1831 A. D., at the request of King Bagyidaw, **Mahâdhammathingyan**, who was known as the Archbishop Maungdaung Sadaw, when he was a monk, attempted to solve the second problem by compiling a work in Burmese called the **Sâsanâlaṅkâra**. For the benefit of Sinhalese monks residing at Mandalay, the Burmese capital, this work was translated into Pâli under the title of **Sâsanavaṁsa** by Paññâsâmi in 1861 A. D. The *Sâsanavaṁsa*, it may be added, is not so well known in Burma as in Ceylon.

Rangoon, March 10th, 1900. Taw Sein Ko.

[1] Published by the Pali Text Society, 1897.

NEW RESEARCHES INTO THE COMPOSITION AND EXEGESIS OF THE QORAN.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 213.)

CHAPTER IV.

The Declamatory Revelations.

CHARACTER of Muhammed's prophecy — Messianic oracles — The "Day of Judgment" — Great variety of expressions for the same constitutes an essential feature of the book — The problem of the Freedom of Will — Redemption — Predestination — The Heavenly Book — Declining pathos. (Criticism of the theory of strophic forms in the *Qorân*.)

The Prophet's exertions were not entirely without success. Led by his wife Khadîja, a small but devoted band rallied round him. The majority, it is true, consisted of people in the humblest circumstances, but there was also a fair sprinkling of members of the foremost families of Mecca. Among these was **Aliy, son of Abû Tâlib, Muhammed's uncle and foster-father.** This latter, however, did not join the new faith himself. Of greater importance still was the conversion of **Abû Bakr,**[35] a wealthy and much esteemed merchant of the clan of the Qoreish. This was indeed most encouraging, yet the adversaries still commanded an overwhelming majority, and held the welfare, even the lives, of the Faithful in their hands. Muhammed dared not remain inactive, but had to go on with his work and produce fresh credentials.

As regards the performance of miracles he had hitherto been somewhat unfortunate. A still greater difficulty remained to be overcome, concerning another indispensable apanage of a prophet, *viz.*, the faculty of foretelling future events. Of this he must have been aware through his knowledge of Scripture, especially as many passages from Biblical prophecies held — and still hold — prominent places in the Jewish liturgy.[36]

It appears to me that **the series of oracles in the Qorân** which describe the condition of things at the end of time, were modelled on Messianic prophecies in the Bible, although not attaining to their loftiness and grandeur. Muhammed could only use such portions as touch on the sinfulness of mankind and the punishment awaiting them, the reward of the pious and the general transformation of Nature as intimated in Isaiah xxiv. 18-23; Zach. xiv. 4, etc.

Vaticination was common in Arabia,[37] and we have seen how Muhammed had to defend himself against charges of soothsaying. To a certain extent he was unable to avoid giving some colour to these, as his manner of speaking greatly resembled that of **the Kâhins** who, with mystic ceremonies, foretold the future to individuals. Muhammed himself disclaimed any share in such proceedings, but Moslim tradition will not allow him to be behind other prophets in this line, and records two cases in which his prophecies were verified.[38]

The reader of the *Qorân* cannot fail to note that, when speaking of other prophets, Muhammed in only a very few instances refers to their prophetic gifts,[39] and as a rule only represents them as warning against idolatry and wickedness. As a matter of fact he was unable to predict anything, and least of all a general conversion, after the manner of Isaiah ch. ii., or xi. 6-9. All his prophecies are of an eschatological nature and beyond the control of any human being, so that no one could hope to find an opportunity of charging him with fallacious predictions. He gave weight to these prophecies by making them axioms of faith like those incorporated in the religious codes of the Jews and Christians.

In the oldest epoch of the *Qorân* **the "Day"** is not mentioned at all, but only hinted at in the description of the events which are to take place when this dawns. An instance is given by **Sûra lxxxi.** which, in spite of the forced pathos and the mannerism of the diction, represents the best

[35] See I. I. p. 160 *sq.*, where also the names of the other early believers are given.
[36] With regard to the Messianic hopes entertained by the Jews of Medina *cf* I. I. 286 and R. E. J. VII. p. 91.
[37] *Cf.* Wolln. R. p. 130. [38] *Cf.* Mishk. II. p. 682. [39] *E. g.*, *S.* xxvi. 155 on the she-camel of Şâlih.

type of the declamatory period. The Messianic apostrophes, the vague warning that reckoning awaits every soul, and his protestations of being "a noble Messenger" might have made some impression. This *sûra* is divided into two strophes of unequal length, the cadence is all but metrical, and the whole declamation so thoroughly original of its kind, that it deserves to be reproduced in full.[40]

1. When the sun is folded up
2. And when the stars fall down
3. And when the mountains are moved
4. And when the *'ishâr*[41] shall be neglected
5. And when the beasts shall be crowded together[42]
6. And when the seas shall surge up
7. And when the souls shall be paired [with bodies]
8. And when the [female child that was] buried alive shall be asked,
9. For what sin she was slain,
10. And when the sheets shall be opened
11. And when heaven shall be flayed
12. And when hell shall be set ablaze
13. And when Paradise shall be brought nigh:
14. The soul shall know what it has produced.
15. Therefore I swear not by the heavenly wanderers,
16. That move on and backwards,
17. Nor by the night when it draws on,
18. Nor by the morn when it first breathes up;
19. Verily this is the speech of a noble Messenger,
20. Of great power with the Lord of the Throne,

[40] The *sûra* itself is composed of two strophes of about equal length, *viz.*, v. 1 to 14 and 15 to 29, but in such a manner that the second strophe is logically subordinated to the first. This circumstance has been overlooked by D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt*, p. 57. Müller's theory, altogether, adapts itself to the *Qorân* on a very limited scale. To suppose that Muhammed knowingly arranged *sûras* in strophes with *responsionen* would mean that he deliberately exposed himself to the opprobrium of being called a poet. The *Qorân*, of all Semitic literatures, is least appropriate for a theory of the kind in question, as the composition of most *sûras*, and certainly of many quoted by Müller as patterns, is anything but perspicuous. Müller is doubtlessly right in denying that Muhammed borrowed the formation of strophes from a Jew, but then the question arises, where does pre-Islamic poetry offer a single instance of strophes with *responsionen*? Surely, any ancient tradition among Arabs on such a form of poetry would have left some traces, but to assume that so primordial a custom should, after falling into oblivion, have been revived again at so late an epoch and without any visible link connecting it with the past, is against common sense. I should rather think that wherever we find strophes in the *Qorân*, they are of a very crude character, and unconsciously constructed rather than artistically. *Sûra* lxxxi. gives an example of this. The stock of rhymes on the same consonant being exhausted, the speaker made a *Kunstpause*, and dropped his voice. In the second strophe there is a marked falling off both as regards vigour and poetic expression, but the speaker felt instinctively that the second part of the oracle must continue on the same strain as the first, and be of equal length. In every *sûra* quoted by Prof. Müller we shall have an opportunity of judging how far he succeeded in proving his case, however, *Strophentrümmer oder doch nicht ganz durch-und ausgebildete Strophenformen* is too elastic an expression to serve as conclusive evidence. Other patterns of strophic structure in the *Qorân* not noticed by Müller are *S.* lxxxvi. 1 to 10, 11 to 17, both strophes beginning with "by the heaven"; lxxxviii. 1 to 16, 17 to 26, strophes of unequal length; xc. 1 to 10, 11 to 20, the second strophe likewise being subordinated to the first. No further division is justified.

[41] Camel in the tenth month of pregnancy.

[42] *Cf.* Isaiah xi. 6 to 7. It is not at all unlikely that Muhammed should have heard of this famous chapter, which the Jews read in the Synagogue on the last day of Passover.

21. Obeyed and trusty too.

22. Your comrade is not mad!

23. He saw Him on the plain horizon,

24. Nor does he grudge [to divulge] the unseen.

25. This is not the speech of a pelted Satan,

26. Now whither do you go?

27. It is but a reminder to the worlds

28. To whomsoever of you pleases to be steadfast.

29. But you will not, unless Allâh, the Lord of the worlds should please.

The almost artistic structure of the *sûra* alone shows that it cannot have been the product of spontaneous enthusiasm. Muhammed himself was evidently so pleased with this fine performance, that he shortly afterwards tried to imitate it by another which was, however, far inferior, *viz.*, lxxxii. 1-19.[43]

In this *sûra* the "**Day of Judgment**"[44] is mentioned twice by name (v. **15** and **18**), and once more in a paraphrastic manner (v. 19). Subsequently Muhammed got into the habit of circumscribing the "Day" alone, choosing the strangest epithets and paraphrases. This does not refer to the declamatory period alone, but extends over the whole *Qorân.* On account of their large number I have arranged all the instances into groups. It is noteworthy that of the first two groups only one example (lxiv. 9), and of the following but a small number belong to Medinian revelations, the latter being marked by an asterisk.

A. 1. 15, 38. The day of the well known term (*cf.* 38, 82)

2. 19, 40. The day of sighing[45]

3. 20, 61. The day of adornment[46]

4. 26, 189. The day of the scorching heat

5. 30, 56. The day of arousing

6. 32, 29. The day of victory

7. 38, 15, 25, 53. The day of reckoning (*cf.* 40, 28)

8. 40, 15. The day of meeting

9. 40, 18. The day of the approaching hour

10. 40, 34. The day of crying out

11. 42, 5. The day of gathering[47]

12. 44, 40. The day of decision (*cf.* 77, 13)

13. 50, 19. The day of appointment

14. 50, 33. The day of eternal duration

15. 50, 41. The day of coming forth

16. 54, 19. The day of continuous ill-luck

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[43] Müller, *l.c.* p. 57, three strophes, *viz.*, 1 to 5, 6 to 12, 13 to 19.

[44] Al Ghâzâli Iḥyâ, iv. p. 443 *sq.*, gives a lengthy description of the duration, the names, and calamities of the Day of Judgment.

[45] Epilogue to the story of the mission of Jesus, *cf.* St. Matth. viii. 12; xiii. 42, etc.

[46] Palmer takes it as day of festival, but the words are evidently Messianic. The root حشر is frequently used in the *Qorân* in this sense.

[47] With the addition: on which there is no doubt.

17. *64, 9. The day of gathering, this is the day of deceiving
18. 75, 1. The day of Resurrection
19. 82, 15. The day of Judgment (and often)

B. 1. 6, 15. A great day (*cf.* 10, 16 : 19, 38 ; 83, 5)
2. 11, 3. A grand day
3. 11, 28. A painful day (*cf.* 43, 65)
4. 11, 85. An encompassing day
5. 22, 54. A barren day
6. 26, 37, 155. A well known day (*cf.* 56, 50)
7. 29, 35. The last day
8. 54, 8. A hard day (*cf.* 74, 9)
9. 76, 10. A severe day
10. 76, 27. A heavy day
11. 85, 2. The promised day
12. 90, 14. A foodless day

C. 1. *2, 45, 117. The day wherein no soul shall pay recompense for another soul
2. *2, 255. The day on which there is no bartering (*cf.* 14, 36)
3. *3, 7, 24. The day whereof there is no doubt
4. *3, 28. The day that every soul shall find what it has done
5. *3, 102. The day when faces shall be whitened, and faces shall be blackened
6. *5, 108. The day when Allâh shall assemble the apostles
7. *5, 119. The day when their confession shall profit the confessors
8. 6, 22, 128. The day when we shall gather them altogether (*cf.* 10, 29, 46 : 41, 18 ; 27, 85)
9. 6, 73. The day when the horn shall be blown
10. 6, 159. The day when some signs of thy Lord shall come
11. 7, 13. The day when they shall be raised
12. 7, 51. The day when its interpretation shall come
13. *9, 35. The day when it shall be heated in the fire of hell
14. *9, 78. The day when they shall meet him
15. 11, 11. The day it comes to them there is no turning it away from them
16. 11, 107. The day when it shall come no soul shall speak, etc.
17. 14, 42. The day when reckoning arises
18. 14, 43. The day on which all eyes shall stare
19. 14, 44. The day when the torment shall come
20. 14, 49. The day when the earth shall be changed into no earth
21. 15, 36. The day when they shall be aroused (*cf.* 37, 144 : 38, 80)
22. 16, 86, 91. The day when we shall send from every nation a witness
23. 16, 112. The day when every soul shall come to wrangle for itself

24. 17, 54. The day when he shall call on you
25. 17, 73. The day when we shall call all men by their leader
26. 18, 45. The day when we will move the mountains
27. 18, 50. The day when he shall say, etc.
28. 19, 39. The day when they shall come to us
29. 21, 104. The day when we will roll up the heaven
30. 22, 2. The day you shall see it
31. *24, 24. The day when their tongues and hands and feet shall bear witness against them
32. *24, 37. A day when hearts and eyes shall be upset
33. *24, 64. The day they shall be brought back to him
34. 25, 18. The day He shall gather them (*cf.* 10, 29, 46)
35. 25, 24. The day they shall see the angels
36. 25, 27. The day the heavens shall be rent asunder
37. 26, 88. The day when wealth shall profit not, nor sons
38. 28, 62, 74. The day when he shall call them
39. 29, 55. The day when the torment shall cover them
40. 30, 11, 13, 54. The day when the Hour shall rise
41. 30, 42. A day which there is no averting (*cf.* 42, 46)
42. 31, 32. The day when a father shall not atone for his child
43. 32, 4. A day the measure of which is as a thousand years
44. *33, 43. The day they shall meet Him
45. *66. The day when their faces shall writhe
46. 34, 29. A day of which you shall not keep back
47. 40, 35. The day when you shall turn your backs
48. 40, 54. The day when the witnesses shall stand up
49. 40, 55. The day when their excuse shall not avail the wicked
50. 41, 18. The day when the enemies of Allâh shall be gathered together into the fire
51. 41, 47. The day when He shall call to them
52. 44, 9. The day when the heaven shall bringe obvious smoke
53. 44, 15. The day when we will assault with the great assault
54. 44, 41. The day when friend shall not avail friend at all
55. 45, 26. The day when the hour shall arise
56. 46, 19, 33. The day when the infidels shall be exposed to the fire
57. 46, 34. The day when they shall see what they are threatened with
58. 50, 29. The day we will say to hell 'Art thou full?'
59. 50, 40. The day when the crier shall cry
60. 50, 41. The day when they shall hear the shout
61. 50, 43. The day when the earth shall be cleft asunder

62. 51, 13. The day when they shall be tried by the fire
63. 52, 9. The day when the heavens shall reel about
64. 52, 13. The day when they shall be thrust away into the fire of hell
65. 52, 46. The day when their plotting shall avail them naught
66. 54, 6. The day when the caller shall call
67. 54, 48. The day when they shall be dragged to the fire
68. *57, 12. The day when thou shall see believers, etc.
69. *57, 13. The day when the hypocrites shall say
70. *58, 7, 19. The day when Allâh shall raise them
71. *64, 9. The day when He shall gather you (*cf.* A, 11)
72. *66, 8. The day Allâh will not afflict the Prophet and the Faithful
73. 68, 42. The day when the leg shall be bared
74. 70, 4. A day whose length is fifty thousand years (*cf.* 32, 4)
75. 70, 42, 44. Their day which they have been promised
76. 70, 43. The day when they shall come forth in haste
77. 73, 14. The day when the earth and the mountains shall tremble
78. 76, 7. The day the evil of which shall fly abroad
79. 77, 35. The day when they may not speak
80. 78, 18. The day when the trumpet shall be blown
81. 78, 38. The day when the Spirit and the angels shall stand in ranks
82. 78, 41. The day when man shall see what his two hands have sent forward
83. 79, 6. The day when the quaking quakes
84. 79, 35. The day when man shall remember what he strove after
85. 79, 46. The day they see it (*viz.*, the hour)
86. 80, 34. The day when man shall flee from his brother
87. 82, 19. The day when no soul shall control aught for another
88. 83, 6. The day when man shall stand before the Lord of the world
89. 86, 9. The day when the secrets shall be tried
90. 101, 3. The day when men shall be like scattered moths.

D. On that day *(alyawma* and *yawma'iḏin)* very frequent

E. 1. 79, 42. The Hour (and about forty times more)
2. 80, 33. The Calamity *(aṣṣâkhatu)*
3. 88, 1. The overwhelming due *(alghâshiyatu)*
4. 90, 11. The steep *(ala'qabatu)*

From this extraordinary **variety of names and elaborate definitions of the "Day of Judgment"** something must be learnt. Muhammed would certainly not have taken the trouble of continually finding new epithets without some distinct purpose. It is therefore clear that they **represent nothing less than Messianic prophecies,** the only kind of predictions in which he could safely indulge. Although they are distributed over the whole *Qorân*, their actual development

belongs to the declamatory period, whilst their inception may be traced to the period of confirmatory revelations.

Another imitation of *Sûra* lxxxi. is **Sûra lxxxiv.**,[48] both as regards contents and form, also describing the "Day" without distinctly mentioning it. It begins thus :

1. When the heaven is split,
2. And gives ear to its Lord and is dutiful
3. And when the earth is stretched
4. And casts forth what is in it and is empty,
5. And gives ear to its Lord and is dutiful :
6. O man ! verily thou are toiling hard after thy Lord, etc.

Sûra xcix.[49] is devoted to the same subject, but is obviously weaker. The description loses its poetic vigour, but refers already twice to "that day."

In the first chapter I have already alluded to the incident which caused the revelation of *Sûra* lxxx.[50] It belongs to the declamatory period. The very brief but graphic introduction is followed by a soliloquy which leads up to the subject of the address proper. This is a recapitulation of the second sentence of the first revelation (xcvi. 2),[51] but in a more detailed and descriptive manner. By inserting an appeal to man's gratitude towards the Creator for the comforts of life Muhammed introduced a new element of discussion, which at a later period became a very important subject in his sermons. A short description of the "Calamity" of the "Day of Judgment" and the varying demeanour of the pious and wicked "on that day" concludes an address, which is distinguished not only by variety of topics, but also by high flown diction and even originality, whilst forming a united and well rounded sermon.

If Muhammed introduced into his delineations of the "Day of Judgment" the changes to which sun, moon and stars are to be subjected, he may have followed Biblical models (*e.g.*, Isaiah xxiv. 23 ; xiii. 10 ; lx. 19 ; Amos viii. 9), but it seems that, at the same time, he wished to protest against the worship of heavenly bodies. He teaches that, being but component parts of the created world, they are subject to the divine will which can utterly annihilate them. The sun shall be "folded up," the stars shall "become black," the mountains be "removed," the moon be "split" (liv. 1 ; lxxv. 8-9 ; lxxxiv. 18), or "gathered in."[52] All this, however, was not to take place until some very remote period, but it was important to point out that the cosmical powers, and particularly the meteorological phenomena connected with certain constellations, were but the work of Allâh. He alone makes man die, causes him to be buried, then, if he wishes, raises him up again (liii. 45-50 ; lxxx. 21-3 ; lxxv. 8-9, 40). He has created from a clot, and He is the Lord of the Sirius.[53]

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[48] Likewise overlooked by Müller. The *sûra* is divided into two strophes (v. 1 to 15, 16 to 25) of unequal length and little internal coherence. Verse 16 corresponds in every respect to lxxxi. 15. Verse 25 does not seem to have originally belonged to the *sûra*, but was added in order not to allow the *sûra* to end with a verse containing something evil.

[49] According to some traditionists the *sûra* is of Medinian date, *cf. Itqân*, p. 22 *sq.* According to Ibn Abi Ḥâtim from Abu Sa'îd Al Khadri it was not revealed until after the battle of Uhud (*Itq.* 30). Fihrist, p. 251, calls it Medinian. It is, however, very improbable that a *sûra* of this style should have been first revealed so late. To v. 7 *cf.* x. 62 ; xxxi. 15.

[50] See Müller, *l. c.* p. 86, *Wie die beiden disparaten Theile zu einer Einheit geworden, weiss ich nicht. Weder Sinn noch Strophik geben eine Lösung dieses Räthsels.* The *sûra* has evidently been a whole one from the beginning. Verse 16 is not only through the rhyme, but logically connected with the preceding verses ; *cf.* v. 34 to 42. — Verse 24 (connected by ف) begins the second strophe which draws the moral from the contemplations of the first.

[51] Verse 13 = lxxxvii. 18 to 19 and lxxiv. 52.

[52] In *S.* vi. 75 to 78 this is in a more popular manner demonstrated by the tale how Abraham worshipped a star, the moon and the sun, each in their turn, but seeing them set could not believe in their divine nature.

[53] See Ch. I. p. 9.

There now follows a series of addresses which Muhammed always begins by conjuring heaven and earth and all they include. One of the best specimens of these is *Sûra* lxxxvi.[54] which contains the remarkable sentence (v. 4) that **"every soul has a guardian over it,** but let man consider for what he has been created," etc. — The inferences drawn from this and similar passages shew that the views which Muhammed held at the earlier period with regard to **the freedom of human will** differ from the later theories which considerably limited man's own responsibilities in matters of belief, and the shaping of his fate. The former idea was not only inborn in Muhammed, but also strengthened by his studies, the latter was an axiom artificially cultivated and foisted upon the believers for practical motives. At the time when the Prophet was anxious to gain the goodwill even of the humblest member of his audience, he would have been ill advised to teach that their guidance depended solely on Allâh.[55] It was more prudent to preach that he was charged to show them the right way, and that those who refused to listen, did so on their own responsibility and to their own hurt.

lxxv. 1. I swear not by the Day of Resurrection,
2. Nor do I swear by the self-accusing soul,
3. Does man think that we shall not collect his bones?
4. Yes, we are able to arrange his finger-tips
5. Nay, but man wishes to be wicked ;
6. He asks : When is the Day of Resurrection ? etc.

Now in the sentence quoted above it is stated that every soul has a guardian over it, who gauge its actions, but which are otherwise quite unfettered.[56] Far from teaching salvation through a vicarious agent, Muhammed at this period entertains the theory, also rife in Jewish belief, that man is answerable for his actions, and must give an account of them on the Day of Judgment. The idea is more clearly expressed in *Sûra* liii. 39-46 given in the form of a quotation from the *suḥuf* of Moses and Abraham,[57] *viz.*, that "no burdened [soul] shall bear the burden of another, and that man shall have only what he strives for." This is clearly nothing but the Rabbinical sentence : "With what measure man measures, shall be measured unto him."[58] This axiom so thoroughly penetrates all phases of Rabbinical literature, that it had undoubtedly become proverbial, also among those Jews with whom Muhammed had come in contact in Syria and elsewhere. As already intimated, post-Biblical tradition made the first day of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 24 ; Numb. xxix. 1) into a "Day of Judgment," on which "the children of man pass by before Him like lambs"[59] in order to be judged according to their merits.

Similar ideas are expressed in the the *Qorân* not only in the oldest epoch, but through nearly the whole Meccan period. "Every man is hostage for what he deserves" (lii. 21);[60] "on that day shall every soul earn what it deserves" (xl. 17). **Sentences of this kind stand in opposition to what is called the "fatalism" of the Moslim creed.** Even as late as almost at the end of the Meccan period Muhammed pronounced : "Leave those who treat their faith as play and mockery, this life deceives them, but remind them that **a soul is offered what it** has earned, and has, beside Allâh, no friend nor intercessor ; and though it should compensate with the fullest compensation, it would not be accepted. Those who are given up for what they have gained, for them is a drink of boiling water, and painful punishment for their disbelief" (vi. 69). Finally : "Whoso does evil, he shall only be recompensed with the like thereof" (xl. 43).

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[54] *Cf.* above.

[55] *Sûra* lxxiv. 34 a very late, in fact Medinian, revelation.

[56] The Commentators (Bagh.) naturally refer to celestial guardians.

[57] *Cf.* S. lxxxvii. 18 *sq.* and frequently repeated.

[58] See *Mishna*, Sôtâ I. 7.

[59] See *Mishna*, Rôsh Hash. I. 2.

[60] *Cf.* S. lxxxiii. 14 ; lxxiv. 41 ; xlv. 21 ; xlii. 29 ; cxi. 2. The expressoin كسب stands in its material sense *cf.* xli. 46 : Whoever does good, it is for himself, and who does evil, upon him it comes ; see also li. 59.

Opposed to these verses stands a long series of others which describe man as dependent in his actions entirely on the will of Allâh. It cannot be said that the latter doctrine replaced the former, as in a revelation belonging to the oldest periods it is already stated that Allâh "makes enter into His mercy whomsoever He wishes" (lxxvi. 31), and later on, "thus leads Allâh astray whom he wishes and guides whom he wishes" (lxxiv. 34). "If Allâh wished He would guide all mankind [to belief]" (xiii. 30). There are many more passages alluding to the following subjects, the creature of man (xxviii. 68), providing him with food (xiii. 26; xiv. 13, 32; xvii. 32; xxviii. 82; xxix. 62): granting mercy (xxix. 20 ; x. 107), or inflicting punishment on him (xiii. 14) solely on the ground of Allâh's will.[61] Any attempt to reconcile this paradox will fail, and it only remains for us to try and find out how Muhammed came to reveal theories so antagonistic to common sense.

Muhammed had evidently meditated on the problems of human free will and predestination as taught in Jewish as well as Christian writings. On the relation of man to his deeds in the former we have treated above, and even a sentence, like Exod. xi. 10 is regarded by Rabbinical doctrine as punishment for sins committed before voluntarily.[62] But with regard to man's fate Jewish doctrines are likewise absolute in giving them unconditionally in the hands of Providence, whilst it stands in no connection with his piety or wickedness.[63] No accident, great or small, befalls man which is not ordained by the will of God.[64]

The fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church remained either unknown to Muhammed or else did not appeal to him, and therefore we find few traces in the Qorân. Even in the Medinian revelations he repeatedly denied that one soul could atone for another, and that in tercession would be accepted (ii. 45, 117, 255-6), although a mediator is not unknown both in the Old and New Testaments.[65] It is, however, possible that Muhammed had found support for his fatalistic inclinations in sentences (like Romans ix. 14-18) that "he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he burdeneth" (*cf.* v. 21). In fact, this phrase greatly resembles those of the *Qorân* quoted above. Yet the effect of true penitence is clearly laid down in the *Qorân*, although I believe in one passage only.[66]

It is difficult for untrained minds to speculate on the problems of human free will and predestination taken singly, and to acquire any clear idea on the connection which exists between the two, is beyond the capacity of the large majority of believers in the latter. Being important factors in every religion it was advisable to render these promblems ore conceivable to the common mind by introducing them in the shape of a book. This idea which is first expressed in a Biblical metaphor (Exod. xxxii. 32), subsequently assumed two different forms. In one book man's fate is inscribed (Isaiah iv. 3 ; Ps. lxix 28, cxxxix. 16); whilst the other records his actions for which he must give account hereafter (Abôth iii. 16). It is easy to see that the notion of such a book was most tempting to Muhammed, and he took the first opportunity of making use of it. Although according to the *Qorân* **the Book** contains everything, the oldest *sûras* only state that its purpose is to chronicle the deeds of man. Its functions are, however, increased later on to such an extent, that "there escapes Him not [a thing of] the size of a seed in the heavens or in the earth, or smaller or larger than it, that is not recorded in a manifest book."[67] Muhammed's own notions were rather dim, and when asked what the Book

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61 *Cf. S.* x. 99: If thy Lord had wished, everyone on earth would be a believer; but wilt thou force men to become believers? (100) It is not in the power of a soul to believe unless Allâh grants it, and He places disbelief on those who do not understand (see Sprenger, II. 313 rem.). *Cf. S.* lxxxi. 29: You will nothing except the Lord of the worlds will it; *cf.* xlii. 6.

62 *Cf.* Gen. iv. 7 ; Deut. xxx. 19.

63 "It is not in our power to explain the welfare of the wicked nor the trials of the righteous" (*Abôth* iv. 15).

64 "Even the distributer of water is appointed by heaven" (*Talmud, Berakhoth* 58vo).

65 Exod. xxxii. 11 to 14; Deut. v. 25; Job xxxiii. 23; Gal. iii. 19 to 20.—Moslim tradition has, however, reserved to Muhammed the right of interceding on behalf of those for whom permission is granted to him by Allâh; *cf.* Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen*, p. 285. Al Ghazâli, Iḥyâ, IV. 453.

66 *Cf. S.* xlii. 24.

67 *Cf. S.* x. 62, nearly literal repetition; lxxviii. 29: Everything have we recorded in a book.

meant, gave only vague answers with which, in the declamatory period, he endeavoured to cloak his inability to give a clear definition.[68]

The problem of predestination gave ample food for discussion and hairsplitting theories to the Muhammedan theologians. A good deal of what was then written on this subject has been made accessible in modern works,[69] and I can therefore omit it here, especially as my aim is only to give in outline that which concerns the *Qorân*. Suffice it to say that the orthodox Moslim forms, from the inferences which he draws from these sentences of the *Qorân*, tenets which show that **man's actions as well as his fate are entirely dependant on what is inscribed in the celestial Book.**

Descriptions of the Day of Judgment, scarcely differing from each other except in the endless variety of torments for the wicked which they depict, form a prominent feature of the declamatory addresses. Yet Muhammed did not allow his imagination to run away with him, but very shrewdly endowed Paradise with ever-flowing springs of fresh water, shady bowers, and tempting fruits. Knowing the sort of people with whom he had to deal, he wished first of all to attract them, and it was strategy rather than sanctity which induced him also to add more sensual pleasures than one would expect in celestial regions. Revelations of this nature are to be found in *Sûras* lxxxviii.,[70] lxxix., and lxxvii., the last named being built on *Sûra* lxxxiii.

lxxvii. 1. By those sent in a series,
2. And by those who speed swiftly,
3. And by the dispensers abroad,
4. And by the separators apart,
5. And by those who instil the reminders
6. As an excuse or warning.
7. Verily, what ye are threatened with shall surely happen !
8. When the stars shall be erased,
9. And when the heavens shall be cleft,
10. And when the mountains shall be winnowed,
11. And when the Messengers shall have a time appointed for them !
12. For what day is the appointment made ?
13. For the day of decision !
14. And what shall make thee know what the decision is ?
15. **Woe on that day** for those who say it is a lie ! etc.

This is but one-third of the *sûra*, yet all originality is already exhausted. Although devoted to the "Day of Decision" the *sûra* gives no other explanation of it, but that therein the infidels shall be woe begone, and that they shall neither speak nor receive permission to excuse themselves (v. 35-36). The words : "woe on that day," etc., form a refrain which is repeated after groups of two or three verses.

Looking at this refrain from an artistic point of view, it does not seem justifiable to regard it as marking the division of strophes, as it does not form an integral part of the paragraphs, but is if anything out of place in many instances. It is probably but a *Kunstpause*, serving to prolong the address and to allow the speaker time to think of new phrases and expressions for a subject which was commencing to lose its freshness.

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[68] See *S.* lxxxiii. The *sûra* consists of *four* strophes, *viz.*, v. 1 to 9, 10 to 20, 21 to 28; 29 to 36.

[69] See Kremer, *l. c.* p. 280 *sqq.*

[70] Two strophes, *viz.*, v. 1 to 16, 17 to 26. The second strophe being quite out of connection with the first, does not seem to have belonged to it from the beginning, but to the descriptive period. The poetic value is certainly much smaller than that of the first strophe.

In introducing "the Book" Muhammed made quite a new departure in the *Qorân*, both with respect to matter and name. For the inhabitants of Mecca a book of any sort possessed all the charms of novelty, as not many of them had ever seen one, whilst that mentioned in the revelations, although invisible to mortal eyes, was yet made palpable by the vivid description given of it.[71] **This book which contains the fate of every living being,** is to be opened and read on the Day of Judgment. As is the case with the latter, Muhammed liked to change the name of the "Book," although less frequently. In one of the last mentioned *sûras* (lxxxiii.) we had the names *sijjîn*[72] (v. 8.) and *illyyûn*[73] (v. 19); other names are *suhuf*[74] and *lawh*.[75]

On the Day of Judgment the Book[76] shall appear as a book for each individual. The pious shall hold it in his right hand, and the wicked in his left.[77]

> lxix. 19. As for him who is given his book in his right hand, he shall say: Here! take ye and read my book, etc.
>
> 25. As for him who is given his book in his left hand, he shall say, etc.

Subsequently, however, this was changed. Instead of giving the book into the right or left *hand*, the pious and wicked are placed respectively on the right or left *side* to be chosen for Paradise or for hell. This is the description given in *Sûra* lvi. 8-9, 26, 40, where, however, *three* groups are mentioned, although only the fates of two are enumerated. This omission of the third party, I believe, is due to the circumstance that v. 10-25 form an independent address belonging to the same period, and were inserted here for some reason unknown to us, perhaps on account of vv. 13-14[78] resembling vv. 38-39.

In v. 77 of the same *sûra* (lvi.) a **"Book" is mentioned which is not the book of fates, but the heavenly archtype of the Qorân.** Later on it is frequently used in this sense, this being the third signification of the word. It also becomes an object to swear by in

> *Sûra* lii. 1. By the mount![79]
>
> 2. By a Book inscribed.
>
> 3. Upon an outstretched vellum! etc.

The *sûra* concludes:

> 48. And wait thou patiently for the judgment of thy Lord, for thou art in our eyes; and celebrate the praises of thy Lord what time thou risest
>
> 49. And in the night praise Him, and at the fading of the stars.

I believe the recitation of the last verses was **an invitation to join in common prayer,** as was probably the case with other addresses which conclude in a similar manner.[80]

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71 See *S.* lxviii. 37: Have you a book in which you study. — Later on الكتاب refers to the Holy Writ in general "Possessors of the Book" means Jews and Christians.

72 Probably etymologically identical with سجيل (cv. 4; xv. 74; xi. 84).

73 Seems to be adaptation of Hebr. *'elyôn*. *Cf.* Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, etc.

74 See *S.* lxxxi. 10; lxxx. 13; lxxiv. 52.

75 Hebr. לוח. *Cf.* lxxxv. 22.

76 *Cf.* lxxviii. 29. The *sûra* consists of *three* strophes, *viz.*, v. 1 to 16, 17 to 30, 31 to 41. The second and third strophes begin with أن; v. 38 is to be divided (after صفّا) in two.

77 *Cf.* lxxxiv. 7 and 10.

78 The integrity of the *sûra* is very doubtful in spite of Müller's (following Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 83) taking it as a whole. If this be the case, we would have the same description repeated. That والسابقون (v. 10) may very well form the commencement of an address we gather from *S.* lxxix. 1; c. 1. It would also be strange that the three groups mentioned should be the first treated of. The *sûra*, I believe, is composed as follows: v. 1 to 9, 26 to 43 to which belong 54 and 55, 56 to 73, 74 to 96 (*cf.* lii. 48 to 49).

79 The *sûra* contains several reminiscences of previous addresses: v. 11 = lxxvii. 15; v. 39 = liii. 21; v. 45 فذرهم *cf.* lxxxii. 11; lxxiv. 11.

80 Also lvi. 96.

Here we may place *Sûra* lxx.[81] which in its entirety is devoted to pictures of the Day of Judgment. Again the pious appear on the right side, the wicked on the left (v. 37).[82] The beginning of this *sûra* was due to the tiresome questions[83] of a hardened sceptic, who wearied the prophet with such unpleasant insinuations that the latter had a hard struggle not to lose patience (v. 5).[84] The address is of certain practical importance, as it inculcates the desirability of prayer, almsgiving, chastity, honesty and truthfulness (v. 22-34).[85] Otherwise the *sûra* shows visible marks of declining fervour which, however, revives once more in a series of shorter addresses belonging to this period as *Sûras* c., ci., cvi.,[86] cvii.,[87] cviii. *Sûra* xc. is a fine composition consisting of two strophes.[88] Similar as to form and contents is *Sûra* xcii.[89] In *Sûra* xci. the speaker begins by calling on the sun and moon, day and night, heaven, earth, and soul[90] to witness his innocence of the charges of spreading falsehood. This is illustrated by the example of the prophet of the tribe of Thamûd whose warnings were derided, whilst those who scoffed at him were heavily punished.

We now see distinctly how this leads up to the narrative period, as the time had come when Muhammed had exhausted his stock of objects to swear by. Yet this *sûra* must still be counted among the declamatory ones on account of its beginning. Its antiquity is guaranteed by the fact that the fate of the Thamudenes was a matter well known in Mecca. For a similar reason I here mention *Sûra* cv. Perhaps *Sûra* cii. is also of declamatory character, but its shortness gives no clue as to the place to which it belongs.

Narrative elements are further visible in *Sûra* lxxxix., although its beginning is decidedly of declamatory character, and v. 27-28 form a reflex of Ps. cxvi. 7.

Still are to be mentioned the beginning and end of *Sûra* lxxxv. The verses 4-8 are referred by Geiger to Dan. iii. 8 *sq.*,[91] but there is no historical allusion at all in these verses, and they seem only to contain a malediction against infidels. The verses 12-22 harmonize with the first portion (v. 1-8) as to rhythm and rhyme, and belong together, whilst v. 9-11 are evidently of later date. Finally *Sûra* ciii. is rather weak, and v. 3 very theological.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 288.)

1791. — No. VIII.

Fort William, 2d. September 1791. The Snow Ranger being under Dispatch on her return to the Andeman's, Ordered that the following Letter be written to Captain Blair by the Secretary.

To Captn. Blair.

To Captain Blair at the Andaman's.

Sir, — I have received your Letters of the following Dates, and submitted them to the Governor General in Council :—

the 2nd of January 1791 by Mr. Topping,
the 19th February by the Ship Jane,
the 16th of June by the Ranger,

which arrived here on the 4th of July, and now returns to the Andaman's,

81 Verse 42 = lii. 45 ; see Ch. III.

82 *Cf.* xc. 18 to 19.

83 See Nöldeke, *Q.* p. 83.

84 Bagh., on the authority of قيل, refers v. 5 to 7 to Abu Bakr.

85 *Cf. Sûra* xcii.

86 Nöld. *Q.* p. 72.

87 *Ibid.* p. 74.

88 Verses 1 to 10, 11 to 20 ; see above.

89 Two strophes, *viz.*, v. 1 to 11 ; 12 to 21 ; Müller, *l. c.* p. 58, has six strophes.

90 See *S.* lxxv. 2.

91 Verses 9 to 11 do not belong here ; to v. 22 *cf.* rem. 75. Nöld. p. 77 is in so far right, as Christians are styled "Believers" as late as in the Medinian passage ii. 59, but this passage is purely rhetoric. — قتل is optative, *cf.* lxxx. 16.

The Sketch that you made of North East Harbour, and [which] is mentioned in your Letter of the 11th June, was received by this Government from the Commodore, whose Sentiments, upon a removal of the small Establishment now at **Chatham Island** [in Port Blair], to the Harbour in question, have been communicated to Lord Cornwallis, His Lordship has been also furnished with a Copy of the Survey, and requested to arrange the matter finally with his Excellency in such manner as shall appear to him most expedient; You will therefore attend to any Instructions that you may receive from the Governor General, or the Commodore on the Subject.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Ranger, at this Presidency, a survey of the Vessell was ordered, and essential Repairs were found necessary, as you will observe from the enclosed Copy of a Letter, dated the 9th of July from the Master Attendant and the papers transmitted with it.

The repairs were authorized, and she is now completely refitted and provided with Stores. The board were in hopes that she would be in readiness to take her departure about the 20th of last Month, so that the Snow might arrive at the Andaman's by the end of it, and they were particularly solicitous that this should be the case, as you expected it, and had observed that the Provision you had in Store would be sufficient for the Settlement till that time. It appears, however, that, after using every expedition for the Purpose, the Vessell was not in Readiness so soon as was hoped; and it happened unluckily that, when she was prepared to go, a Vessell in the River run foul of her, and occasioned some Damage, the Repair of which has detained her two or three days longer; But the Board trust that the supply you must have received from **the Viper** will have prevented any Distress from the unavoidable Delay in the arrival of the Ranger at **the Andamans.**

A Consignment of Sicca Rupees 10,000 is made to You by this Opportunity. You will receive enclosed a List of the Stores and Provisions put on board, and **Lieutenant Wales** takes with him the People you required for a relief.

I have the Board's Instructions to desire that you will be pleased to transmit a General Account of your receipts and Expenditures of Money, as well of Stores and Provisions from the time that you were placed in Charge of the Settlement at the Andamans, to the latest Period, and that you will make it a rule to forward the same, in Monthly Statements, as opportunities offer.

Fort William, I am, etca., (Sig.) **E. Hay, Secry. Genl.**

2d. September 1791.

1791. — No. IX.

Fort William, **25th November 1791.** The following **Letter was received from Lt. Blair upon the arrival of the Viper on the 23rd Instant.**

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I have the Satisfaction to perceive by your letter of September 2d. which was received by the Ranger the 19th of the Same Month, that you had received the Several Letters that I had written previous to that period.

I am happy that Government has received the Sketch of **Northeast Harbour,** with the Commodores Sentiments on that Subject. I shall be prepared to execute such Orders as the Right Honble. the Governor General, or the Honble. Commodore Cornwallis May think necessary to issue, relating to the removal of the Settlement.

I was Convinced that the Ranger wanted Considerable repairs, and I am happy to find that they have been well executed.

Dubious of the accidents which might happen at so bad a Season, as when the Ranger would quit Calcutta, I judge [d] it necessary to **dispatch the Viper to Prince of Wales Id.** for a Supply of Provisions and the event has proved the propriety of that measure; for we should have been very Short of Provision indeed, had I not taken that precaution. The Concern you have given yourself in dispatching the Ranger as early as possible, and your expressing regret, that it Could not be done sooner, deserve my Warmest acknowledgements and those of the Settlement.

By Lieutt. Wales I have received Sicca Rupees (10,000) and also the Provisions I wrote for which are of good quality, in this as well as in every Other instance I have Reason to acknowledge the official punctuality of the Marine Pay Master.

In Consequence of the instructions of the Honble. Board I transmit the following Papers :—

No. 1. A General Account of receipts and expenditure of Money.

No. 3. A Monthly Abstract and Paylist.

No. 2. Receipts and Monthly expence of Provision.

No. 4. Particular Account of Stores purchased at Calcutta and other places.

No. 5. An Expence of Stores.

No. 6. A State of the Settlement and Inventory of Stores remaining.

No. 7. An Indent for Provisions.

Being unacquainted with official forms I hope to meet indulgence from the Board, Should the Stile of my Account be unusual.

It will be perceived that I have Charged myself with work performed by the Sawyers, and with Some Stores for my decked Boat the Leeboard, and also that I have made a Charge for Service on which I have employed that Vessel, on the Company's Account; in Surveying she has been particularly useful, and Occasionally saved the other Vessels from running into narrow passages, where they might have met with accidents, upon the whole, I have little doubt but the Charge will be deemed Moderate. Before I close the Subject of my Accounts I must request you to remind the Honble. Board, that Since my arrival at this place, I have only drawn an allowance as Surveyor, and that My Situation obliges me to incur Some extraordinary expence. I therefore hope it will not be deemed improper to request that an adequate Allowance May be granted me, and to Commence from the time of my arrival.

His Majestys **Sloop Ariel** arrived here the 28th Ultimo, 28 Days from Madrass, **Captain Bazely** informs me that the Commodore had gone round to the Malabar Coast; this Circumstance, together with Captain Bazely's Orders, enclines me to think that the removal of the Settlement will not be an immediate Object.

The Viper now proceeds to Calcutta and as there is Provision in Store, to last to the Middle of Feby. the immediate return of that Vessel May be dispensed with, Should Government have occasion to Send her on other Service. I propose dispatching my decked Boat to Calcutta about the 10th which will afford me an opportunity of addressing you again and it will also afford you the means of transmitting me the Commands of Government.

You will perceive by my Accounts the Small balance Remaining in my hands, which Obliges me to Solicit a further Supply of (6000) Sicca Rupees for Current Charges, to be sent by the Viper or **Leeboard.**

I inclose a Lettter from **Mr. Wood the Surgeon** and am happy that Circumstances enable me to Comply with his Request, as I have Reason to be Well Satisfied with his Conduct. He proposes to return with the Viper or Leeboard.

I have the Satisfaction to forward **a Survey of a Narrow Strait, executed by Lieutt. Wales,** which has been mentioned in a former Letter It proves too intricate for Large Ships, but will afford an easy Communication between the east and West Coasts.

Chatham Island, I have the honour to be, etca, (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Port Cornwallis,

3rd Novr. 1791.

Enclosed in the Letter from Lieutt. Blair.

Sir, — As Business of importance to me, Occasioned by the death of my Brother late an Assistant Surgeon on the Bengal establishment, requires my attendance at Calcutta as soon as possible, I have

taken the liberty to Request your permission to proceed to that place, on the Viper, the Opportunity which at present Occurs.

The people on the Island are at present very healthy, and there is little Chance of Sickness now prevailing, Since the fair Weather is Set in. I therefore imagine no detriment Can follow from your Complying with my Request, Besides the Surgeon of the Ariel has Obligingly offered to give his Assistance, should any accident happen.

I am with Respect Sir, Your Most Obedient Humble Servant (Signed) **David Wood.**

Chatham Island,

October 30th, 1791.

To Lieutenant Archibald Blair, Chatham Island.

Ordered that the Accounts, enclosed in Lieutt. Blair's Letter of the 3d. Instant, but [? be] Sent to the Marine Pay Master, together with an Extract of his Letter so far as it appertains to them.

Ordered that the Survey executed by Lieutt. Wales be deposited in the Secretary's Office.

1791. — No. X.

Fort William, 16th December 1791. The following **Letter** was received, on the 15th instant **from Lieutt. Blair by a Vessel named the Leaboard.**

Lieutt. Blair. 24th Novr. 1791.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I had the honor to address you the 4th instant by the Viper, when I transmitted my Accounts relating to this Settlement brought up to the end of September last and I also inclosed an Indent for such Provisions as the Viper could stow. Previous to the departure of this Vessel she had been employed **examining a Bank to S. W. of the Little Andaman** [Dalrymple Bank], and it will appear by the Chart forewar[d]ed in her, that the Ranger accompanyed by the Leeboard had been emplo[y]ed cince her arrival from Calcutta in surveying a narrow Strait [Andaman or Middle Strait] situated in Latd. 12° 0′ 2 No. and oppening to sea on the west coast, in Latd. 12° 13′ No. Lieutt. Wales was dispatched the 6th instant to examin the **Invisible Bank,** and I expected his return about the 14th. The 20th when H. M. Ship Ariel sailed for Madrass I was rather apprehensive that some misfortune might have happened to the Ranger, from her being so much longer out than I expected, which induced me to write a short letter by that ship, expressive of my doubts on that head, and mentioned my intention of postponing the Leeboard to send in quest of her. The 22d. I was resolved to have sent the Leeboard out in search ; but at 2 in the afternoon was relieved from my anxiety by the appearance of the Ranger off this Port. The 23rd the Ranger arrived, when I was informed by Lieutt. Wales, that his detention had been occasioned by very unsettled winds and currents; that he had been repeatedly drove off the Bank, and found it impossible fully to execute my Orders, which must be defered until the N. E. Monsoon is settled. Those services will make the navigation of the coasts more safe, and appeared to me the most useful on which the Vessels could be employed. The Ranger will proceed in a few days to explore another Bank eight leagues west from the north end of the Great Andaman.

This will be delivered by Mr. Clark the Gunner of the Settlement who I have dispatched for Calcutta in charge of the Leeboard, for some Stores; and to receive such Letters as Government may have occasion to send to this place.

Should the Viper be employed on other service I must request you will be so good as to inform me, by the return of the Leeboard, that I may take the proper measures, to procure a supply of Provisions in time.

The Labourers and Gardeners are at present employed, clearing cultivating and planting, a piece of Ground, for a Garden and Plantation to the S. E. of this island, which is in sight and near enough to be protected by the Redoubt; From its favorable situation and the quality of the soil I have no doubt

of it proving productive. The probability of removal to Northeast Harbour would have detered me from this undertaking, if attended with any extra expence.

Chatham Island, I am, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

Novr. 24th, 1791. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

The Secretary reporting that Lieutt. Blair is in want of a small quantity of Stationary, Agreed that Orders be given for Supplying it.

1792. — No. I.

Fort William, 4th January 1792. Read a Letter from **Captain Blair.**

Captn. Blair.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to Government.

Sir, — I had the pleasure to address you the 4th inst. by the Viper wherein I mentioned my intention of dispatching the Leeboard about the 10th, but as the Ranger was sent to examine the Invisible Bank the 6th from whence (to my surprise) she is not yet returned I think of postponing the dispatch of the little Vessel that I may have the power of going in quest of the Ranger should she not make her appearance in a few days.

There is Provision in Store to last to the middle of February, I think it necessary to mention this circumstance that a Supply may be sent in time, in the case of adverse accidents happening to the Viper or Leeboard, — I am, etca.,

Chatham Isld., (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Novr. 20th, 1791.

1792. — No. II.

Fort William, the **24th February 1792.** The Viper being on her departure to the Andamans, Ordered that the Vessel be dispatched, and that the following Letter be written to Lieut. Blair by the Secretary.

To Lieut. Blair at the Andamans. 24th Febry.

Sir, — Upon the arrival of the Viper, at this Presidency, on the 23rd of November, I received your Letter, dated the 3d. of that Month, and it was laid before the Governor General in Council, with the several Accounts and Papers to which it refers. I have also to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 24 of November, which was received on the 15th of December by the Leeboard.

The Board have desired me to acquaint you, in Respect to your allowance that they have referred your application to the Governor General and will determine on the Receipt of his Lordship's Answer, whether any and what addition can be granted.

You will receive by the Viper, which now returns to the Andamans, a Supply of eight thousand Rupees ; on the Leeboard — which took her Departure from hence, on the 27th of December, a Small Quantity of Stationary was Dispatched to you According to your Request.

Mr. Wood the Surgeon at the Settlement returns on the Viper.

The Board have desired me to transmit to you the enclosed Copy of a Letter dated the 8th of December from **Lieutt. Roper** to the Marine Paymaster and Naval Storekeeper. The Detachment of Sepoys which was embarked on board the Vessel at Bombay in the Year 1787 has been Returned to that Presidency, and an Establishment corresponding with the Accompanying List has been appointed for her to take place from the 1st Ultimo.

The Naval Storekeeper was directed to receive the unserviceable Stores, which were returned from the Viper, and a Supply of six months according to the enclosed Copy of Lieutt. Roper's Indent has been put on board.

Council Chr., I am, etca.,

24th February 1792.

1792. — No. III.

Fort William, **18th April 1792**. The Secretary lays before the Board a Letter received this Morning **from Lieutenant Blair** at the Andamans by the Snow Ranger. On the Service.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to the Government.

Sir, — I had the honor to receive your Letter of February 24th by the Viper, which arrived here the 13th Instant, wherein you acknowledge the Receipt of my Letters by the Viper and Leeboard.

I am happy to inform you that the Settlement have been so Healthy as to have suffered no Injury from the Absence of the Surgeon who is now returned.

The Provisions indented for by the Viper were landed in good order and are of good Quality.

Since the date of my last by the Leeboard, the Ranger has been employed examining **a Shoal near the North West part of the great Andaman** a Plan of which accompanys this — Lieutt. Wales has also reexamined the Invisible Bank, without finding any Danger than what has been already expressed in the General Chart of the Andamans — He has also been employed to determine the relative situation of **Pulo Rondo, with the Southern Nicobar**, but variable inconstant Winds and Currents prevented his compleating that Service; what he was able to perform will be of future use when that business is resumed : The Ranger was dispatched on this last Service the 26th of January last, when I every day expected the Viper with Supplies from Calcutta. On the 6th of February I thought it necessary to reduce the Allowance and dispatch the Leeboard to Prince of Wales Island for Provisions, and she returned the 4th Instant with a sufficiency of the Principle Articles for two Months, and fortunately in the intermediate time, a small Vessel from **Persaim** [Bassein in Burma] touched here from which I procured a small supply of Rice and Yams; those with my own Stock of Sheep and Goats, made the reduced Allowance little felt by the People — On the Arrival of the Leeboard they were again served their full Allowance.

The Natives have been perfectly inoffensive for a long time, and are becoming every day more familiar, they seem now convinced that our intentions towards them, are pacific — One of them was lately *(sic)* a Trip in the Ranger by his own desire, and returned highly pleased with an Investment of Cocanuts: this mode of treatment will tend to conciliate and civilize them. Indeed the effects are already evident.

I take this Opportunity of transmitting the several Accounts relating to the Settlement. No. 1 is a Return and Pay List. No. 2. Receipts and expence of Provisions, No. 3. Receipts and Disbursements of Cash, No. 4. Account particulars of Stores purchased, No. 5. A Monthly expence of Stores. No. 6. a State of the Settlement and Inventory of Stores, and No. 7. an Indent for Provisions and Stores, which I request may be sent by the Return of the Ranger.

I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever His Lordship, and the Honourable Board may determine respecting my Allowance.

The 8,000 eight thousand Rupees sent by the Viper, and the Stationary by the Leeboard, arrived safe.

There is Provisions in Store for two Months only from this day, which induces me to solicit that the Ranger may be dispatched with the Supplies as soon as possible; but as it would be improper to trust entirely to the Return of that Vessel. I propose sending the Viper to Prince of Wales Island for Rice.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

[No date.] (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Ordered that **the Plan**, received from Lieutenant Blair of the Shoal near the North West part of the Great Andaman be deposited in the Secretary's Office.

Ordered that No. 6 of the Enclosures in Lieutenant Blair's Letter be entered in the Appendix, that Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, be sent to the Acting Marine Pay Master, and that No. 7 be transmitted to the

Naval Store Keeper with directions to comply with the Indent, applying to the Commissary of Stores for the following Articles :—

Cannon Powder	2 Barrels
Priming	1 Do.
Musquet Balls	1 Maund

Ordered that the Military Board be instructed to direct the Commissary of Stores to supply these Articles, on the Application of the Acting Naval Storekeeper.

Ordered that directions be given to the Acting Naval Storekeeper to comply with the Indent as soon as possible that no Delay may take place in the Return of the Ranger to the Andamans.

Appendix A.

Appendix to Consultation 18th April 1792. **State of the Settlement at Port Cornwallis, February 29th, 1792.**

A small Redoubt with Guard Room and Magazine four Carriage Guns and four two pound Swivels —

Musquets with Bayonets...	24
Three pound Round Shot	192
Two Pound Do.	90
Grape Shot	40
Do. of 2 pound	45

Three Gardens on C[h]atham Island and one on the great Island well stocked with a Variety of Fruit Trees and Vegetables.

A Dwelling Bungalow of 40 feet by 18 which will last some Years with triffling repairs.

A Granary in good repair which will contain 1000 Bags of Rice.

Huts for 150 Artificers and Laborers, constructed of umber and Bamboo Mats and easily keeped in Repair.

A Wooden Wharf at the S. W. point of the Island with a Turtle Pen.

A Wharf of Umber and Stones on the South side of the Island, with sufficient depth of Water to heave down a Line of Battle Ship.

Stores.

Steel	1½ Fagot
Spades	26
Pick Axes	48
Europe Hatchets	44
Country Hoes	26
Ditto Axes	19
Shovels	... ...
Folling *(sic)* Axes	... ...
Carpenters Tools	... ...
Smiths Do.	1 Sett
Fishing Nets	... ...
Nails of Sorts	1½ Md.
Powder	2 Barrels

(Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

1792. — No. IV.

Fort William, the **7th of September 1792.** Read a letter from Lieuit. Archd. Blair. On the Service.

Lt. Blair. 4th Sept.

To Edward Hay, Esqre., Secry. to Govt.

Sir. — To enable me to pay the Arrears due to Artificers, Lascars and Laborers which I have brought with me from Port Cornwallis, to be discharged, and to balance the Accounts relating to that Settlement to the end of July last, I have to request that, Seven thousand Sicca Rupees (7,000 Rs.) may be advanced me in account, which you will be so good as to represent to the Right Honble. the Governor General in Council.

Having brought specimens of the most useful timber and also about twelve hundred Maunds of the **Red Saunders Die Wood,**[? Andaman *Padauk*] I request to know if Government will wish to have the whole or a part of the latter, on account of the Honble. Company.

I am, etca.,

Tuesday, **Septr. 4th, 1792.** (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Agreed that an Order on the Treasury be issued, in favor of the Acting Marine Paymaster for Sicca Rupees 7,000 to enable him to advance that Amount to Lieutt. Blair for the purpose mentioned in his letter.

With respect to the Die Wood, the Secretary having ascertained that it will not be wanted by the Board of Trade, except perhaps about a Maund of it,

Order'd that Lt. Blair be desired to send so much of it to that Board, and Acquainted that he may dispose of the Remainder as he thinks proper.

The Board of Trade are to be informed that Lieutenant Blair will furnish them with a Maund of Red Saunders Die Wood, which he has brought from the Andamans.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 261.)

Section III. — Guards.

The ideas and practices that illustrate the struggle between man and the Evil Eye have the merit of belonging to an early stage of experience and belief. The ideas and practices shew that, like witchcraft, the Evil Eye is evil because it is spirit-laden ; that an attack of the Evil Eye is a case of possession; and that the cure of sickness caused by an evil glance is an exorcism, that is, the casting out of a possessing evil spirit Second, the ideas and practices shew that, with few exceptions, the articles used as guards, or as cures, owe their use to an early and inherent guardian virtue. It is true that to focus evil influences in the human eye implies a considerable advance, or change, from the early view that Nature is alive with evil influences, some of which are envious and mischievous, others who either roam in the air houseless like swarms of gnats or who make their dwellings in rock, plant and beast as readily as in man. Still the evidence shews that, like the rites and beliefs connected with witchcraft, the rites and beliefs connected with the Evil Eye find their sense and explanation in the experience that the poison of the Evil Eye is a spirit which through the eye passes or attempts to pass into the victim : and that the attempted entry must be checked by cheating or drawing aside the spirit or if the entry has been effected by driving the spirit out. With regard to the measures taken to baffle or drive out the evil spirit of the evil glance it is again true that a late element is to be found in certain of the rites employed to overcome the Evil Eye, which are taken from the ritual of exorcism authorised by leading modern religions : it is also true that among the peoples who profess the classic, Moslim, Christian and other higher faiths the practice prevails of invoking the names of

their greater Guardians against the Evil Eye. In spite of these later elements it remains true that, with few exceptions, the articles that keep off the Evil Eye are articles whose healing or other evil-scaring qualities have secured them an early place among the army of guardians. It is true that many of these articles have merged into the higher guardians and under the title of emblems have lost their personality. Still, so far as these articles are used to keep off the Evil Eye, their use as charms is due to their original fame as guardians and not to their later and hazier worshipfulness as emblems. So far as it keeps off the Evil Eye the horn is not the emblem of the Moon, nor the Cross of Christianity, nor the phallus of Priapus nor the eye of Bacchus or Osiris ; the brass cock on the saddle bow is not the emblem of St. Peter, nor is the silver bird an emblem of the Holy Ghost : the wolfskin flag on the top of a horse collar is not an emblem of the guardian of Rome, nor is the brass snake on the saddle bow a type of Aesculapius, nor is the open brass hand a sign of Justice or of the Almighty. The value of all these Neapolitan charms against the Evil Eye (like the value of the horn of deer or oxhorn, the catskull, the snake skin, the serpent's skeleton, the tuft of wolf's fur, the fox's brush, the tiger's tooth or whiskers, the small human bones sold as Evil Eye charms in the streets of Bombay) is their old-world and inherent virtue as spirit-housers and scarers. In the vast storehouse of amulets against the Evil Eye, according to Italian authorities, every one was known to the ancients. The moderns have not added a single horn.[55]

Amulets or guards are at once spirit-scarers and spirit-homes. How the two opposite ideas of scaring and housing came to blend in the same article, word or gesture is not clear. The two modes of treating influences seem to belong to two stages in the history of man : Scaring to the earlier and savager stage when the influences were held to be so fiercely hostile to man that no treatment but scaring could save man from their attacks; and housing or squaring to the later and milder stage, when, in consequence of the growth of the guardian idea — the earliest guardian being the squared fiend [56] — the bulk of influences were supposed to be disembodied spirits not so much hostile to man as uneasily in search of a new body or material home and therefore ready to turn into guardians if a suitable lodging was provided for them. Though the change from spirit-scaring to spirit-squaring may be a result of the spread of man's control over his surroundings and over his passions a second result of this increased power and control tended to strengthen rather than to weaken the horror of wandering spirits. Though the squared fiend may be the earliest guardian, the guardian idea finds a basis in, and must have been mainly built up by, man's experience of devotion and self-sacrifice among men and women and of useful and healing properties in animals, plants and stones. As the character of the guardian was raised from the squared fiend to the heroic human, the character of the non-guardian was lowered from an uneasy lodging-seeker to a bitter and unscrupulous foe. Under the influence of this change the belief that by squaring or housing them hostile influences might be turned into guardians became less and less tenable. In consequence of this change what originally were homes for wandering uneasy spirits became fiend-prisons, of which as a rule some guardian influence was jailor. At further stages of human development, when a higher and more general religion was started, the supporters of the new faith claimed for their Guardian complete power as well as entire good will to man. At the same time in practice the new Guardian failed to remove the larger share of the evils of life. Their experience of the evils of life inclined the mass of men, though in name adherents of the new faith, to continue to ascribe to the new guardian the fiend and human attributes of wrath and jealousy which belonged to the earlier guardians. At the same time their experience of good luck, which they could hardly trace to the new guardian, kept alive the early belief in the kindly side of non-guardian influences. Among the mass of men the word devil has often a

55 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 204.

56 Nemesis — the fiend Envy before she was the goddess Retribution — was both in Greece and Rome the chief guardian against the Evil Eye. Pliny in Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 150; Valetta in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 21.

kindly sound, poor devil, nice little devil. The devil is more laughed at and pitied than hated. He is clumsy, dull, placable, a giant rather than a fiend. To remedy the evils which the new type of guardian failed to redress, devices which belonged to the earlier beliefs were either embodied in the new religion or were continued outside of its pale. Thus the higher religions have subordinate influences and channels filled with the guardian spirit which in many cases have been borrowed from the noble army of earlier guardians. Others of the earlier beliefs and practices, which the new religion failed to assimilate, have been continued outside its pale. These discarded beliefs and devices are what is known as white or good magic. To this white magic the new religions are more or less hostile, since the continued resort to early guardian rites and beliefs proves that the guardian arrangements of the new religion fail to remove or redress the evils of life. Those three results, namely, (*a*) the continuance of the early beliefs and practices of white magic; (*b*) the adoption into the newer religions of early local guardians and their attributes; and (*c*) the introduction of guardian influences and channels peculiar to the new religion, explain how among the devices for turning aside the Evil Eye guardian articles and rites peculiar to the latest religions stand side by side with devices for housing, prisoning and scaring unkindly influences which through the older general religions reach back to the earliest spirit-pleasing and spirit-scaring practices.[57]

The chief means of guarding against the Evil Eye is to draw away the glance from the object gazed at. An unwholesome glance of envy or admiration can be most easily turned aside by showing or wearing some article which baffles the glance and prevents it entering the person or object envied or admired. As has been noticed in the "Introduction," articles endowed with the guardian virtue of baffling the unwholesome glance act in three oddly blended ways, by scaring, by prisoning, by housing. At the sight of one of these guardian articles some invading or trespassing spirits may flee, others may be dragged in and imprisoned, a third class may be housed and finding a home become guardian influences. A list of the leading articles which possess the guardian virtues of scaring, prisoning and housing evil influences is given below.

A second leading means of employing guardian-influences to turn aside evil glances is based on the protecting power of the higher religious guardians. This influence may be secured by prayers, by uttering the name of the guardian, or by wearing his image or symbol. The practices of prayer and of wearing symbols are too common and widespread to require illustration.[58] The following are examples of the use of the Guardian's name: In Egypt, Turkey, Palestine, Algiers, Greece and Spain, if you praise a child you must say:—"God keep it."[59] The Turkish, Persian or Indian Musalmân, when his child or his belongings are praised says:—"*Mâ-shâ-allah*, what God wishes (happens)."[60] The Italian, if his health is praised, says: —"Thanks to God;" if her child is praised an Italian nurse says:—"Thank God."[61] Zoroaster (B. C. 600) ordered the Persians, when they saw a pleasing object, to say over it the name of God.[62]

(To be continued.)

[57] In Italy, the belief in white magic, *la magia bianca*, is shewn by the eager resort to white witches for advice regarding lucky tickets in Government lotteries. Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 4. The blending of the use of the earliest charms against the Evil Eye with the highest ceremonies of the Christian religion is shewn at Naples during any serious eruption of Vesuvius. The continued strength of the early idea that the eruption is the work of evil spirits and that during an eruption the air is full of evil influences appears from the special demand which then prevails for all charms against the Evil Eye. Besides seeking the aid of charms half of the population are on their knees in the streets praying. Processions of clergy and monks carry the Blessed Sacrament or even the relics of St. Jennaro himself to the scene of danger: the air resounds with litanies: never was there a people in such an agonised state of repentance for their sins. Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 11. According to Mr. Elworthy (*The Evil Eye*, p. 210) a lion with a book in its paw, that is, the Lion of St. Mark, is the only Christian emblem among the crowds of early Neapolitan spirit-scares and houses.

[58] As early as B. C. 2000 the Accadians or primitive Chaldeans called on their guardians to keep away the Evil Eye. Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic*, p. 5.

[59] Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 12, 13.

[60] Khân Bahâdur Fazl Lutfullah Faridi.

[61] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 159.

[62] *Dabistân*, Vol. I. p. 317.

THE WRECK OF THE "DODDINGTON," 1755.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 299.*)

I. — The Pamphlet.[8]

A Particular Account of the Loss of the Doddington-Indiaman, and of the Adventures of those on Board who surviv'd the Shipwreck, from the Journal of one of the surviving Officers.[9]

The Account, etc. — The Doddington, Capt. Samson, sailed from the Downs on the **23rd of April 1755**, in company with the **Pelham, Houghton, Streatham, and Edgecourt,** all in the service of the East India Company, and on the 21st of May they got into Porto Prior [Praya] bay. On the 27th of May the Doddington, Pelham, Streatham, and Houghton, having taken in the water proceeded on the voyage together, but the Doddington separated from them the next day, and continued her voyage with nothing material till **July 17**, when a quarter before one in the morning she struck. **The officer, from whose journal this account is taken,** was then asleep in his cabin, but he being suddenly awaked by the shock, he started up in the utmost consternation, and made all the haste he could to get upon deck, where he saw the men dashed to and fro by the violence of the sea that rolled over them, and the ship breaking to pieces at every stroke of the surge; he crawled over with great difficulty to the larboard side of the quarter-deck, where he found the captain, who said little more than they must all perish; in a few minutes a sea parted them and he saw him no more. He made a shift to get back to the quarter-deck, but much bruised, and the small bone of his left arm broke. In this dreadful situation, expecting every moment to be swallowed up, he heard somebody cry out Land, but at the same moment a sea broke over him with great violence and stunned him by a violent blow on his eye; tho' from this time he lay insensible till after day-light; yet he continued upon the wreck; and when he recovered he found himself made fast to a plank, by a nail that had been forced into his shoulder, besides the pain that he felt from his wounds and bruises, he was now so benumbed with cold, that he could scarce move either hand or foot; so that it was a considerable time before he could disengage himself and crawl on shore.

The shore was a barren uninhabited rock, about 250 leagues to the east of the cape of Good Hope. Here were now **Mr. Evan Jones, chief mate,** Mr. John Collet 2d. Mr. William Webb 3d. and Mr. S. Powel, 5th mate; Richard Topping, carpenter, Neal Bothwel and Nathaniel Chisholm, quarter masters, Daniel Ladova, the captain's steward, Henry Sharp the surgeon's servant, Thomas Arnold, a black, and John Mackdowal, servants to the captain. Robert Beaseley, John King, Gilbert Chain, Terence Mole, Jonas Rosenbury, John Glass, — Taylor and Hendrick Scantz, seamen; John Yets, midshipman, and John Lister, Ralph Smith, and Edward Dysoy, matrosses.[10] These persons, being 23 in number, were all that remained of 270 souls that were on board when the ship struck.

Their first care was to search among the things which had been thrown upon the rocks from the ship, for something to cover them, in which they succeeded beyond their hopes. The next thing they felt the want of was fire, when they happened to discover two gun flints and a broken file, which was a joyful acquisition; on farther search they discovered a barrel of gunpowder, a little of which at the bottom was dry, some of this they bruised on a linen rag, which served them for tinder, and a fire was soon made; the bruised and wounded gathered about it, and the rest went in search of other necessaries. In the afternoon a box of wax candles, and a case of brandy were brought in, soon after some others of the party returned with an account that they had discovered a cask almost full of fresh water, and **Mr. Jones** brought in some pieces of salt pork, and soon after some others arrived, driving before them seven hogs, which had come on shore alive. The approach of night made it necessary to provide some shelter, all hands therefore were employed to make a tent of some canvas that,

[8] No date. London. Printed for L. How, on Snow Hill.

[9] [My impression is that this is a literary version of Evan Jones's *Account* with certain "recollections" added which do not find a place in the MS. — ED.]

[10] This is practically the same list as that given in the MS.

had been thrown on shore, which was at last effected, though it was so small for want of more sail cloth, that it would not hold them all. The island was much frequented by a kind of water fowl, something larger than a duck, called a gannet, and the highest part of it was covered with their dung, upon this part they were obliged to build their tent, for fear of being overflowed, and they placed those who could not walk, under the tent, and kindled a fire near them, but as they had passed the day without food, so they passed the night without rest; for besides, that they were sunk a foot in the fowl's dung, the night was so tempestuous that the wind blew away the fire, and before it could be scraped together again, the rain put it out.

In the morning, which was Friday, **July the 18th,** those that were able went again about the rock, to see what they could save from the wreck, and found one cask of beer and one of flour, but after these were secured the tide flowed up, and put a stop to the work of that day. The company therefore was called together to eat their first meal, and some rashers of pork were broiled upon the coals for dinner. The sitting down thus disconsolate and forlorn, caused them to break out into passionate lamentations, till one of them recollecting the carpenter was among them, they might build a sloop if they could procure materials and tools, their joy on this is inexpressible, and from that moment the boat engrossed their whole conversation.

When they had finished their repast, some went in search of tools, and others to mend the tent. Saturday and Sunday they found several useful things, as files, sail needles, and an azimuth compass card, and a chest of treasure, etc. The same day they found **the body of a gentlewoman, which they knew to be that of Mrs. Collet, the wife of their second mate,** who was then at a little distance from the spot. The mutual affection of this couple was remarkably tender, and Mr. Jones immediately stept aside to **Mr. Collet**, and found means to take him to the other side of the rock, while they dug a grave in the birds dung, in which they deposited the body, reading over it the burial service, from a French prayer book, which had driven ashore with her from the wreck. Having thus paid the debt of humanity to the dead, and concealed from Mr. Collet a sight which would have most sensibly affected him, they found means after some days, to disclose to him by degrees what they had done, and to give him the wedding ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion, and spent many days in erecting **a Monument over the grave.**[11]

On Monday, July 21, they secured some more water and pork, and found some timber, plank, cordage, and canvas, these they secured with great joy for the boat, though as yet they were in want of many implements, without which it was impossible for the carpenter to work, he had just finished a saw but he had neither hammer nor nails, it happen'd, however, that one of the seamen, **Hendrick Scantz, a Sweed,** having picked up an old pair of bellows, told them that he had been by profession a smith, and that by the help of a forge which they might build by his direction; he could supply the carpenter with all the tools he should want, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning the timber which had come on shore from the wreck.

Thursday, July 24, the carpenter, assisted by **Chesholm** the quarter-master, began to work upon the keel of the boat, which they determined should be a sloop, 30 feet long and 12 wide. This day also the smith finished his forge, and from this time the carpenter and smith continued to work with indefatigable diligence till **the 31st,** when the carpenter fell sick.

In two days the carpenter recovered, but the stores they saved from the wreck were so near exhausted, that they came to an allowance of two ounces of bread a man per day, and had no salt pork, unless what they had determined to keep to victual their boat, water also fell short. They had recourse to several expedients in this distress; they knock'd down several of the gannets, but their flesh was rank, and as black as a shoe. They also made **a float called a catamaran,** on which they proposed to go out a fishing.

[11] There is oddly enough not a word of this in Evan Jones's diary though the monument was found by Fitzmaurice in 1814, who erroneously supposed it to be over the body of the wife of the Chief Mate.

When they were driven to great distress they killed a hog, but they had generally success in fishing on a float. It happened, however, that Mr. Collet and **Mr. Yets,** were very near being driven out to sea on one of these floats, where they would have inevitably perished. As they were now afraid of venturing any more upon the raft, the carpenter put the little boat into complete repair. Their success in fishing was very uncertain, nor was the supplies they obtained on shore less precarious.

They had now been inhabitants of this desolate rock seven weeks, and during this time they had often seen a great smoke on the main land, which made them very desirous to send the boat, and accordingly **Bothwell, Rosenbury and Taylor,** set out on the discovery. In about two days they began to be very uneasy for the return of the boat, but just as they were sitting down to dinner, they espied her, and in about an hour she came in. The account which was given by the two adventurers after they were refreshed by sleep was to this effect.

About three o'clock on the day they set out they got round a point, about six leagues east of the rock, as they approached it had the appearance of a double point, which encouraged them to hope, that between the two points they should find an harbour; but in this hope they were disappointed, for they found a large surf all along the coast. However, about five o'clock, having only seen one of the natives, they ventured to pull in for the shore, but the moment they got into the surf the boat overset. By this accident poor Bothwell was drowned, and the other two, who reached the shore in an exhausted and feeble condition, were left destitute of every kind of provision, except a small keg of brandy. As soon as they had recovered their strength a little, they crawl'd along the shore to see for their boat, having no other shelter from the wild beasts, which might be expected to come abroad in the night. After some search they found her, but they were too weak to get her up, and darkness coming on, they were obliged to lie down on the sand, with no other covering than the branches of a tree, and in this condition they passed the night. As soon as the morning dawned, they went again to look for the boat, which the surf had driven from where they left her. As they walked along the coast they saw a man and advanced towards him, upon which he ran away into the woods, that lay near the beach, and were very thick. They went on, and soon after discovered the body of their companion **Bothwell,** which had been dragged up the sand a considerable distance from the water, and had been torn to pieces by some wild beasts. This terrified them exceedingly, and having found the boat, the dread of passing another night on shore determined them immediately to return. They were however prevented in the attempt by a fresh gale at west, and before they could put back the boat overset with them a second time, and drove with them along the shore. After much struggling and swimming they got once more safe on the land, but as they had now been fasting ever since three o'clock the day before, they were fainting with hunger and fatigue. It happened, however, that they met with a fruit resembling an apple, which they eagerly gathered and eat, without knowing its name or quality. By good fortune it did them no harm, and being refreshed by their antidiluvian repast, they made shift to hawl the boat on shore, and turning it upside down, they crept under it to sleep, being thus sheltered from the weather and secured against the wild beasts. Those who know the irresistible power of sleep, after long watching and excessive labour, will not conclude that their first slumber was short, because their situation was incommodious or insecure; they waked however before the next morning, and peeping under the edge of the boat, they could discern the feet of several creatures, which by their claws they supposed to be tygers, pass by them to and again. This was a sufficient motive to remain in their resting place till the morning, when they looked out again, and saw the feet of a man. Upon this discovery they came from under the boat, to the great astonishment of the poor savage and two other men and a boy who were at some distance. When they had got all together, and were a little recovered from their surprize, they made signs to the sailors to go away, which they endeavoured to do, though they went to move but very slowly. Before they they had got far from the boat, a considerable number of the natives ran down upon them with their lances. It happen'd that **Rosenberry** had picked up the mast of the boat, and a pistol which had been washed on shore, as he went along; being thus armed, when the Indians came down upon him, and being besides unable to run, he imprudently turned about, and exerting all his strength, advanc'd towards them in a

threatening manner, supposing that they would have been seized with a panic, and retreated into the woods. It happened, however, that he was mistaken; for instead of running away, they surrounded him, and began to whet their lances. Taylor thought it was now time to try what could be done by supplication, he therefore threw himself upon his knees, and in a piteous tone cried out for mercy, but Rosenberry took refuge in the water.

The savages immediately came up to **Taylor**, and began to strip him: he suffered them quietly to take his shoes and his shirt, but when they attack'd his trowsers he made some resistance, and by his gestures, intreated they would not leave him quite naked, upon which they thought fit to desist. They then made signs for Rosenbury to come to them, who was all this while swimming about in the sea, but he refused and made signs that they would kill him. They then pointed to Taylor, intimating that they had not killed him, upon this he came forward and throwed him his pistol, and, all his cloaths but his shirt, he ventured to put himself into their hands. When he came up they offered him no violence, only held the boats mast and the pistol to him, by way of deriding the folly of his attempt to fright them. They seemed to be very well pleased with the clothes, which they divided among them as far as they would go. they then began to rifle the boat, and having taking all the rope they could find, and the hook by which the rudder hung to the stern post, they began to knock the stern to pieces for the iron which they saw was about it. Next to knocking the poor wretches on the head, this was the worst thing they could do, and, rough as they were, they burst into tears at the injury that was offered to their boat and intreated the savages to desist, with such agony of distress, that they suffered the boat to remain as they found it. Encouraged by this placability and kindness, and urged by hunger; they asked by signs for something to eat, this request was also granted, and having given them some roots, they again made signs for them to depart; upon which they once more launched their boat, and got into it, but the wind blowing strong from the west, they could not put off. the natives perceiving that they were willing to comply with their desires, but not able, covered them with the boat to sleep under, and left them as they had found them. the next morning, the weather being fine, and the wind easterly they launched the boat a third time, and returned back to the rock.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE LOG OF A VOYAGE ALONG THE COAST OF INDIA IN 1746.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

I.

Introductory Remarks.

THE MS. from which these extracts are taken is, with **the other Debonnaire MSS,** in the possession of Major C. R. Tennant of St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough, and belonged to **John Debonnaire the Elder** *(vide* Vol. xxviii, p. 293 *ante)*, who owned it in 1747. It contains the log in question and several miscellaneous matters of some interest at the present day. It has been preserved, no doubt, because of its incidental, and by no means unimportant, references to the history of the period.

The log has been written into a vellum-bound book, intended to contain a MS. of quite another import: commenced, indeed, but for some reason abandoned almost immediately after commencement. The external title of the volume is: — **A Treatise of Moles and Dreams and their Interpretations.** And there is no indication from the outside that the book contains the log of a ship.

It opens with a fuller title for the "Treatise," followed by its commencement, thus: —

A TRETISE | of Moles in all Parts of the Body and | what their Signification with Relation | to Good or Bad FORTUNE

A Mole in the Middle of the fore Head denotes Riches and advancement by the favours of Friends.

A Mole in the right part of the fore Head signifies the life prosperious and successfull in Riches and love affairs; in the left that you shall meet with many Crosses and Disappointments.

A Mole between the Eyes inclining on the Nose, denotes the party to grow Rich by Marriage.

A Mole on the Nose signifies Speedy and ——.

The "Treatise" here comes to an abrupt and untimely end.

The miscellaneous matters which the volume contains all relate to the owners and their private affairs, and throw some interesting lights on the requirements of mariners in India in the middle of the XVIIIth Century.

Incidentally they afford some fine and valuable examples of the Anglo-Indian terminology of the period.

Thus, on the fly-leaf of the opening page we are treated to two nautical terms in the vernacular:—

"top Gall^{t} Sail: ... ... **Baresubba.**
Miz top D^{o} ... ... **Culmegavie.**"

This information is not quite right. *Sabar* is "top-gallant sail" and *baṛá* is "main," so the first expression means "main top-gallant sail." The second expression is correct. Thus, to quote from the authorities:—

1811. — Top sails, *Gavee.* Top gallant sails, **Subur** . . . . By prefixing *tirkut,* fore; *bura,* main; *kulmee,* mizen; any of the three tops required may at once be found. — Roebuck *Naval Dict.* pp. 130 n., 131.

1882. — Main top-gallant sail, **baṛâ sabar**; mizzen top sail, **kilmi gavî.** — Small, *Laskari Dict.* p. 48 n.

Then follow two notes entitled "Of working an Azimuth." These are very complicated and muddled, and are signed "Nancy," to which name some other facetious hand has added the words "my dear Miss." "Nancy," however, was one "Joseph Nancy, Pilot," as is shown by a signature two pages further on over "a/c **Rupee Battie** R. 1 A. 6."

Batty or **batta**[1] is a very old Indo-European word, used in two quite different senses:— as an extra allowance or subsistence money and as the difference in exchange. The former is the sense here, as will be seen from the statements about to be quoted.

What was meant by "Rupee Battie" at the period of the note in the MS., in the latter sense of the expression, can be gathered from Stevens' *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade,* 1775, p. 138 ff., where he gives "the Use of the **Batty or Batta Tables.**"[2] These are tables for turning or reducing Specie to Currency, by "Currency" being meant the R. A. P. of account, as is quaintly explained by Stevens:— "N. B. the Imaginary Rupee, called a Current Rupee, is valued at 2s. 4d. Eng. Sterling, by the Hon. E. I. Company's Exchange" Would that it were so still! The tables that follow show that then the Batty on Arcot specie was

[1] See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson,* and in Appx. *s. v.* One of the best instances I have come across of the use of this word is the following:— "The labour of weighing, beating and throwing [coir] is performed by the Islanders, for which they receive *batta.* It is alleged, apparently with truth, that *batta* was paid originally during the whole detention in Cannanore, but it was reduced in 1826 to 12 seers of rice to each boat (they were manned with 18 men) for the three first days, after which the allowance is made every second day till the coir is stowed." — (Sir) William Robinson, *Report on the Laccadive Islands,* dated 19 May, 1848, but printed by the Madras Government in 1874, p. 72. Here *batta* means *an allowance in kind.*

[2] At pp. 70, 98 (and in other places) Stevens has an important and most interesting variant spelling, *vattau*:— "Surat. The Half per Cent. *Vattau* allowed in last Calculate is now taken off."

8 per cent. in favour of the specie and on Madras specie 10 per cent. This was what was meant by "Batty or Batta 8 per cent. or 10 per cent." Clearly, however, Batty, *i. e.*, the difference of exchange, on a Rupee could never have been Re. 1 As. 6, as that would have meant 37½ per cent.,[3] and so we have to fall back on the interpretation that Mr. Nancy was receiving while actually employed in piloting six annas, or **annoes**[4] as he would have said, by way of Batty, *i. e.*, by way of a special extra allowance, for every Rupee of fixed pay. This was likely enough.

Between the two notes just discussed there is a note of some purchases, or perhaps of articles received and to be accounted for: —

70	7	Bowles
	1	cooly Boat
	1	(?)
	6	**Bonads**
	1	Shoes
	1	**aquel**
	17	
	70	
	53	

In **Bonads** we have a word not in Yule and unique as a recorded Anglo-Indianism, so far as I am aware; but I think that it is clearly for **bânâts**, *i. e.*, cloths.

In **aquel** we have reference to an old article of commerce, widely used and noticed under names greatly differing in form. The usual English form is **eaglewood,** the **aloes**(-wood) of the Bible,[5] given to a highly scented Oriental wood; but the forms given by Yule are sufficient to connect this name with **aquel**:— **aquila, agal, agar, ugger, uggur.** To the quotations given by Yule *s. v.* "eaglewood" may be added the following:—

1595. — There is in Java another sort of wood called **Aguilla Brava** by the Portugueze, but it has not the same virtue as **Aloes.**[6] The Indians use it to burn the Bramenes and great Lords when they are dead. It is as great an honour to be burnt upon a Funeral Pile of that Wood as in Europe to have a sumptuous Monument of Marble. — *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, 1703, p. 220.

1711. — We had a dispute with the Hoppos [at Canton] about a parcel of **Aquala Wood** which we could not sell. — Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 153.

1739. — **Agala-wood** which is much used in Arabia for perfumes. — Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II., Appx., p. 2.

1775. — Price Current | of | Sundry Goods at Surat, | Taken at a Medium, and alphabetically digested. | **Agala Wood** of Malacca at Ru. 20 ℔ Md. of 41½ Seers. (p. 49) — Memorandum for Drugs . . . . **Lignum Aquilla, Lignum Aloes.** Bring none. — Stevens, *Guide*, p. 113.

1813. — **Lignum Aloes** . . . . The trunk is of three colours and distinguished by different names in Commerce. I. **Eagle Wood** is that immediately under the bark, and is black, compact and heavy, somewhat resembling ebony, and is called by the Portuguese, **pao d'aquila,** or **eagle-wood,** and sinks in water. — Milburn, *Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 312.

3 Kelly, *Cambist*, Ed. 1835, Vol. I. p. 86 ff., describes *batta* as a percentage, and says that the Sicca Rupees of the E. I. Company bore a *batta* of 16 per cent. in their favour taking the current rupee at 2s. sterling.

4 *Vide* Stevens, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

5 John, xix. 39.

6 By this is meant "the Wood Aloes called *Calamba* in the Indies and *Pao d'Arguilla* in Portugal . . . . It is an admirable remedy against a Weak and Phlegmatic Stomack and against Pleurisies and Bloody Fluxes" (p. 219 f.). They evidently thought *Pao d'Arguilla* and *Aguilla Brava* to be two different trees, instead of being parts of the same.

The pages that follow contain **washing accounts and inventories** useful to show what clothes a ship's officer used in those days in the East. Thus, we find first a pencil note of washing sent out:—

shirts 9
draw's 4
cap's 9
waiscot's 3
stocks 7
Hand 9
Stockgs 9
towels 3
—
53
pillow
sheets
quilt'd Waiscot's
Blue Shirts

This is followed by a list of things "Belonging to Mr. Prestwood":—

1 Quadrant
1 Leather Cap
1 Waiscot
1 pr off[7] Boots
1 pr of Draws
1 Hand
2 White Caps

This list is in turn followed by a washing account of "May 2nd," and by another, without date, containing a "Check Shirt." Next, we find a valuable list of the clothing of an Anglo-Indian gentleman of the time in a list of

"Things belonging to John Debonnaire August the 8, 1747."

August the 9th, 1747.

Ruffled Shirts	6
plain Do	19
White Waiscot's	6
Stocks	21
New Stockgs	7
Old Do	17
Handkerchiefs	9
Caps...	3
Worst'd Stockg	2
Silk	1
pillow Cases	7
towels	8
Sheet	2
Cotton Cap	1
Duroy Waiscots	3
Do Breeches	2
Cloth Waiscots	1
Breeches	4
Silk Waiscots	2
do. Breeches	1
Hatt...	1
Wiggs	2
Sett of Shoes and Knee Buckles and Clasps Silver	1
S. Draws	6
Lon Do	2
Bed	1
Quilt	2
pillow	1

[7] This is the first instance of a common spelling in this MS. Usually, following a common habit of his time, the writer spells "of" as "off," and "off" as "of."

The list completes the information to be scraped together from the original commencement of the volume, and we have to turn over to the other end for the log, which is its chief content. But before turning our attention to it, we must note a list on the fly-leaf of **purchases and payments made by the writer** of the log, evidently just before leaving "Calpee" on the Hughli.

2 **Bafties**	@ $		
3 **Damers**	„	2	6
Mrs. Howard	2	3	3
1 piece of **Soacie**	5		
1 piece of Stripe **Gengam**	4	6	5
Ribbon	39	5	
Sugar	4	10	10
1 **Rupees**	1	1	8
Wigg Barber	1	1	6
Shoemaker	2	3	3
watch maker	5	8	
taylor	4		
Washerman		6	
Couley hire and on **Carboy**	2	2	
Soap	1	1	6
Boat Hire	2	8	
		6	11

This account, which is not intelligibly added up, contains some good specimens of **Anglo-Indianisms.**

Bafties.

This is an interesting variant of a well-known and persistent word, **bafta,** to be found in Yule, for white calico.

c. 1305. — **Basta** [misprint for **bafta**] are white and blacke, starched and foulded vvp fower square . . . . **Baffata** ye Cordge [score], 100 Royalls [reals]. — Birdwood, *First Letter Book of the E. I. C.* p. 78. In Danvers *E. I. C. Letters,* Vol. I. p. 72, 1605, the same description is given of **Bastau.**

1711. — "**Blue Bafts**" are noted among "Surat Goods," in Lockyer's *Trade in India* p. 246.

Damer

is an equally interesting variant of the widely used and commercial term, still commonly current, **dammer,** to be found in Yule for the various Oriental substitutes for pitch.

1703. — The timber of the **Dammer Tree** . . . . With the juice of these trees drawn the inhabitants make **Dammers** or Torches to use in their home or to goe a fishing on the Rocks. — A *letter* from Pulo Condore in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges,* Vol. II. p. cccxxx.

1711. — The Houses [at Pulo Condore] were built with **Dammer Timber,** Bamboos and other combustible materials. — Lockyer, *Trade in India,* p. 79.

1775. — The word is spelt **damer** in Stevens, *Guide to E. I. Trade,* p. 108.

1790. — In a MS. list of Stores for the outfit of the Snow *Viper* occur **Country Dammer, China Damer, Boiled Dammer.** — *Bengal Consult.*

Soacie.[8]

This is an important form of a little known Anglo-Indianism. Yule, *s. vv. Alleja* and **Soosie,** gives quotations from Ovington, **1690,** and from Seton-Karr, **1784.** **Soosy** was a mixed cotton and silk cloth, but was sometimes made of either material. As the word is so little known, the following quotations may be valuable : —

1667. — And two patch [double length] of ye finest with what colours you think hansome for my own ware . . . . **Susaes;** Send per the next Sloopes for the Hot weather is comeing on. — *Letter* in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges,* Vol. III. p. cclxii.

1675. — Maulda is a place where great Quantityes and Varietyes of Course Goods proper for Europe are made and procured, ... **Sushes.** — Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges,* Vol. II. p. ccxxv.

1689. — The gold stripes likewise in their **Soosies.** — Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt,* p. 282.

1742. — The following account of the cargoes of seven ships, part of a fleet of twelve, which arrived at L'Orient previous to the war will shew the nature of the French trade at this period : . . . 500 pieces, **soosees.** — Milburn, *Commerce,* Vol. I. p. 390.

1775. — An Account of Customs payable in England by the Proprietors on Goods brought from the East-Indies . . . . Goods at Value Prohibited . . . . **Sooseys** . . . . The above Goods pay, for every 100*l.* Value, 2*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 121.

1813. — Piece Goods from the staple commodity of Bengal . . . . The following are the kinds imported into Great Britain with the number of pieces allowed to a ton . . . . **Soosies,** 400. — Milburn, *Commerce,* Vol. II. p. 221.

That invaluable hunting-ground for Anglo-Indianisms, Stevens' *Guide,* shows that there were, as indeed might be expected, **several kinds of soosies in the market.** Thus : — **1775.** — At page 63, among the prices current at "Judda," we find "**Soosies, Jamawars : do, white : do Poetea.** This bit of information, together with the whole of what Stevens has to give in this place, has, after the manner of the time, been copied, and not always as correctly as Stevens gives it, into Milburn's *Commerce,* without any sort of acknowledgment. *E. g.,* for **poetea** Milburn has (Vol. II. p. 88) **poeta.** From the original statement I gather that these silk cloths were *(jâmawâr)* flowered, white, and *(pôṭiyâ)* dyed red.

At p. 72, in "Directions for putting up proper Assortment of Surat Goods for the Bussorah Market" we find "**Soosey Hamdee Seefeed and Cheendar.**" On the following page we find "**Soosey striped,**" and at page 75 "**Soosy Hamdy.**" "**Hamdee**" is a bit of a puzzle, and may either referto some locality, or merely mean "folded," and the whole expression may mean "silks, folded, white *(safêd)* and striped *(chîndâr).*"

At p. 81, in an actual sale account we find "**Soosy Cheerendar, Soosy Chitaura Capeela, Ditto Mahamad Shakee.**" These I take to mean respectively "mixed silk turban-cloths, brown figured silks, and silks supplied by some well-known merchant or manufacturer named Muhammad Shâh, "Shakee" being perhaps a misprint for "Shahee."

At p. 89, among a list of Bengal goods, we find again "**Soosies Jamewar and Soosie sarries.**" This last expression means "silk women's cloths *(sâḍîs).*"

At p. 113, Stevens remarks, "And the Goods which are proper for the Consumption of Bussorah itself are . . . . **Soosy Roon Shaukee** :" *i. e.,* silks of a rough texture *(rûṅ shâkhî).* And then he goes on to say, "But observe that most of them should be of purple and crimson Stripes, and some few only of yellow; but take Care not to have any other Colours. From 6 to 8 Bales."

And lastly at p. 120, we have a list of "Tonnage of Goods brought from the East Indies . . . . **Soosees,** silk or cotton, 800 pieces."

[8] There is a doubtful reference to this word c. 1550, in the form *soajes* in Lopes, *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga,* p. 102.

Gengam.

This is an important variation of **gingham,** an old English name, probably of Indo-European origin, for a stuff made of cotton yarn dyed before being woven. It is found in old books under a great variety of spelling. That in this MS. is not given by Yule. **Striped ginghams** were a favorite sort in the XVIIIth Century: witness the expression here and a quotation from Yule, *s. v.* : —

1793. — Even the **gingham** waistcoats, which **striped or plain,** have so long stood their ground, must, I hear, give way to the stronger **kerseymere.**[9] Hugh Boyd, *Indian Observer,* p. 77.

To this may usefully be added, as contributions to the history of this word, the following quotations: —

1679. — Three threaded forty *coved* [ells] **Ginghams** should continue at the old prizes of last yeare. — Streynsham Master's *Journal* in Mackenzie, *Kistna District,* p. 142.

1684. — The Merchts were sent for to bring a Muster [sample, pattern] of **Ginghams** propper for ye Amoy Merchts Voyage to Sumatria. — Pringle, *Mad. Consult.* for 1684, p. 94.

1775. — An Account of Customs payable in England by the Proprietors on Goods brought from the East Indies . . . . Calicos Measured Prohibited . . . . striped **Ginghams** . . . . The above Goods are at ten Yards to the Piece and pay 3d. per Piece . . . . Calicos Measured, *viz.,* . . . . **Ginghams,** white. — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 121.

1782. — Sadras est renommé par ses **Guingans.** — Sonnerat, *Voyage,* Vol. I. p. 28.

Herba.

Though this, so far as I know, hitherto unnoticed Anglo-Indianism, does not occur in the MS., it turns up in a quotation I have to give regarding **Gingham,** thus: —

1708. — And of **Herba** (a sort of tough Grass) they make **Ginghams.** — Alex. Hamilton, *East Indies,* Ed. 1739, Vol. I. p. 393.

1725. — The returns that are injurious to our manufactures, or growth of our own country, are printed calicoes, chintz, wrought silks, stuffs of **herba** and barks. — Defoe, *New Voyage round the World,* p. 161, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* chintz.

1775. — **Taffaties Herba.** — Stevens, *Guide,* p. 123.

Herba, however, was not a kind of grass, as Hamilton says, but only our now familiar substance "**tussore** and tussur *(tasar)* silk," as the following quotations will sufficiently prove: —

1676. — About Hugley there live many weavers, who weave cotton cloth and cotton and **Tesser (silk),** or **Herba,** of severall sorts. — Clavell's *Accompt of the Trade of the Hugley* in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges,* Vol. II. p. ccxxxix.

1676. — And the Raja of Tillbich Rumbung, his country lying near this place, where the greatest quantity of **Tesser or Herba** is procurable, a Settlement was thought the more convenient, because **Ginghams, Herba Taffetye, Herba Lungee,** and other sorts of **Herba Goods** might be made neare and brought hither, and noe so good **Herba Goods** procurable. — *Accompt of the Trade of Ballasore* in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges,* Vol. II. p. ccxl.

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[9] An English drapers' corruption of "Cashmere," based on a false analogy of the old English term *kersey* for a woollen cloth. Yule, *s. v.*

The following quotation takes **herba** back a whole century earlier: —

"Since it appears from Colonel Temple's remarks that the word '**erba**' is of some interest, I transcribe the passage from Cesari dei Federici in which it occurs: — **1565.** — '. . . . assai panni de **erba**, qual è una seta che nasce nei boschi senza fatica alcuna de gli huomini, solo quando le boccole sona fatte, e sono grosse, come ogni grossa naranza, hanno pensiero d'andare a raccoglierle.'

This description makes it quite clear that '**erba**' was tussur silk. — Sir C. C. Stevens in *J. S. Arts*, Vol. XLVII. p. 648.

At the same time I would point out that, though the expression '*qual è una seta*' shows that Federici knew that the substance was silk, the Italian word '**erba**' is ordinarily 'grass,' whence possibly Hamilton's mistake.

Payments.

The entry "1 Rupees . . . . 1-1-8" is an interesting reference to the account keeping of the period, and no doubt describes the **batty on a Madras Rupee** at that time, which, according to Stevens, *Guide*, p. 141, was "commonly called **Batty or Batta 10 per Cent.**" The actual difference in exchange between cash and account at 10 per cent. *batty* was, according to Stevens, "Mad. Rup. 1 [=] Currency 1-1-7·2." So the statement "Rupees 1 = 1-1-8" is near enough for a seaman's accounts.

But the examination of this item carries us much further, for it proves that **the cash payments were in fact made in Madras Rupees** of 10 per cent *batty*. Thus, we find that this old sailor paid the following specific sums, clearly in specie: —

The Wigg Barber	1-1-6,	*i. e.*, in cash	Re. 1
For Soap	1-1-6		1
Mrs. Howard	2-3-3		Rs. 2
The Shoemaker	2-3-3		2
For one piece of Striped Gengam	4-6-5		4
For Sugar	4-10-10		4-4
The Watch Maker	5-8-0		5

The actual *batty* on Re. 1 was Re. 1-1-7·2: on Rs. 2 was Rs. 2-3-3·2: on Rs. 4 was Rs. 4-6-4·8: on Rs. 4-4 was Rs. 4-10-10·6: and on Rs. 5 was Rs. 5-8. So it will be seen that the writer had probably some tables of his own to go upon. Indeed, it was the habit of ship-masters and others at that period to carry such tables of their own construction: witness Lockyer's remarks on the subject in his *Trade in India*, 1711, p. 159: —

"You cannot well be without such a Table, thoroughly examin'd, in your Closet. I met with several done by other Hands: but all disagreeing I calculated this for the Use of our own Factory. Afterwards the Supracargoes of the *Sydney* and the *Queen*, made their Payments by it."

The gross expenditure noted amounts to Rs. 75-10-11 of account, which equalled as nearly as may be Rs. 68-12 in Madras specie;[10] and it is no doubt this last sum, expended in cash, that the writer is attempting to account for.

We may extend the interest of the accounts further by calculating that, at 2s. 4d. for the Rupee of account, the money spent reached £8-16-7 sterling.

[10] The actual *batty*, as calculated by Stevens' Tables, on Rs. 68-12, Madras specie, is Rs. 75-10 of account. The writer may even have been accounting for 37 pagodas spent in petty cash.

Couley.

This is not a common, though at the same time not a new, form for **cooly**, *vide* Yule. Here is an interesting use of this word: —

1685. — For untill a Citty or an army be intrenched out of danger of the Enemy, no man ought to think himself too good to give his helping hand to make all sure, although after the danger is over, such work is only proper for Pioneers or such as you call **Cooleys.**" — *Letter* in Yule, *Diary of W. Hedges*, Vol. II. p. ccclvii.

Carboy.

This term, to be found in Yule, is used for a large glass bottle, holding several gallons, for wine, water, etc.

1711. — A Chest of Wine is 10 Bottles, each containing about 5 Quarts, or two **Carboys** and two Bottles; but of late they leave out the Two bottles, reckoning two **Carboys** to the Chest. The **Carboys** hold out 5 Gallons one with another. — Lockyer, *Trade in India*, p. 247.

1813. — The presents at Acheen are large. If you do business, to the King should be given . . . . 1 **Carboy** of rose-water. — Milburn, *Commerce*, Vol. II. p. 330.

(To be continued.)

AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT ABOUT THE NICOBARS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

CAPTAIN JOHN RITCHIE, Hydrographical Surveyor to the East India Company from about 1770, to 1785, surveyed the Andamans and Nicobars at the beginning of his career as surveyor. He left behind him a MS. volume of remarks on his work, now in the India Office, and through the courtesy of the officials in charge of the MS. I am able to publish here that part of them which relates to the Nicobars. It is a remarkable document for the period and shows his capacity for observation in a very favourable light.

The survey of the Andamans and Nicobars was made in **the Company's snow Deligent,** the name of which is still preserved in **Diligent Strait** between the South Andaman and the Andaman Archipelago. This Archipelago is named in the older charts **Ritchie's Archipelago,** and it is a matter for some regret that a change should have been made and that the name of this remarkable surveyor should thus have disappeared from the modern charts.

He was acute enough to observe and record a fact that has subsequently been established, *viz.*, that from Sumatra to Cape Negrais there extends a submarine bank or range out of which rises the long string of islands known successively as the Nicobars, the Andamans, the Cocos and Preparis.

His remarks are further valuable for establishing the facts that **Portuguese was the lingua franca of the Nicobar trade in 1771,** and that the Nicobarese had in his day almost all the foreign fruits that they now possess.

One of the most interesting observations he makes is that he found a village chief on the 3rd March 1771 flying a **"British Union Flag,"** which had been given him by Dalrymple, presumably the famous hydrographer, while the missionaries he found on the islands were flying the **Danish Flag.** Now, these missionaries told him that "they had been there near five years, without having made one proselyte to their doctrines.' This statement touches on a most interesting and very sad episode in the history of the Nicobars. The Danes in 1756 took possession of the Nicobars for

colonisation, but the Danish East India Company sent quite the wrong kind of men for the purpose and the colony perished miserably. It was affiliated to the Danish possession of Tranquebar, but by 1759 it had ceased to exist. In the same year the Danes invited the Moravian Brethren to see what they could do, under the Danish flag, towards founding a missionary colony, where the Danes had failed. In response to the invitation the Moravians (Herrnhuter) after a very long preparation started from Tranquebar for Nancowry Harbour and there founded a Mission in 1768, which dragged on an astonishingly wretched existence till 1787. As early as 1773 the Danish Company deserted it, and after the desertion the position of the Moravians became truly pitiable. It has always been assumed that the possession of the Nicobars by the Danes was a feeble one and Ritchie's story of the British flag in the possession and use of a local chief at the site of the Mission itself proves the correctness of the assumption.

Another interesting fact brought out by Ritchie is the ill-success that attended the missionary efforts of the Moravians as regards the Nicobarese. This is an historical fact. The Nicobars have for centuries fascinated the minds of missionaries of several nations, and from the very dawn almost of European effort in the East there have been missionaries in these islands, working there under circumstances of almost inconceivable hardship and distress. In the 16th century came the Portuguese, in the late 17th and early 18th and again in the middle 19th there were the French, in the 18th and early 19th there were the Moravians under the Danes, in the brief nominal occupation of the islands by the British during the Napoleonic Wars there came an Italian, on their reversion to the Danes there were Danish pastors; and yet not one of these, Catholic or Protestant, has left any mark whatsoever on the primitive beliefs or practises of the Nicobarese.

Remarks concerning the Nicobar Islands extracted from my Journal of Surveys, executed in the Honble Company's snow Deligent in the year 1771.

It may be necessary to premise, that from **Cape Negrais the South west extremity of Ava and Pegu to Acheen Head, the North-west part of Sumatra, there extends a great Bank or Shoal, upon which are situated several clusters of Islands** generally described under the names of **the Nicobars, the Andamans, and the Cocos.**—This Bank and its Islands separates the Bay of Bengal from the **Sea of Tenasserim,** and its representation in the Charts hitherto published, is exceedingly incorrect. The positions assigned to them, is in general, very inaccurate, and the figure and dimensions have not the least resemblance, to what they really are. In the Journal before me, the situation, extent, and form of these Islands, is laid down sufficiently exact for all Nautical purposes; and to **the Nicobar Islands,** particular attention has been paid, because they are more frequented than the others, upon account of the refreshments, and Water, which are to be had upon them, the inoffensive manners of the Inhabitants, and **the vast quantities of Cocoa Nuts, which are to be had for the Pegu Market.**

In the Journal of **the 31st January 1771** after finishing the observations, it is said : — thence **the little Andaman Island** is situated between the Latitude 10° 31′ and 10° 52′ North being in length 21 Miles, and in width about 15. It bears S. by W. from **the Great Andaman,** distance 99 Nautic Miles, and is a single Island, tho' otherwise represented in the old Charts. This Island is generally low land, but rises a little towards the South end and, it is totally covered with wood, and has, I believe, but few Inhabitants, as we saw no light upon the shore at Night.

In the Journal of **the 18th February 1771,** it is observed, that the body of **Carnicobar Island,** bears from the Southern extreme of little Andaman, South 25 East, distance 88 Nautical miles. This fertile spot of Land, is situated between the latitude of 9° 7′ and, 9° 13′ North being six Miles in length, from North to South, and about five Miles in width. This Island is very fruitful, producing an extraordinary quantity of **Coconuts,** for so small a spot of Ground. There are also plenty of **Citerons, Oranges, Plantins, Benanas, Yams, and sweet Potatoes, variety of Potherbs.** There are a considerable number of **Hogs,** both wild and tame, which being entirely fed upon Roots and Coconuts, makes the finest Pork in the World. They have some **Poultry,** which being

also fed with the Coconut, we find it difficult to bring them to eat any kind of Grain; they have also Pidgeons and variety of wild Fowls. The Natives, in general, are of the highest middle stature, with strong limbs, and hard features, something of the Malay **Cast**, only their Noses are not so flat. **The Language of Commerce** here, as in all the Nicobars, is **Portuguese,** a broken dialect of which, is spoken by all who come to Trade. They are extremely civil in their Transactions, and inoffensive in their manners, except in some instances, where their women have been insulted and abused, in which case, the offender has not been suffered to escape with Life.

Their Houses are all built upon a circle of Wooden Pillars, twelve or fourteen feet high, with a Conical roof, thatched with long Grass, and a boarded floor. To these they ascend by a common Ladder, and the Door is the only aperture to let in the light; they sleep in little Hammocks suspended to the Roof, the Males on one side and the Females on the other, and there is generally three or four Families to one House. It is also said, that the connection of the Sexes is carried on, in a manner, by stealth, among the Woods and Bushes; but I cannot answer for the truth of this.

Commerce, with these People, is carried on by Barter, and the Articles which they mostly value, are Tobacco, Blue Cotton Cloths, Hats, Hatchets, Broad-Sword Blades, Iron Hoops and old Nails; formerly, with the value of 500 Rupees in these Articles, a large ship might be loaded with a full Cargo of Coconuts, and a store of fresh Stock; but, of late, they have found the method, both of fusing and hammering Silver, into Rings and Bracelets for their Women; and on this account, Silver is become, in some degree, the medium of Commerce. It may be necessary to add, as a proof of the fertility of the little Island, that five or six ships, have been loaded with Coconuts for Pegu, in one year.

The Anchorage about Carnicobar, will be best understood from the Plan; I shall therefore only remark, that along the West side of the Island, the Bank is exceedingly steep so that a ship must be within 200 fathoms of the Island before her anchor is let go, otherwise there is no chance of its taking hold, except it be at the Northwest corner, where there is a little Bay, with the depth of 5 or 6 fathom in it, but, the Ground is foul, and if the Cables be not buoyed up, they would soon be cut to pieces. Eastward from the Island, the Ba enkxtend's to a considerable distance, as the Plan shew's; and here the Anchorage is tolerably good and safe, but it only suit's the Southwest Monsoons, for at other times the Island makes a Lee shore, and besides, the Sea run's too high, for any Business to be done in Boats.

Southward of Carnicobar, the first Island is **Battymalve** which is situated beeween the Lat. 8° 46 and 8° 47 North, extending scarcely a Mile from North to South, and about two Miles from East to West. It bear's from the southern extreme of Carnicobar, S. 18 East, distance 23 Miles. This Island is an entire Rock, covered with a thin skin of Earth, bearing shrubs and Brambles, with some Grass. It is higher at the East, than the West end, and hence obtain's **the name of Quoin or Wedge.**

Battymalve has no Inhabitants, owing, it is likely, to the barreness of its soil, and before I went there, it was believed there was no soundings or Anchoring Ground about it. The next Island to the Southward of Battymalve is **Chowry,** and the Journal of **the 24th February** say's, that it lies in the Lat. 8-28 North, and that these Islands bear from one another S. 32 E. and contra, distance 19 Nautical Miles. Chowry is a small square Garden in the Sea, extending scarcely half a League, either way. It is raised about 5 or 6 feet above the surface of the Water, and is every where level, except at the extreme South East corner, where a square mass of Rock rise's perpendicular from the Water's edge, and is elevated above the level of the Island, some fifty foot; it's top is flat, and the sides towards the Island, a little sloping, with a strong Coat of Earth, producing the finest **Citron, Orange, Lemon and Lime Trees.** The level part of the Island, is one continued Coconut Grove, intermixed with some Plantain and Banana Trees, under which are placed the habitations of the Natives, and where also grow plenty of Yams and sweet Potatoes; In a word,—this is a little Fairy Land; for nothing can be more Romantic, than it's situation, with the prospect of it's circumjacent

Islands. The Inhabitants of Chowry, are the tallest of all the Nicobarians which I have seen; They are strong, healthy and Industrious; for upon this little spot, they manufacture **Earthen Ware,** for almost all the other Islands. They have plenty of Hogs and Fowls, considering the small extent of Ground; and what is really surprising, they informed us, they could Load two large Ships, annually, with Cocoa-Nuts, besides having sufficient for their own consumption, but they were sorry that seldom any Ship anchored at the Island, probably on account of it's being so small.

The Western extreme of Chowry and of **Teressa,** it's Neighbor, bear South 9° Eastward, and opposite and the nearest between them, is 5 Nautical Miles, but the body of the Islands, bear from one another, S. 28 East and Contra. In the Journal of 26th February it is said, Teressa is situated between the Lat. 18° 12′ and 8° 22′ North. It is long, narrow, and bending almost into the segment of a circle. It extend's Northwest, and South East, and by it's bending, is near 15 Miles long — it's greatest width is at the North end and is something more than 5 Miles. The North end is mountainous, the middle low, and it rises again to the South eastward; so, that at a considerable distance, it appear's like two Islands. This Island is inhabited, but not numerously, compared with it's extent and with the other Islands. The Bank of Soundings is very steep, and except near the South east end, a ship must be very close to the Island, before she can get anchoring ground, on the West side. To the Eastward, we were prevented from examining it, by the Currents.

The Island **Bompoka,** lies directly East from the Southern extreme of Terressa, and is separated from that Island, by a Channel, scarcely two Miles broad. It is an entire Hill, having a Base of half a League from North to South, and scarcely a Mile from East to West; it's top is a sharp ridge, running North and South, about half of the length of it's base, and from thence all it's sides slope regularly down to the sea. The Ladies of Bompoka are esteemed the fairest, and best proportioned, of all the Nicobarians; hence they are frequently carrried off by Nocturnal Adventurers, to all the other Islands near them; several Expeditions of this sort, were set on foot from Camorta, while we were in Noncovery Harbour, but they told us, all were not successful.

Directly East from the Body of the little Island **Chowery** lies the highest peak upon the Island **Tillangchong,** and at 36 miles distance from one another; the Peak is of considerable height, and can be distinctly seen from Chowery in clear weather. Tillangchong lie's between the Latitude 8° 25′ and 8° 33′ North. I mean the principal Island, for there are several small one's, about it's West side and south end, reaching to the Lat. 8° 22′ North. This Island extend's North and South about 8 miles, but is not more than 2 Miles broad any where. It is a high craggy ridge of Rocks with some Shrubs and Bushes upon it, and has no Inhabitants, but such as are banished to it from the other Islands, for capital Crimes. The Journal of the **2nd March 1771,** observes that the East and West sides of this rugged Mountains, are very steep, that it resembles the comb of a Cock, with the ridge so sharp, that, apparently, a Man could scarcely have room to stand upon it. Along the East side of this Island, there is no ground at 100 Fathoms deep, within a Boat's length of the rocky shore, but on the West side, there is good anchoring, in 40 fathoms, at a moderate distance from the Shore, the bottom, fair Sand with sprigs of Corellan.

From Tillangchong, the Bank of Soundings and of Anchoring ground is continued to the Southward to the Islands **Camorta, Tincatty, and Noncovery,** a circumstance well worth notice. I have marked the Tracts we went between these Islands, with the depths of Water, we had upon my Plan of them; a knowledge of which would be particularly useful, to those who might happen to be entangled among these Islands in calm weather and strong Currents.

At the Eastern entrance of **Noncovery Harbor,** the Peak upon Tillangchong is seen, bearing No. 8° East, distance 28 Nautic Miles, and the same Peak is also seen from the North east extremity of **Katchall,** bearing No. 28° East, distance about 30 Miles; the former of these bearings passe's between Camorta and **Trincatty;** and the latter comprehend's in the same Line, a high Rock, which lies detached from the Northwest part of Camorta, upon a shoal reef, of considerable extent.

Trincatty is a level Island, raised only a few feet above the Sea; it lie's along the East side of Camorta, from which it is separated by a Channel scarce a Mile in Width, and so shoal, as hardly to

admit of Boats passing thro' at it's North end : the Island is totally covered with Cocoanut and Beetle Nut Trees, the last of which, is suffered to drop off and perish in the husks, there being no foreign demand for this Article.

The Islands **Noncovery and Comorta** seem to be one and the same mass; a chasm in which form's the excellent **Harbor of Noncovery.** These Islands extend North and South, from the Lat. 7° 54′ to 8° 14′ North, their breadth is various, but scarcely 6 Miles any where. The Land has considerable variety of Hill and Dale, woody and clear; but like all the other Islands, it is no where cultivated.

The Harbour of Noncovery (say's the Journal of the **18th March 1771**) is situated in the 8th Degree North Latitude and has two Mouths, or entrances, one to the Eastward, another to the Westward. The Western Entrance is between two very high Lands, like a Gate way, having the Island Katchall in front, so that it cannot be seen, until we are just about to turn in towards it. This Entrance is not much more than a Cable length wide in the clear, and has 40 fathoms Water in it, altho' there is considerable less, both within and without. The Eastern entrance, is not much broader than the other, although at first sight, it appear's otherwise. This is occasioned by Shelves of Rocks which project from the Land, on both sides and straiten the passage considerably. The least depth of Water in this Passage, is 5 fathoms at half ebb, and this too only between the point of Trincatty Island and the entrance; for when we are into the entrance, it soon deepens into 8, 9 and 10 fathoms, with a fine soft bottom.

The Eastern part of Noncovery Harbor, is somewhat in the form of an oblique Cross, (thence called **Cross Harbor**) the western part is a large Bason, of a square form, with indented sides, where a very large Fleet of Ships may be moored secure from every wind, even in the most tempestuous season of the year. The Eastern part, or Cross Harbour, is very fit for Careening or heaving down ships of any dimensions; for in it, the water is always smooth, and there are shelves of Rocks, with five Fathom Water, within a Boat's length of them, which, with little trouble, might be made to answer all the purposes of Careening Wharfs. At the extremity of the Southern Branch of the Cross, there is a Spring of fine fresh Water, which issues from the Hill above, and fall's into the Harbour, by a winding passage. No pains has ever been taken, to clear the way to the Spring Head nor has any excavation been made to serve as a Reservoir for the Water below; but a very little trouble would make it an excellent watering place.

In Noncovery Harbour, half an hour after 9 o'clock. make's high water upon full and change days of the Moon; and it rises and fall's 8 or 9 feet. The flood came in strong from the Eastward and ebb'd to the Westward; so that the cause of the rise and fall of the Water, seemed to be no other. than a slack in the motion of a general Current among the Islands. However, I suspect, that in the opposite Monsoon, the flood comes in, the contrary way; and, that if there is ever a regular return of the Tides, it must be, while the general Current of the Water, is at a stand. The variation of the Needle here, by the Medium of two Azimuths, and an amplitude of the Sun, very accurately observed, is 1, 49, 40 North Easterly, agreeing exactly with similar observations made at **Nar-candam in the Sea of Tenasserim.**

It may be safely affirmed, that Noncovery Harbour is naturally, one of the best War Harbours in the World. No ships can be wind bound, a moment, for one of it's mouths will always have a fair or a leading wind; and of course, ships may enter in at all times, for the same reasons. My Plan of the Place will shew this better, than any description I can give, in favor of, which I have only to add, that it is the result of a Geometrical Survey.

No Place can be naturally better disposed to be fortified, than this Harbour, as may be gathered from this short account and from my Plan of it. I shall therefore only take notice of a few favorable circumstances on this subject; just to shew, that the Marine Engineer might here have full scope, to exercise his Talent, at very little cost; and that Naval Commanders might easily prevent surprise or insult, from an Enemy, while their ships were in the act of repairing or refitting.

The Western Entrance, it has been observed, is between two very high Lands. Batteries erected upon these, in a very elevated situation, would oblige an Enemy (if they entered in at all) to enter between two plunging fires, at not more than point-blank-shot distance; and at the same time, none of their Guns could be brought to bear upon the Batteries; add to this, that the passage could easily be shut, with a Boom, which if properly placed, a ship could by no means be brought to strike it in a perpendicular direction; and an oblique stroke, would inevitably throw her upon the Rocks, without bursting the Boom. What has been said of shutting the Western Entrance with a Boom, is equally applicable to the Eastern one. But here the Land, not being near so high, Batteries would not have such an advantage, in point of elevation, altho' they would be near enough, as to distance. There is, however, an advantage to be had here, which can not be obtained to the Westward and it is this. The Point of Land which separates the two Harbours on the South side, is of a considerable height and almost directly facing the Eastern Entrance. If upon this, a Battery of heavy Cannon were placed, it it would rake or enfilade the passage, consequently a Ship would be thrown into the most critical of situations, which is that of being confined in a narrow passage, and exposed to a raking fire, without a possibility of returning it with effect. All the materials necessary to building, are upon the spot, at Noncovery. Thus, about the Western side of the Harbour, there is a variety of large Timber, very near the Water, which, altho' perhaps not of the best quality, would no doubt answer every temporary purpose. Sea shells to make Lime, may be had in any quantity, and Wood to burn them is at hand; and almost every stone is Lime stone so that Instruments only, are wanted, and Hands to use them.

Upon entering Noncovery Harbour at first (which was upon **3rd March 1771**) I was a little **surprized to find a British Union Flag,** flying upon the South side of the Eastern Entrance; and at a small distance from it, **Danish Colours,** also hoisted. Shortly after we anchored, one of the Natives came on board, and told us, that he was the principal Man of the Place; that **the Union Flag,** was his Colours, and that he had obtained it **from Mr. Dalrymple,** some years ago. Upon my asking him, whether his Flag was near wore out, and if he would have another, (at the same time, shewing him a new one, of the same sort) He answered "No; — my flag is a very good one, and I like it, because I have had it a long time."

The Danish Flag was hoisted at a little village, called Ennam, by some Missionaries who told me, they had been there near five Years, without having made one proselyte to their Doctrines; a striking proof of the slow progress of Religion among an unlettered People, when stripped of all it's Ornaments and trappings.

But of the Nicobarians, I have to observe, that I never saw the least appearance of any religious ceremony among them; and if we may judge from the above-mentioned trial, there probably never will; unless it be first imposed by the Sword, and afterwards followed from habit; as was the Case with Mahomedanism. An uncultivated mind grasps at no novelty, and searches after no truth, which is not an object of the senses.

S. S. E. from Noncovery lye **the great Nicobar Islands, called by the Natives Sambelong.** This term should seem to imply, that there are nine of them; but I cannot assert this as a fact; for the boisterous weather put an end to our enquiries, before we could finish them; However, such of them as we saw, are inserted in the general Plan.

The principal Islands are two, **the great and little Sambelong,** of which the Southermost is the largest, and indeed, the largest of all the Nicobar Islands; being about seven Leagues long; and is of a triangular form. To the Northward of **little Sambelong,** is a Bank of fine Soundings, on which are situated the three little Islands; **Meroe, Trice and Track,** as per Plan.

The North or little Sambelong is very mountainous, and appear's like a heap of irregular Hills, piled upon one another, and totally covered with Timber.

The Passage between this Island and Noncovery, is called **Sombazere [Sombrero] Channel,** and is much used by shipping, being about ten Leagues over. The passage between the Sambelongs is called **St. George's Channel,** and is now totally disused, there being very foul ground, and strong

currents in it. Along the west side of the great Sambelong, there is a Bank of Soundings of considerable extent, but it cannot be recommended as an Anchoring ground, it being generally broken into Overfalls and foul bottom. The first Adventurers to India had frequented these Islands much for refreshment; and particularly the Portugueze, who have left their Language as a proof of it — but of late, it has been discovered, that the largest of these Islands, are by no means the most valuable or commodious. The truth is, that Noncovery, as a National concern, is worth all the others taken together, and if it's central position be considered, with respect to the British possessions and settlements in India, it will, perhaps, not be absurd to say, that it may become an object of great contention.

(Signed) John Ritchie.

SOME ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TAKING OF MADRAS IN 1746 BY LA BOURDONNAIS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

WHILE editing a MS. log of the ship Wake (see *ante*, p. 330,) of a voyage round the Indian Coasts in 1746 from the Hooghly to Tellicherry, in which is an account of the taking of Madras, I came across the following letters relating to that event in the Bengal Public Consultations for that year. As they are of general interest I publish them here. They refer to well known facts of history, and require no further explanation.

No. I.

Fort William, 1746, October 8th.

Ballasore Letter with account of the taking of Madras.

On the 6th Inst. at Night, Received a Letter from Mr. Altham Chief at Ballasore dated the 30th Ulto., advising the receipt of ours of the 11th Inst. He is sorry to Acquaint us that Monsr. Dumont Super Cargo of a Dutch Surat Ship, which lost her Passage Last year, came a Shore there that day for a Pilot to Carry him up to Town, and told him he Left Madrass the 18th Ulto. O. S.; which Monsr. L'Bourdanaes had then been in Possession of Nine Days: that he brought Ten Ships before it and Landed 2000 Men, with which he Attacked the Town in three places, and after a Seige of 6 days the Garrison surrendered Prisoners of War; all the Black People having deserted the Town and Even Most of the Servants: so that they were three day's in the greatest distress for Water and Provisions and that our Soldiers were likewise very Mutinous. That the Governour and Council had ransomed the Town with half the Artilery and Ammunition for (1,100,000) 11 Lack of Pagodas, one half to be paid in India the other in Europe, for which they were to take with them Two Gentlemen of Council, two Senior Merchants and one of Governour Morse's Children as Hostages and the Place was to be restored on the 30th September with all the Prisoners on Parole of not Acting on the offensive part during the War, and that they are to Carry off all the Companys Goods, the Princess Mary, the Companys Bencoolen Ship and a Brigantine. He also assures him that there is another French Squadron of 7 Ships, which arrived at Mayhe [Mahê] the 1st September O. S. and the 15th Do. at Pondicherry: one of them Mounts 80 Guns, 4 of 60 Guns each and two Privateers, one of 40 and the other 50 Guns, so that they had no part in taking Madrass. Monsr. Dumont also says that Monsr. L'Bourdanieur is Acquainted that the English Squadron is come down to the Bay by Intercepting a Letter after taking the Place, which Mr. Peyton sent from Pullicat to Mr. Morse, wherein he mentioned his said purpose.

Mr. Humffries Cole being come from Madrass of his own accord on a Dutch Ship, now waited on us, and the above Letter being read to him, he Confirmed the contents of it in all the material particulars.

No. II.

Fort William, October 21st, 1746.

Vizagapatam Letter.

This Day received a Letter **from Mr. Richard Price Chief, etca., Council at Vizagapatam** dated the 24th Sep. Acquainting us that it is with Inexpressible Concern they are obliged to advise us that **Madras is taken by the French**: that they **attacked it the 4th Inst.** by Sea and Land and **the place surrendered the 10th**: that it is said they flung about 500 Shells into the Town which did Little or no damage and only 4 or 5 Men were killed. Sixty Eight of the Military and Gunroom People made their Escape just as the Enemy entered the Town and **got on board the Vernon, then laying at Pullicat,** who has since bro't them to their place. They Expect to hear (every moment) they are in Possession of **Fort St. Davids**, and if the season will permit 'tis probable they shall see them there; That they shall do their utmost to defend their Place, but as they are very low in Cash and their Expences encreased by the abovementioned number of Europeans they shall be under a Necessity of making Application to us for Supply's, which they hope We will be able to Send them (if not prevented by the Enemy) in December.

No. III.

Fort William, November 14th, 1746.

Vizagapatam Letter.

Yesterday We received a Letter from **Mr. Richd. Prince, Chief, etca., Council at Vizagapatam** dated the 18th Ulto., informing us they have received no advice's from Madrass since it was taken by the French, nor from Fort St. Davids, by which they Suppose all the Letters are Intercepted; That Several Peons have been Dispatched from these parts but none are yet returned . . . . That the Moment they get any advices from the St. ward They shall acquaint us therewith.

No. IV.

Fort William, December 4th, 1746.

Letter from Mr. Prince to the Board.

The President Lays before the Board a Letter which he received **from Mr. Prince at Vizagapatam** dated the 29th Octr. **Enclosing an Extract of a Letter from Madrass dated the 9th of that Month.**

Extract of a Letter from Madrass Dated 9 Oct. 1746.

The 10 Sepr. the French took this place : they Came in Sight the 2nd, Nine Sail, and Landed 800 Europeans at Cobalong, marched to St. Thomê there Landed more : they Encamped at Chittandree Pettah on the 7th : they began to play their Mortars, being 15 in Number, from behind the Garden house 10 and 5 from Cross the Bar: their strength on shore I compute 2000 Europeans Seapiahs and 300 Coffrees : they have when all on board about 3000 Europeans, 600 of which were Pondicherry Troops: their Intent was to have Stormed Us by Escalade which we were in no Condition to prevent, 1000 Bombs having prevented our sleeping for 3 Days and Nights. Yet we had More to dread from our own Disorder within and want of Government and Council than from the Enemy without: the french have hitherto been Extreamly Civil with respect to the Inhabitants and have Come to a Treaty with the Governour and Council for the Ransom of the place at Eleven Laack of Pagodas payable in 3 Years, half in India and half in Europe; they to Carry off all the Companys Goods and ½ the Cannon and Warlike Stores: but here's to be a Garrison of 400 french till January and I dont much trust to their faith.

On the 3d. of Oct. happened a Storm : 2 of the large french ships called the Phoenix and Duke of Orleans with the Tanam ship are Lost: on them were about 700 French and 70 English Prisoners: **the Achilles, Burbon, Neptune and our Princess Mary quite unmasted** and Unfit to get Off the Coast this Monsoon, though they are trying to rigg the Achilles with Jury Masts.

Samson Came into the Road the Day before and **George Bright Came ashore at the Armagon,** but he and the Europeans are saved: **the french ship the St. Louis the Lys and Renomaii** were Sailed from hence some time before and are now **at Pondicherry** with **the Cantaur** of 74 Guns 800 Men, **Mars** 40 Guns 300 Men, **Brilliant** 40 Guns 300 Men who left France the 10th January N. S. and Arrived at Pondicherry the End of Sepr.: what News they have spread I shall Not trouble You with, but **Mr. Hinde has Letters from the Mallabar Coast** that Mention **Advices from Aleppo** as follows: Our Outward Bound India Men under a Strong Convoy and a New Commander to succeed **Mr. Barnett, who is made an admiral,** lay ready to Sail; Our homeward bound Ships were safe at their Moorings; Our Seas Covered with Men of War and Privateers who have made Much havock with the french shipping; the Rebellion in Scotland Quasht and the Duke of Cumberland ready to return to flanders; Our Coast guarded with great force and the King of Prussia, having made an alliance with the Queen of Hungary, is marching thro Westphalia to fall on the Back of the Dutch to force them to a Declaration or into the Sea.

The Caentaur is Coming here **to take in Monsr. La Bourdonnier,** but where he intends to go the Lord knows.

No. V.

Fort William, December 16th, 1746.

Fort St. Davids Letter.

This morning We received a Letter from the Worshipfull **John Hinde** Esq. Deputy Governr. etca., Council **at Fort St. Davids** dated the 11th Octr. Advising that it is with the utmost Concern to them that if [? it] falls to their share as the next Settlement on that Coast to Madrass to Send us the Melancholy Account of the Loss of that Noble Settlement which was surrendered to the French the 10th Septr., though they have but just now got such advices of it as could be esteem'd a proper foundation for this publick Notice, which are **Two Letters** Mr. Hinde has received **from Governr. Morse** under date ye 28th Septemr. and 1st Oct.; The first giving an Accot that they have been obliged to Surrender the Place on Conditions of its being ransomed, which they had then agreed upon and were to be signed the next day, but does not say what the Terms were: in the Letter he says **Monsr. L'Bourdainaes** has made several Alterations in those Terms and on the whole is Determined to keep a French Garrison in till January; so that We see no Likelyhood of its being recovered but by force of Arms.

That Mr. Hinde on the first Accot of that place being Lost, and expecting daily to be attack'd, wrote to the President here desiring he would send succors as soon as possible, which they now repeat to us, as it will be in all Likelyhood of the utmost ill Consequence to our Honble Masters to omit it, because they are at present stored with Provision and all other Necesarys. They can hold out till they receive more which without a Supply is Impossible to do. That had Mr. LBourdonnaes been able to furnish [? finish] his affairs at Madrass in the time he proposed, he would the [y] Imagine have been with them Long before this; as it is they are Inform'd he Designed it, even Late as it is, about or a Little before this Time, But it has pleased God to disappoint their Views by a **Gale of Wind the 2nd** at Night that drove two of their Ships ashoar and dispers'd five more in such a manner that they know not what is become of them. That **the Achilles** is said to be one of them ashore and all or near all her Men are Lost by which the Squadron is destroy'd. That it was Generally believed after they had [been] there they were bound for the Mallabar Coast. That about a fortnight since **the Centurian,** a Seventy Gun Ship the same force and size of the Achilles, arrived from thence with a forty Gun and a twenty Gun Ship and that it is all the force they have now to depend upon on that Coast, which it is said they are to leave the 13th, but whether for Bengall or the Etward they cannot tell. That since writing thus far they have received an Account that **the Bourbon, Duc of Orleans,** and one more are Lost: the Achillas and most of the others some say are dismasted: they compute 1,200 Men Perish'd in the Storm. That Monsr. L'Bourdanaes since the Accident sent for one Ship to Madrass, which was sent, but sending for three more: it has

not been thought proper to Comply with his Demand. That the Ships now in Pondicherry Road are taking in Bales and Provisions, as it is said, for the Mallabar Coast. **A Little French Ship bound from Yanam** was Lost in the Storm, as was the Honble Companys Vessell's **the Mermaid and Advice Snow.** That they request We will send them in Particular some Canon Shot from 16 to 18 Pounders with Cohorn shells of 3¾ Inches Diameter 500, Spunge Staves 100, Good Muskets 500, Cartridge Paper 2000 Quires.

The President now Lays before the Board **a private Letter** which he received **from Mr. Hinde under date the 11th Octr.** with a Duplicate of One dated the 21st of Septemr. The Latter advising of the Arrival there **from Pondicherry of Mr. Fordice, the Company's Chaplain at Bencoolen** bound to Madrass **on the Sumatra,** and **Capt. Savage of the Companys Vessell the Brilliant,** both taken by the French, the former released the other on his Parole, who says all the Gent. but the Gov. and Council and all the Military are carried on board the French Ships in Madrass Road already, as the Governr. and Council are to be, and brought to Pondicherry, but yet he hears that a Dispute subsists between the Nabobs Son and the French whether a Little more Money may not accomodate; that he cant say, nor has he yet had a Letter from Fort St. George, which he thinks something extraordinary, as he has used all possible means for that purpose, ... That there is no news yet of **Capt. Peyton,** That should he come into Madrass road now as the Ships are pestered he may destroy them all, but fears they shall have no such Good Fortune from that Quarter but must depend on Providence and themselves, and trusts in God they shall do well: the Former Accompanying a General Letter by which We may observe that Fort St. George is not Likely to be in the Companys Possession [for] some time if ever but by force of Arm's, ... That he has heard to day, and not before, that a Sloop from hence went into Madrass Road and hoisted English Colours, and by that means have taken all her papers, of which some of them were of Great Consequence, and that there were Two English Women on board, which makes them afraid She brought Europe Letters, as no Ship's are arrived there as yet,[1] . . . .

(To be continued.)

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 294.)

Group IV.

Tabin Shwêdî Cycle.

(Nats Nos. 6, 8, 17 and 33.)

Group IV. consists of 4 Nats, purporting to be connected with the surroundings of the conqueror King Tabin Shwêdî of Tonghoo, who was the founder of the great Burman dynasty of Pegu in the XVIth Century. Hence my name for the group. The outline of this legend is as follows: — Tabin Shwêdî was the son of King Min Kînyô of Tonghoo, became by his conquests King of Tonghoo and Hanthâwadî (Pegu), and was murdered by his Minister, Thamin Sawdôk.

The wife of Minyè Thêngâthû, the keeper of the royal umbrella, died in childbirth and her child became King Mingaung of Tonghoo, known as Kuthên Thaken, on the death of King Tabin Shwêdî.

King Mingaung had a secretary who died of snakebite.

Of the above personages, King Tabin Shwêdî himself, King Mingaung and his mother and secretary all became Nats.

The Nats who take origin in this legend are: — No. 17. Tabin Shwêdî Nat, who is the great king Tabin Shwêdî himself. No. 6. Taung-ngû Mingaung Nat, called also Taung-ngû Shinbayin Nat, who is King Mingaung of Prome. No. 33. Myaukpet Shinmà Nat, who is King Mingaung's mother. No. 8. Thàndawgàn Nat, who is his secretary, as the name implies.

[1] [The passages omitted refer to financial matters "at Fort St. Davids, to stores, ammunition, etca., wanted there, and to the number of bales they can furnish for the Europe Shipping".]

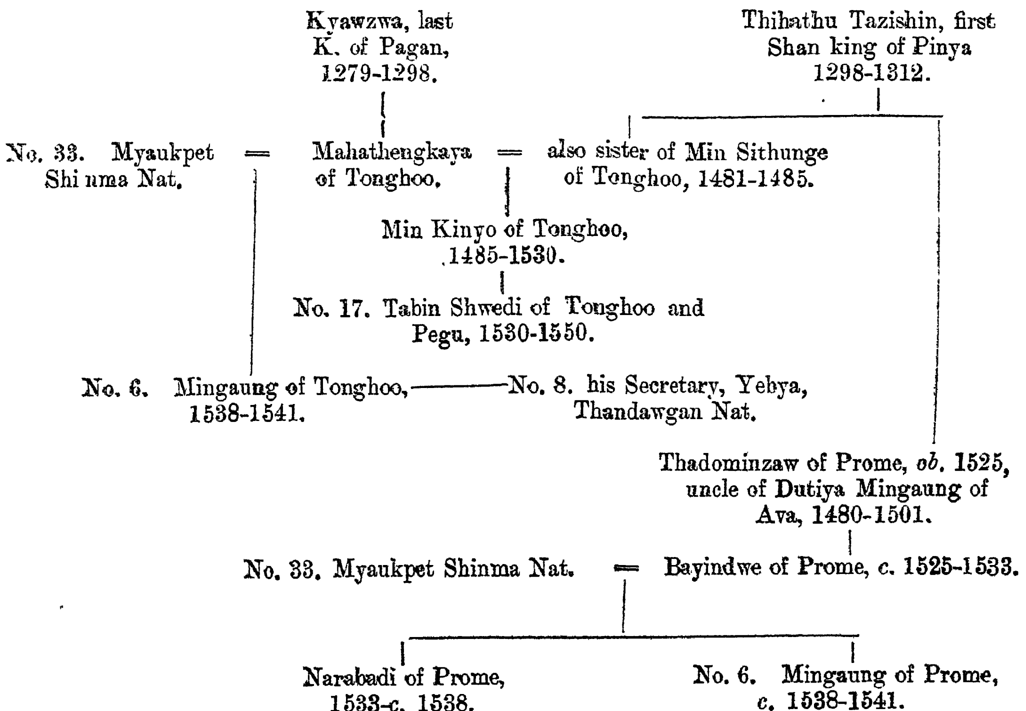
Historically the legend tells a confused story. One of the results of the break up of the Pagàn dynasty in 1298 was the establishment of a small and at first subordinate kingdom at Tonghoo about 1313 by nobles of Burmese descent, which in the following century played a great part in Burmese story. In 1485 Min Kînyô of this Tonghoo dynasty established himself as a ruler of some consequence, and claimed, both through his father, Mahâthêngkayâ, and his mother, descent from Kyawzwâ, the last king of Pagàn (1279-1298). He died in 1530, leaving a son, Tabin Shwêdî, who became the celebrated conqueror of Pegu in 1540, a titular king of Tonghoo being set up as one of his vassals. He was murdered in 1550 by Thamin Sawdôk, a representative of the royal race of Pegu, who succeeded him for three months only.

In 1541 Tabin Shwêdî attacked and took Prome, putting the subordinate king thereof, Mingaung, and his family to a cruel death. This King Mingaung of Prome seems to be the original of King Mingaung of Tonghoo mentioned in the legend.

The following Genealogy will show the relations of the personages mentioned in the legends :—

Group IV.

Genealogy.[8]



I will now describe the illustrations of Group IV., or the Tabin Shwêdî Cycle, according to popular ideas.

Illustrations of Group IV.

Tabin Shwêdî Cycle.

No. 17. Tabin Shwêdî Nat.

He was king of Tonghoo and Hanthâwadî (Pegu) and son of Min Kînyô. His Minister, Thamin Sawdôk, warned him of ill-fortune and advised him to remove his residence. This he did, but nevertheless he was killed by his royal sword-bearer *(kalut-letwèdâ-hmû)*, who was the younger brother of Thamin Sawdôk, and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented as seated in Court dress, with a sword in his right hand.

[8] See Gp. III., Gen. IV.

No. 6. Taung-ngû Mingaung Nat

(also called Taung-ngû Shinbayin Nat).

He was King of Taung-ngû (Tonghoo), and known as Kuthên Thaken (Lord of Bassein), son of Minyè Thêngâthû by a mother who was a native of Kadû in the Shwêbô district. He was seized with dysentery and went to the Paung-laung (Sittang) River to get his health restored, but died on his return from the unlucky smell of onions.

This Nat is represented as seated in high class Court dress with a fan in his right hand.

No. 33. Myaukpet Shinmà Nat.

She was the wife of Minyè Thêngâthû, the keeper of the king's golden umbrella. She died in childbirth near Sagaing on her way to visit her parents, and her child, a boy, was taken to his father at Tonghoo, and became king Mingaung on the death of King Tabin Shwêdî. On his own death he, too, became a Nat.

This Nat is represented as a young girl kneeling in Court dress.

No. 8. Thàndawgàn Nat

(called also Yêbyâ Nat).

He was an assistant secretary to Mingaung, King of Tonghoo, and died from snakebite while plucking jasmine flowers for the king.

This Nat is represented in the Court dress of an ordinary official with a fan.

(To be continued.)

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

(Continued from p. 307.)

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE.

B

Baal-Zephon ; 723, i, footnote.

Baar ; ann. 1505 : *s. v.* Myrobalan, 466, ii ; ann 1506 : *s. v.* Bahar, 36, i, *s. v.* Tenasserim, 696, i ; ann. 1554 : *s. v.* Bahar, 36, i, twice, *s. v.* Brazil-wood, 86, ii, *s. v.* Datchin, 230, ii, twice, *s. v.* Frazala, 274, i, *s. v.* Macao (b), 402, ii, *s. v.* Putchock, 565, i, *s. v.* Viss, 739 i ; ann. 1790 : *s. v.* Griffin, 803, i.

Báár ; ann. 1766 : *s. v.* Sunyásee, 662, i.

Baba ; *s. v.* 31, ii, 759, i ; ann. 1826 : *s. v.* 759, ii.

Bābā ; *s. v.* Baba, 31, ii.

Babachy ; ann. 1810 : *s. v.* Bobachee, 75, ii.

Baba Ghor ; ann. 1818 : *s. v.* Babagooree, 32, i.

Bābāghūrī ; *s. v.* Babagooree, 31, ii ; ann. 1554 and 1590 : *s. v.* Babagooree, 32, i.

Babagooree ; *s. v.* 31, ii.

Babagore ; ann. 1516 : *s. v.* Babagooree, 32, i.

Bābā-jān ; *s. v.* Baba, 31, ii.

Bābā lōg ; *s. v.* Baba, 31, ii.

Bābar ; *s. v.* Baber, 32, i.

Babbs ; *s. v.* 32, i ; ann. 1690 : *s. v.* 32, i.

Babelmandel ; *s. v.* Babbs, 32, i.

Babelonie ; ann. 1298 : *s. v.* Sultan, 656, ii.

Baber ; *s. v.* 32, i, *s. v.* Buxee, 103, i, *s. v.* Kohinor, 374, ii, *s. v.* Mogul, 436, i.

Babi ; *s. v.* Babi-roussa, 32, i.

Babilonie ; ann. 1298 : *s. v.* Tiger, 702, ii.

Babiroussa ; *s. v.* Hog-deer, 320, i ; ann. 1555 : *s. v.* Lory, 398, ii.

Babi-roussa ; *s. v.* 32, i.

Babirussa alfurus ; *s. v.* Babi-roussa, 32, ii.

Bāb-khāna ; *s. v.* Barbican, 51, ii, twice.

Bable Trees ; ann. 1780 : *s. v.* Babool, 33, i.

Baboo ; *s. v.* 32, ii, 759, ii ; ann. 1782 : *s. v.* 32, ii ; ann. 1803 and 1824 : *s. v.* 33, i ; ann. 1834 : *s. v.* 33, i, *s. v.* Mustees, 462, ii ; ann. 1850, 1866 and 1873 : *s. v.* 33, i ; ann. 1880 : *s. v.* Palankeen, 504, ii, *s. v.* Ramasammy, 573, i.

Babool ; *s. v.* 33, i.

Bâbool ; ann. 1824 : *s. v.* Babool, 33, i.

(*To be continued.*)

FOLK-TALES FROM THE INDUS VALLEY.

(Collected by Thomas Lambert Barlow and Major Fred McNair, late Royal Artillery, C. M. G., F. R. G. S. : retold and edited by W. Crooke, late B. C. S.)

Introduction.

THE following collection of folk-tales was made in **the little village of Ghâzi, about 30 miles from Atâk.** Ghâzi is a small hamlet built on rocky soil and surrounded by thickets of scrub and brushwood, principally consisting of the *phulai (acacia modesta)* and the *jharberi* or wild plum. Close to its rear rises **the Gandghar range of hills**, the highest peak of which, known as **Pîr Thân**, is the scene of many of the local legends. Below the village between narrow banks runs the Indus. Lower down it broadens again until it reaches Aṭak, where its volume is increased by the waters of the Kâbul river.

The people are, as might have been expected, of a mixed race. The headmen are **Pathâns** of the Thar tribe, commonly known as the **Thar Khels**, and are supposed to be descended from Afghân soldiers, who came into India with the armies of Timûr, Bâbar and Nâdir Shâh.

The farming class is mostly drawn from the **Âwans and Gakkhars**, a fine, robust population. There are in addition the usual **village menials** — Mochis or shoemakers, Kumhârs or potters, and the

Lohâr blacksmiths, with a sprinkling of Mirâsis and Dûms, who act as tribal bards and genealogists and retain most of the folk-lore traditions of the locality.

Twelve miles above Ghâzi and on the same bank of the river is **the village of Thorbela or "Black Island,"** which derives its name from an island in the river washed away in the floods of 1842. On the way to Ghâzi at **the village of Monat** is the ferry across the Indus to the important **town of Topi.** Here the people are of the same race as the inhabitants of Ghâzi, but in addition there is an important colony of **Jâdons** who speak Pushtu.

Aṭak, of course, figures largely in the local legends in connexion with **the Great Alexander.**

It was at Ghâzi, which was at the time far removed from European influence, that **Mr. Thomas Lambert Barlow**, an officer of the Salt Revenue Department, lived for over thirty years. He was in the course of his official duties brought into intimate relations with the people and gained a wide knowledge of their dialects, manners and customs. At their *hajras* or meeting-places he had an opportunity of collecting a large number of folk-tales. This collection has been edited from his notes and recollections. Unfortunately Mr. Barlow did not record at the time the names of the story-tellers from whose lips they were taken down. But he was a careful and accurate observer and the tales themselves bear obvious marks of authenticity.[1]

Mr. John N. N. Barlow has assisted in the preparation of these stories and the Editor has added only a few notes and references.

I.

The Guru and his greedy Disciples.

THERE was once a very learned Guru who had five devoted disciples. One day he announced to them that he intended to make a pilgrimage to the most holy shrines of the Hindus and they agreed to accompany him.

So they set out and visited many sacred places and at last they arrived at a great city where lived a very pious Râja. The Guru told his companions that he would rest in a grove outside the city and directed them to go to the Bâzâr and buy food.

When they returned to their master they said to him: — "Never have we seen such a wondrous city as this. Everything from gold and jewels to fruit and vegetables is sold at the same price."

The Guru answered: — "This must be an evil city and evil will befall us if we halt here. Let us leave the place and march on."

All, except one, agreed to this, and he was a covetous wretch. He said that he would stay a few days longer and visit this wonderful *bazar*. The Guru tried to dissuade him, but to no purpose. So his master and his companions left him and went their way.

Now just then a great burglary had been committed in the city and the superintendent of Police was in search of the thieves. When he heard that this greedy mendicant was loafing about the place he made up his mind that he was the offender. So he caused him to be arrested and in due course he was tried and condemned to death.

The luckless prisoner bemoaned his fate: so at last his jailor took pity upon him. "What is the last favour I can bestow upon you?" he asked. Said the criminal: — "My Guru has just left the city. All I ask is that you will send him news of the calamity which has befallen me."

The jailor agreed, and a messenger who was sent to inform the Guru met him at some distance from the city. The Guru when he heard the fate of his disciple returned at once and ascertained that the execution would take place next morning and that the Râja himself intended to be present.

So at the appointed hour the Guru came to the place of execution and when his disciple was led out to his death he begged leave to say a few words to him. As he was such a holy man the guards could not help letting him see the prisoner, and when he was brought near the condemned man he said

[1] The whole of Mr. Swynnerton's folklore work — "*Adventures of Râjâ Rasâlû*," "*Indian Nights' Entertainment*," etc. — is based on the oral researches of Mr. T. L. Barlow. ED.]

in a whisper: — "See the result of your greediness. Your only chance now is to do as I tell you. When you are led up to execution cry with a loud voice 'No! I will not suffer my respected Guru to die in my stead.'"

As he spoke the Râja arrived and directed that the execution should proceed. Just as the criminal was led out the Guru prostrated himself and the criminal cried out:— "No! I will not suffer my venerable Guru to die in my stead. Let me be slain without delay!"

When the Râja heard these words he was amazed and asked his courtiers to explain the case. But none of them could explain it. At last he called upon the Guru to say why he was so anxious to die in the place of his disciple. With great reluctance the Guru made reply: — "O King! I desire to die in his stead: for the *Śâstras* declare that at this very hour whosoever is executed in a public place shall go straight to the Heaven of the gods."

The Râja called his astrologers and asked if these words were true. "Yea, O King!" they answered, "such is the declaration of the *Śâstras*."

"Well then," said the Râja, "if this be so, I will suffer myself and thus gain eternal happiness."

No one could say him nay. So he drew his dagger and plunged it into his breast, and this was the end of this very devout Râja to the inexpressible grief of his subjects.

In the confusion which followed his death no one thought of the Guru and his disciple who quietly decamped.[1]

II.

The Ass-driver and the Ruby.

THERE was once an ass-driver who used to carry grain from place to place on his ass. One day he was crossing a stream when his eye fell upon a pretty red stone. "This will make a nice ornament for the neck of my ass," he said. So he picked it up and tied it with a string round the neck of his ass.

He went on till he came to the ford over the river Chenâb. The boatman, as he was carrying him and his ass across, saw the stone and admired it. But he said nothing till they reached the opposite bank, when he said: — "Give me this little stone and I will charge you nothing more for your passage." The ass-driver agreed and the boatman fixed it on his oar as an ornament.

Some time after a lapidary came to the ford, and as he was being ferried over he saw the stone and knew at once that it was a splendid ruby. He said nothing at the time, but when they got to the other bank he remarked: — "I will give you a rupee for this little stone." The boatman refused to sell, but the lapidary gradually raised his bid, and finally bought it for ten rupees.

He was delighted with his purchase, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth hid it away.

Time passed and the lapidary heard that the Râja of the land was buying up precious stones to make a chair of state. Messengers were sent to all the lapidaries round about ordering all who had jewels to sell to bring them for the Râja's inspection. The lapidary with his castemen attended Court, and they asked him if he had any stones for sale. At first he said "No," because he was afraid that the Râja would take his treasures by force. At last he opened the bag, but when he looked at the stone, lo and behold, the ruby was in half-a-dozen pieces. Then a little voice came from one of the fragments: — "This is the result of your greediness. So long as the ass-man and the boatman possessed me I retained my original beauty, but when I came into your covetous hands I determined to make myself worthless. I trust, friend, that this will be a lesson to you in future."[2]

[1] [One of the common tales told of the city of Harbongpur, the Gotham of Hindustân, for which see Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, pp. 466 *seqq.* — ED.]

[2] [Stones endowed with vitality, which move about and speak, are found in many of the folk-tales. Such traditions are found in connexion with dolmens and other megalithic monuments. The sacred stone at Tirumala in Arcot used to move round the temple at night and once killed a man who was accidentally locked in (Cox-Stuart, *North Arcot*, Vol. I. p. 329). In the Arabian Nights the statues erected in honour of Hâtim Tayy wail at night (Burton, *Nights*, Library edition, Vol, III. p. 119). We have many instances of plants and other inanimate objects, such as the leg of a bed, which talk (Temple-Steel, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 413). — ED.]

III.

The Faqîr and the Bhânds.

ONCE upon a time a holy man named **Shâh Bilâval** was crossing the river Chenâb in a boat with a number of other passengers. Among the company were some *bhânds* or jesters, and as they got into deep water they began to chaff the holy man, asking him if he could do nothing to propitiate **Khwâja Khizr,** the river god, and ensure a prosperous voyage. He took no notice of their sneers, but presently there came a voice from Heaven, saying: — "Shall we destroy these mockers ?" But he replied: — "No! Rather make them sensible men, who know how to revere Allah, the Almighty."

So they were afraid and bowed before the Saint and became his disciples, and their tombs are to this day in the village of **Lalliân in the Jang District,** and men travel there to implore their intercession.[3]

IV.

The Imâm and his Wife.

THERE was once on the banks of the Indus a holy Mulla, who used to preach in a mosque. He lived the life of an ascetic, and was so revered along the country side that many of the faithful used to bring their offerings to him. So in time he acquired great riches, but as he grew old he became more and more penurious, till in his latter days he grudged his family even the bare necessaries of life.

Now the Imâm had a wife who was of a different way of thinking and strongly disapproved of this economical style of housekeeping. When she spoke to her friends they would tell her how the Imâm in his Friday sermon used to dilate on the virtues of giving alms and feeding the sick and needy. So she determined to hear one of these dicourses with her own ears, and as she was not allowed to enter the mosque, being a woman, she crept behind the wall and listened through a window to what her husband was saying.

As usual, he treated of the virtue of charity. So she determined to put his advice in practice, and when she came home she cooked a lot of good food which she distributed to the poor. This went on for some time, until one day her husband came home earlier than usual from the mosque, and when he came in he smelt the savoury viands which she had cooked. "Which of my pious followers," he asked, "has made me this very agreeable offering ?" She answered :— "Nay, Sir! It is I who have cooked it for the poor, and in this I have but followed your own pious injunctions." Hearing this he was wroth and said :— "My advice was directed to others, not for my own family. If you go on in this silly way you will be my ruin." And saying this he was taken very ill indeed.

Next morning when it was his time to go the mosque she called him, but he refused to go. "I won't stir," said he, "until you promise to give up this evil habit of alms-giving." "That I will never do and peril my own and your salvation," she replied, "and, further, if you don't appear at prayers the congregation will appoint another preacher and you will be ruined."

But nothing she could say had any effect upon him, and at last he got so bad that to all appearances he had given up the ghost. So she shouted to the neighbours, and they raised the death wail, washed the corpse of the Imâm, and proceeded to take it forth to burial.

She herself followed the funeral and as they were reciting the prayers for the dead she asked to be allowed to take a last look at her beloved husband. The mourners were for driving her away, for such conduct was quite contrary to usage: but some said:— "Let him be." So she came close to the bier and stooping down she whispered in his ear:— "In a minute or two they will be putting you into the grave : you had better think better about it and lose no time too." But he muttered, "No ! I won't get up till you promise to give up alms-giving." Then she called out to the mourners:— "Alas ! My dear husband, as you see, has departed this life. When you have buried him you may go to my house and take such things as please you. They profit no longer your old Imâm or myself."

[3] [For Khwâja Khizr, the river god, see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India,* Vol. I. p. 47 *seq.:* Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India,* Vol. II. p. 563. For Bhânds, the caste of jesters, see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh,* Vol. I. p. 256. There is a shrine to Khwâja Khizr on an island in the Indus opposite Rohri, with an inscription dated 952 A. D. — ED.]

With this the Imâm rose from the bier and said: — "Friends, I am not dead. It was but a swoon. This wicked woman wasted my goods, and now I must take heed lest she ruin me outright."

He lived for many a long year after to spite his wife. But she had her way till his death and gave what alms she pleased to the poor and needy.[4]

V.

The Flea and the Mosquito.

THERE was once an old Flea who pretended to be able to bite harder than any of his kind. One day he met a Mosquito and began to boast of his prowess. She denied his superiority and challenged him to a trial of prowess.

So they found a man fast asleep on a cot and the Flea said:— "Watch how I will stir him up!" Then he jumped on the cot and began to bite him in a tender place. On this the sleeper was disturbed and rolled about from side to side.

"Now it is my turn," said the Mosquito. So she landed on the man's cheek and drove her proboscis into his flesh. But the sufferer was by this time pretty well awake, and before she could escape he crushed her flat with the palm of his hand. This alarmed the Flea who jumped out of his reach and thus saved his life.

VI.

The King's Son, his Friend and the Wazîr.

THERE was once a King who ruled his country wisely with the aid of his Wazîr, and he had two sons whom he trained in all the learning of the age.

But the younger son became dissipated and disobedient, and his father resolved to banish him from the kingdom. So one morning when the Prince awoke he found his shoes turned the wrong way, and he knew that he must depart at once.

Then he went to his Friend, the son of the Wazîr, and said to him:— "We must fly this land at once and seek another country."

They took money and provisions, mounted their horses, and departed. After going some distance they struck off into the jungle, and at night climbed a tree where they slept for dread of the wild beasts.

After wandering many days they saw in the distance what looked like smoke, and went towards it in the hope of aid. Suddenly they came upon a hut which seemed deserted, but listening attentively they heard from within it groans as if of a man in pain. Cautiously entering, they found a very old Faqîr lying doubled up like a bundle of rags, who called out: — "O! Who is there?" They told him that they were wanderers in the jungle and had comsumed all their food. They asked him to point out the road to the city of the Râja. He looked at them narrowly and said at last:— "My son. I will see what I can do."

Presently he went a little way outside his hut and blew a sort of whistle, on which a number of large monkeys came scurrying up and jumped down from the trees. He said:— "Let ten of you go at once to the next village: loot it and bring food for these travellers and their horses."

By and by the monkeys returned with food and the Faqîr dismissed them.

After eating and feeding their horses the youths were about to depart, when the Faqîr said:— "You must not go without an escort." So he whistled for the monkeys again and many of them appeared. "Take these youths," he said, "and put them on to the high road." But to the youths he said:— "Mind! Do not go beyond the boundary of your own land."

[4] [Cases of feigned death occur often in the folk-tales. See, for instance, the "Exploits of Giufa" (Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, p. 297 *seqq.*: the Tale of the Two Sharpers (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Library Edition, Vol. IX p. 191 *seqq.*). — ED.]

Taking leave of the Faqîr the youths went on escorted by the monkeys, who bounded from tree to tree and at last showed them the road. Then the monkeys came to a dead stop and the youths knew that they had reached the boundary of their own land.

The monkeys departed quarrelling among themselves as they went, and the youths found themselves on the high road. Soon they saw a great city, and going to the palace demanded to be brought before the Râja.

When they were led into his presence, they told him their adventures and begged to be admitted to his service. He gave them posts of honour and they stayed with him many years.

At last they longed for news of their native land and asked the Râja to permit them to return. He approved and by and by they reached the palace of the father of the Prince.

They feared at first to approach the Râja : but when he saw them he received them kindly, invested the Prince with high distinctions and gave an office to the Son of the Wazîr.

By and by the Prince remembered the Faqîr who had befriended him, and sent to try and induce him to come to him. But he would not leave his hut in the jungle and the Prince himself had to go with a litter and brought him to the city where he lived in luxury.

But this life of ease was irksome to him and at last he begged to be allowed to return to his monkey friends in the jungle.

Not long after the Prince heard that he was dead. So he was buried with due honours and a shrine was erected in his name to which the Prince and his friend made visits yearly.[5]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.
BY W. IRVINE.

(Continued from p. 271.)

8. Gardunee [Gârdanî].

WOMEN in the Amazon corps at Haidarabad (Dakhin) known as the Ẓafar paltan (Victorious Battalion).

1815. — The women composing them are called **Gardunees**, a corruption from our word **guard**. — V. Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations in India in* 1817-19. London, 1821, p. 213 [note]. The corps of men disciplined in European fashion was called **Gardee** (Yule, p. 278). The above was probably formed by adding to *gârd* the feminine termination *anî*]

Other instances of **Gardee** from Mustapha's *Seir Mutaqharin* could be given in addition to that in Yule, p. 278.

9. Goonga, Goonju.

The crown work of a fortification. Can it be intended to represent **kungur**, battlements ?

1801. — We commenced mining and advanced to within ten yards of the crown work, called in Hindustani **goongas**. (Taking of Hansî.) — J. B. Fraser, *Military Memoir of Lt.-Col. James Skinner, C. B.* (1851), I. 230.

1803. — Those brave fellows stood upon the **goonjus** for a full hour, under one of the heaviest fires of musketry and great guns I have seen. (Siege of Alîgaṛh.) — *Id.* 266.

10. Kummurgâh (Kamrgâh).

A second line of defence within a fortress.

1817. — At the same time the **Kummurgah** (second line of works on the west side of Asîrgaṛh). — V. Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations in India*, 1817-19, 4to, 1821, p. 420.

1825. — It has been aptly styled **kummurgah** or the belt. — E. Lake, *Sieges of the Madras Army*, 1825, p. 156.

11. Mata Deen.

This word deserves a place on account of the following curious etymology which confuses *Mâthâ*,

[5] [In this story there is little of interest. The incident of the reversed shoe implying banishment is novel to me. Drawing off the shoe and giving it to a neighbour was a token of redeeming and exchanging among the Hebrews, (*Ruth*, iv. 7 *seq.*). The upturned shoe is used in Hindu charms (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore*, Vol. II. p. 34). The incident of the helpful animals, possibly a survival of totemism, is common in folk-lore (*Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 203). — ED.]

forehead, with *Mátá*, mother, or small-pox, or the Goddess Dêvî, or Lord and Protector; and *Dîn*, Hindi, poor, humble, lowly, with *Dîn*, Arabic, faith, religion. Mâtâdîn is a common name of lower-caste Hindûs.

1859. — The Seikhs when ridiculing the sepoys invariably termed them **Mâtâ deens** or foreheads of religion. — Henry Dundas Robertson, *District Duties during the Revolt*, London, 1859, p. 226, note.

12. Rainee, Renny, Rounee, Raunee, Rauny.

A wall protecting the foot of the main wall of a fortress and serving the purpose of a glacis. Similar to a *fausse-braye*. Such a wall is shown both in plan and section on Plate 31 in V. Blacker's *Memoir of Operations in India*, 1817-19 (Malligâm Fort). The derivation is obscure. Can it be from **rûndhnâ**, to surround or enclose as with a hedge? (Shakespear, *Dictionary*, 4th edition, column 1189) Fallon evidently knew nothing of a word **Raunî**, for in his *English-Hindustani Dictionary*, p. 264, he translates, *fausse-braye* by *Dhus, Matlî kâ pushtah;* which also shows that he had no definite idea of what a *fausse-braye* was, the word *Dhus* meaning simply an earthen or mud fort.

1798. — The guns could not bear upon the **rounee** (conterscarp). — J. B. Fraser, *Military Memoir of Lt.-Col. J. Skinner, C. B.* (1851), I. 172.

1803. — (Hâthras) A **renny** wall with a deep dry, broad ditch behind it surrounds the fort. — W. Thorn, *Memoir of the War in India*, 1803-6, 4to, 1818, p. 400.

1819. — Plan of the attack at Aseerghur, Section through the Breach on the N. side of the Fort References, D, Parapet of **Rounee** wall breached. — V. Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations in India*, 1817-1819, 4to, 1821, Plate 38.

1819. — (Nâgpur) A fine piece of masonry which I suppose to be what is in this country called a **rainee** similar to a *fausse-braye*. — Fitzclarence, *Journal of a Route to England*, 1819, p. 110.

1819. — Though they do not understand the construction or advantages of a glacis, they saw the necessity of covering the foot of the wall from an enemy's fire, and formed a defence, similar to our *fausse-braye* which they call **rainee**. — *Id.* 245.

13. Sillahposh.

An armour clad warrior from **Silah**, P., body armour, and the root of **poshîdan**, P., to wear.

1799. — The **sillah posh** or body-guard of the Rajah (of Jaipur) — W. Francklin, *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, 1805, p 165.

14. Summer-head.[1]

Some kind of sun-shade or umbrella used by natives in Bombay.

1845. — No open umbrellas or **summer-heads** allowed to pass through the gates — Public Notice on gates of Bombay Town, *apud* Mr James Douglas, *Glimpses of Old Bombay* (1900), p. 86.

15. Uchakkâ.

This common Hindî word for a petty thief or pick-pocket (Platts, p. 126) should find a place in Anglo-Indian *Hobson-Jobson* dictionaries on account of the following extraordinary slip by Colonel W. Miles. The original passage (Lithographed edition of 1307 H., 1889, Bombay, p. 80) reads *Pindûrah qaume ast uchakahâ wa aubâshmanash.*

1842. — They are a low tribe of robbers [*Note.*— اوچکه, This word in Turkish signifies a He Goat, and I can find no other interpretation.] — *The History of Hydur Naik*, translated by Colonel W. Miles, H. E. I. C. S. (Oriental Translation Fund), 1842, p. 149.

B. Additional Quotations.

1. Buxerry — *vide* Yule, 104, who says "A matchlock man . . . . The origin is obscure." Yule makes various guesses at the etymology. It was, however, a term in use in the Mughal army — which was divided into three classes, *viz.*, *Suwârân* (mounted men), *Topkhânah* (artillery), and *Ahshâm* (Infantry and artificers). Their name came from their recruiting ground, Baksar in parganah Bhojpur of Ṣûbah Bahâr. Up to 1857 Bhojpurî Brahmans and Râjputs continued to be very numerous in our Bengal native army.

1690. — *Ahshâm — Bandûqchî ijangi — Baksariyah wa Bûndelah*, that is to say, *Ahshâm*, regular, matchlock-men, **Baksariyahs** and **Bûndelahs**. — *Dastûr-ul-'amal*, written about 1101 H. (1690-1). — B. Museum MS. No. 1641, fol. 58*b*.

1759. — In itinerary from Râe Barelî to Patnah — "**Baksar** *aṣl waṭn* **i-Baksariyahhâ**," original home country of the **Baksariyahs**." — Râe Chatarman, *Chahâr Gulshan*, 1173 H. (1759), Irvine MS., fol. 127*a*.

1757. — **Buckserrias**, foot-soldiers whose common arms are sword and target only. — *Glossary* prefixed to an *Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock* (J. Z. Holwell's *India Tracts*, 3rd ed., 1774).

[1] After my notes were in type I discoverd that Rownee (p. 583) and Summerhead (p. 857) are both recorded by Yule: so my quotations under these two heads should be properly classed as additional.

2 Conjee-cap. — Yule, p. 109.

Apparently a starched cap, but if Mr. Draper (husband of Sterne's Eliza) had it put on by Mrs. Draper's rival when he took his afternoon nap, a *starched* night-cap must have been rather uncomfortable wear.

c 1774. — [*Apud* Mr. James Douglas, *Glimpses of Old Bombay*, 1900, pp. 86 and 201.]

3. Gosain, Gossye. — Yule, p. 297.

1817. — Gossyes have always been considered good troops — V. Blacker, *Memoir of Operations in India*, 1817-19, 4to, 1821, p. 22.

4. **Mahratta.** — Yule, p. 409.

Yule for the derivation of this word accepts **Mahâ-râshtra**, "great kingdom," as in Grant Duff. There are others which ought to be mentioned. H. A. Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas* (Introduction), p. vi., derives the word from a tribal name *Rathi* or *Rathâ*, chariot-fighters, from *rath*, a chariot, thus Mahâ-Rathâ means Great Warrior. This was transferred to the country, and finally Sanskritized into **Mahâ-râshtra**, great kingdom. Again, B. H. Baden-Powell, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1897, p. 249, note, prefers to refer the word to *Mhâr* or *Mahâr*, a once numerous and dominant race from which he gets **Mahâr-râshtrâ**, the kingdom of the Mahârs. In 1891 there were 843,73-5 Mahârs in Bombay, of whom 778,484 lived in the Deccan and the Konkan, Census, Vol. VIII., Table XVI., p. 198. The following is, however, a piece of thorough Hobson-Jobson: —

1859. — This term **Marhatta** or **Mâr-hutta**, is derived from the mode of warfare adopted by these men. *Mar* means to strike, and *hutna*, to get out of the way, *i. e*, those who struck a blow suddenly and at once retreated out of harm's way. — H. Dundas Robertson, Bengal Civil Service, *District Duties during the Revolt in* 1857, London, 1859, p. 104, note.

5. **Nujeeb.** — Yule, p. 483.

1798. — The **Nezîbs** are Matchlock men. — W. A. Tone, *A Letter on the Mahratta People*, Bombay, 1798, p. 50.

1817. — In some instances they are called **Nujeeb** (*literally*, Noble) and would not deign to stand sentry or perform any fatiguing duty. — V. Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations in India in* 1817-19, 4to, 1821, p. 22.

1819. — The rest Allygoles and **Nejeebs.** — Lt.-Col. Fitzclarence, *Journal of a Route to England*, 4to, 1819, p. 21.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN BURMA.

An Archæological Department for Burma was sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, with effect from the 17th May 1899, for the objects of the collection, decipherment, translation, and annotation of inscriptions; and the conservation of ancient monuments of historical or archæological interest. The work, which will have to be accomplished under the first head in the immediate future, consists of the **translation and annotation of the two volumes of the Arakan Pagoda Inscriptions**, and of the volume of inscriptions which is now being published. It is also proposed to arrange for the compilation of an **Index Inscriptionum Birmanicarum and of Palæographical tables illustrating the evolution of the Burmese alphabet.** Besides this, there is a wide field of work in the collection of the numerous inscriptions which are scattered over the country, while much remains to be done in elucidating and explaining, from a historical point of view, the inscriptions already collected. Under the second head there are three stages of work to be done, namely, (i.) to prepare the initial lists of buildings of historical or archæological interest; (ii.) to examine these lists in order to select those buildings which are worthy of preservation; (iii.) to decide finally what buildings shall be preserved, and to take the necessary steps for their conservation.

What has so far been accomplished in the province, except Arakan, is the first stage. The lists for that division were revised by Dr. Forchhammer. In the meantime, trusts have been constituted in respect of the principal pagodas, and their conservation has thus been provided for. In the case of buildings which are considered worthy of conservation, but whose conservation cannot be effected by local effort alone, it is proposed to make an annual money grant to the trustees as a contribution towards their maintenance in proper repair. In pursuance of this policy an annual grant was sanctioned as a contribution to the maintenance in repair of the **Thabyinnyu and Gawdawpalin Pagodas at Pagan.** The Thabyinnyu is 201 feet high and was built by King Alaungsîthû in 1100 A. D. The Gawdawpalin is 180 feet high and was built by King Narapatîsîthû in 1160 A. D. These two temples and the **Ananda** form a unique triad both from a historical and architectural point of view. In them is enshrined the progressive development of Buddhism as modified by converging influences from Northern and Southern India, Ceylon, Thibet, and Cambodia; and a

minute study of them would probably solve some of the vexed questions of Burmese history, and would also throw some light on the early history of Buddhism in India with special reference to its gradual absorption by the neo-Brahmanic systems of faith.

The question of converting the Phayre Museum at Rangoon into a provincial institution is still under the consideration of a Committee specially appointed for the purpose; and definite proposals are being matured. Objects of antiquarian interest were, in former years, sent to Calcutta to be deposited in the Indian Museum. But now that a Provincial Museum is to be established in Rangoon, they will be retained in the province.

In the Shwebo district, 34 silver coins were found, of which four were sent to the Superintendent, Indian Museum, for examination and report on their numismatic or historical value, who reports that they belong to a class commonly known as symbolical coins from Arakan, described by Sir Arthur P. Phayre in his *Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma*, and adds that "the historical value of the coins is extremely doubtful, but they are probably of considerable antiquity." The remaining 30 coins have been deposited in the Phayre Museum.

At Mônywa in the Lower Chindwin district a number of images were found in the relic-chambers of some old pagodas, and have all been transferred to the Phayre Museum. In the Akyab district, four "symbolical coins" were found and the Superintendent, Indian Museum, reports that they are "scarcely much later than 800 A. D." A square silver coin with Chinese characters was discovered in the Myingyan district and has been deposited in the Phayre Museum. It was evidently used as a coin in lieu of sycee or silver ingots, which pass current in the inland provinces of China It bears the following legend: "The 10th moon of the eighth year of the reign of Chia Ch'ing (*i. e.*, 1804 A. D.)." It purports to have been issued by Chiu, Prince of Hei Ching. "Hei Ching" means a "black pit or mine" and is apparently the name of some locality in Yünnan.

Buddhist relics of bones and ashes were discovered by Mr. W. Peppè near Piprâhwâ, a village in the Bastî district on the border of Nepal, and were offered by the Government of India to the King of Siam, on condition that His Majesty would not object to distribute a portion to the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon. As the relics appear to be the actual share obtained by the Śakyas of Kapilavastu at the time of the cremation of Gautama Buddha, intense interest was aroused in the Buddhist world. An account of the discovery illustrated by plans and drawings, which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for July 1898, was republished in English and Burmese in the *Burma Gazette*, and then reproduced in pamphlet form. It has been decided that the share of relics assigned to Burma shall be deposited at the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon, and the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.

In conducting archæological researches in future, it will be necessary to resort to excavation. The Eleventh Oriental Congress, which was held at Paris in 1897, asked the Local Government to have excavations made under competent supervision on the sites of ancient towns in Burma. In compliance with this request, excavations may, with advantage, be made at Tagaung, Yâzagyô, Pagân, Prome, Taungdwingyî, Ava, Pegu and Thatôn, and also at Myôhaung in Arakan. Care should, however, be taken not to break down or damage pagodas, which are still objects of worship, or to wound the religious susceptibilities of the people in the neighbourhood.

TAW SEIN KO.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MUSALMAN TITLES FOR HINDUS.

THE tradition of the Mân Jâts is that they once ruled in Ghaznî, and that Râjâ Bhîmpâl was the last ruler of their race there. This king came on an expedition to India, and settled at Baṭhiṇḍâ (Patiâlâ territory), driving out the Bhaṭṭî Râjpûts. Another Mân Jât of the same family held the title of Khân, his name being Bhûndar. His son, Mîrzâ, succeeded to the title. Another ancestor, now known as Mân Shâh, had the title Shâh conferred on him by the Dehlî Emperors. His real name has been lost, and he is only remembered by his title of the Mân Shâh. His descendants are called Mânshâiâ, and even now those who claim descent from Bhûndar Khân would have no objection to the revival of the title of Khân in their favour.

GURDIYÂL SINGH in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A BIRTH CUSTOM IN THE PANJAB.

PANJABI Mehtars (scavengers) hide a portion of the umbilical chord wrapt in a cloth among the mother's and new-born child's spare clothing to avert the evil-eye.

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

BY DR. PAUL DEUSSEN, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

1. Importance of Indian Philosophy.

AMONG the pretexts by which European idleness tries to escape the study of Indian philosophy we hear most frequently the remark that the philosophy of the Indians is quite different from our own and has nothing whatever to do with the development of Occidental religion and philosophy. The fact is perfectly true ; but far from being a reason for neglecting the study of Indian wisdom, it furnishes us with the strongest argument in favour of devoting ourselves to it all the more. The philosophy of the Indians must become for every one who takes any interest in the investigation of philosophical truth, an object of the highest interest; for Indian philosophy is and will be the only possible parallel to what so far the Europeans have considered as philosophy. In fact, modern European philosophy has sprung from the scholastic of the Middle Ages; mediæval thought again is a product of Greek philosophy on the one hand and of Biblical dogma on the other. The doctrine of the Bible has again its roots in part in the oldest Semitic creed and in part in the Persian religion of Zoroaster, which, as an intermediate link between the Old and the New Testament, has exercised more influence than is commonly attributed to it. In this way the whole of European thought from Pythagoras and Xenophanes, from Moses and Zoroaster, through Platonism and Christianity down to the Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy, forms a complex of ideas, whose elements are variously related to and dependent on each other. On the other hand Indian philosophy through all the centuries of its development has taken its course uninfluenced by West-Asiatic and European thought ; and precisely for this reason the comparison of European philosophy with that of the Indians is of the highest interest. Where both agree the presumption is that their conclusions are correct, no less than in a case where two calculators working by different methods arrive at the same result; and where Indian and European views differ it is an open question on which side the truth is probably to be found.

2. Periods of Indian Philosophy.

Indian philosophy falls naturally into three periods; these three periods are equally strongly marked in the general history of Indian civilisation and are conditioned by the geography of India. India, as Sir William Jones has already remarked, has the form of a square whose four angles are turned to the four cardinal points, and are marked by the Hindu Kush in the north, Cape Comorin in the south, and the mouths of the Ganges and Indus in the east and west. If a line be drawn from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Ganges (nearly coinciding with the tropic of Cancer), the square is divided into two triangles — Hindustan in the north, and the Deccan in the south. If again in the northern triangle we let fall a perpendicular from the vertex upon the base, this divides northern India into the valley of the Indus and the plain of the Ganges, separated by the desert of Marusthala. Thus India falls into three parts — (1) the Panjab, (2) the plain of the Ganges, (3) the Deccan plateau. To these three geographical divisions correspond the three periods of Indian life: — (1) The domain of the Aryan Hindus in the oldest period was limited to the valley of the Indus with its five tributaries; the only literary monuments of this epoch are the 1017 hymns of the Ṛigveda. Though chiefly serving religious purposes they give by the way a lively and picturesque delineation of that primitive manner of life in which there were no castes, no *âçramas* (stages of life), and no Brahmanical order of life in general. The hymns of the Ṛigveda display not only the ancient Indian polytheism in its full extent, but contain also in certain of the later hymns the first germs of a philosophical view of the world. (2) It may have been about 1000 B. C. that the Aryans starting from the Panjab began to extend their conquests to the east and occupied little by little the plain extending from the Himalayas in the north and the Vindhyas in the south to the mouth of the Ganges. The conquest of this

territory may have been accomplished, roughly speaking, between 1000 and 500 B. C. As literary monuments of this second period of Indian life we find the *Saṃhitâs* of the *Yajur*, *Sâma*. and *Atharvavêda*, together with the Brâhmaṇas and their culmination in the Upanishads. Hand in hand with this literary development we have under the spiritual dominion of the Brahmans the establishment of that original organisation which as the Brahmanical order of life has survived in India with some modification until the present day. (3) After these two periods, which we may distinguish as "old-Vedic" and "new-Vedic," follows a third period of Indian history — the "post-Vedic" — beginning about 500 B. C. with the rise of the heretical tendencies of Buddhism and Jainism, and producing in the succeeding centuries a large number of literary works in which, together with poetry, grammar, law, medicine and astronomy, a rich collection of philosophical works in Sanscrit permits us to trace the development of the philosophical mind down to the present time. In this period Indian, *i. e.*, Brahmanical, civilisation makes its way round the coast of Southern India and Ceylon and penetrates conquering into the remotest districts of Central India.

First Period: Philosophy of the Ṛigveda.

3. Religion of the Ṛigveda.

The oldest interpretation of Nature and therefore the first philosophy of a people is its religion, and for the origin and essence of religion there is no book in the world more instructive than the Ṛigveda; Homer in Greece, and the most ancient parts of the Old Testament show religion in an advanced state of development which presupposes many preliminary stages now lost to us. In India alone we can trace back religion to its first origin. It is true that the hymns of the Ṛigveda also show religion in a later stage of development; some primitive gods stand already in the background, as Dyaus (heaven) and Pṛithivî (earth); they are rarely mentioned but with an awe which shows their high position at an earlier period. Another god, Varuṇa (the starry heaven), is still prominent, but even he is in danger of being superseded by Indra, god of the thunderstorm and of war; and a remarkable hymn (iv. 42) exhibits a dialogue between Varuṇa and Indra, in which each boasts his greatness, while the poet notwithstanding the full respect for Varuṇa, betrays a certain partiality for Indra. This case and many others show that the Ṛigvedic religion also is in an advanced state of development; but the names of the gods considered etymologically and the character of the myths related of them, are so transparent that we are able in nearly every case to discover the original meaning of the god in question. Thus there can be no doubt that Varuṇa (Οὐρανός) is a personification of the heaven with its regular daily revolution, and that he only in later times became a god of the waters. Other gods represent the sun in its various aspects: Sûrya the radiant globe of the sun, Savitar the arouser, Vishṇu the vivifying force, Mitra the benevolent light, the friend of mankind, and Pûshan, the shepherd of the world. Besides these we have the two Açvins, a divine pair who bring help in time of need, and seem to mean originally the twilight with which the day begins and the terrors of the night have an end. A very transparent personification of the dawn is Ushas (Ἠώς, Aurora) represented as a beautiful maiden displaying every morning her charms before the eyes of the world. If from these gods of the luminous heaven we pass to the second part of the universe, the atmosphere, we meet here among others Vâyu or Vâta, god of the winds, Parjanya, the rain-god, the terrible Rudra, who probably personifies the destructive and purifying lightning, further the Maruts, the merry gods of the storm and above all Indra, god of the thunderstorm, who in his battles against the demons that hinder the rain from falling, is the typical god of warfare and thus the ideal of the Hindu of the heroic epoch. Lastly, coming to the earth, there are many phenomena of Nature and life considered as divine powers, but above all Agni, god of the destructive and helpful fire, and Soma, a personification of the intoxicating power of the soma-drink, which inspires gods and men to heroic deeds. This short sketch shows clearly what the gods were in ancient India and what *mutatis mutandis* they are originally in every religion of the world, namely, **personifications of natural forces and natural phenomena.** Man in passing from the brute state to human consciousness

found himself surrounded by and dependent on various natural powers : the nourishing earth, the fertilising heaven, the wind, the rain, the thunderstorm, etc., and ascribed to them not only will, like that of man, which was perfectly correct, but also human personality, human desires and human weaknesses, which certainly was wrong. These personified natural powers were further considered as the origin, the maintainers and controllers of what man found in himself as the moral law, opposed to the egoistic tendencies natural to man. Thus the religion of the Ṛigveda may teach us that gods, wherever we meet them in the world, are compounded of two elements — a mythological, so far as they are personifications of natural powers and phenomena, and a moral element so far as these personifications are considered as the authors and guardians of the moral law. Let us add that the better religion is that in which the moral element preponderates, and the less perfect religion that in which the mythological element is developed at the cost of the moral. If we apply this criterion to the religion of the Ṛigveda, we must recognize that, notwithstanding its high interest in so many respects, it cannot as a religion claim a specially high position; for the Ṛigvedic gods, though at the same time the guardians of morality *(gopâ ritasya)*, are mainly regarded as beings of superhuman powers but egoistic tendencies. This moral deficiency of the Ṛigvedic religion has certainly been the chief cause of the surprisingly rapid decay of the old-Vedic worship ; this decay and at the same time the first germs of philosophical thought we can follow in certain of the later hymns of the Ṛigveda, as we shall now proceed to demonstrate.

4. Decay of the Old-Vedic Religion.

In certain later hymns of the Ṛigveda there are unmistakeable signs that the ancient creed was falling into disrepute. A beautiful hymn (x. 117) recommends the duty of benevolence without any reference to the gods, apparently because they were too weak a support for pure moral actions. Another hymn (x. 151) is addressed not to a god but to Faith, and praising the merit of faith, concludes with the prayer: "O Faith, make us faithful." In a time of unshaken faith such a prayer would hardly have been offered. But we have clearer proofs that the old-Vedic faith began to fade. In a hymn (ii. 12) to Indra, the principal god of the Vedic Hindu, the poet says : — "the terrible god, of whose existence they doubt, and ask 'where is he,' nay, whom they deny, saying, 'he is not,' this god will destroy his enemies like playthings" — and doubts like this occur here and there ; but even more frequently we meet passages and entire hymns which evidently ridicule the gods and their worship, more especially that of the god Indra. Everybody in the world, says the hymn ix. 112, pursues his egoistic interests, the joiner hopes for broken wheels, the doctor for broken limbs, the blacksmith looks for customers ; I am a poet, says the author, my father is a physician, my mother turns the mill in the kitchen, and so we all pursue our own advantage, as a herdsman his cows. This little piece of humourous poetry would be perfectly innocent were it not that after each verse comes the refrain, probably taken from an old hymn: "Thou, O Soma, flow for Indra," which evidently means that Indra also seeks his own advantage and is an egoist like other people.

Even more bold is the scorn in hymn x. 119, which introduces Indra in the merriest humour, ready to give away everything, ready to destroy the earth and all that it contains, boasting of his greatness in ridiculous fashion, — all this because, as the refrain tells us, he is in an advanced stage of intoxication, caused by excessive appreciation of the soma offered to him. Another hymn (vii. 103) sings of the frogs, comparing their voices to the noise of a Brahmanical school and their hopping round the tank to the behaviour of drunken priests celebrating a nocturnal offering of Soma. As here the holy teachers and the priests, so in another hymn (x. 82) the religious poetry of the Veda and its authors are depreciated by the words: "The Vedic minstrels, wrapped in fog and floods of words, go on the stump to make a livelihood."

5. Beginnings of Philosophical Thought.

The age in which such words were possible was certainly ripe for philosophy; and accordingly we see emerging in certain later hymns of the Ṛigveda the thought by which here as in Greece philosophy begins — the conception of the unity of the world. Just as Xenophanes in Greece puts above all the popular gods his one deity who is nothing more than the universe considered as a unity, we find in the Ṛigveda a remarkable seeking and enquiring after that one from which, as an eternal, unfathomable, unspeakable unity, all gods, worlds, and creatures originate. The Hindus reach this Monism by a method essentially different from that of other countries. Monotheism was attained in Egypt by a mechanical identification of the various local gods, in Palestine by proscription of other gods and violent persecution of their worshippers for the benefit of the national god, Jehovah. In India they reached Monism though not Monotheism by a more philosophical path, seeing through the veil of the manifold the unity which underlies it. Thus the profound and difficult hymn, i. 164, pointing out the difference of the names **Agni, Indra and Vâyu,** comes to the bold conclusion: "it is one being of which the poets of the hymns speak under various names." The same idea of the unity of the universe is expressed in the wonderful hymn x. 129, which as the most remarkable monument of the oldest philosophy we here translate: —

1. In the beginning there was neither Non-Being nor Being, neither atmosphere nor sky beyond. — What enveloped all things? Where were they, in whose care? What was the ocean, the unfathomable depth?

2. At that time there was neither mortal nor immortal, neither night nor day. — That being, the only one, breathed without air in independence. Beyond it nought existed.

3. Darkness was there; by darkness enshrouded in the beginning, an ocean without lights was all this world; — but the pregnant germ which was enveloped by the husk was born by the strength of penitence.

4. And forth went as the first-born **Kâma** (love) which was the primordial seed of mind. — Thus wise men meditating have found out the link of Non-Being and Being in the heart.

5. They threw their plumb-line across the universe, what was then below and what above. There were seedbearers; there was mighty striving; independence beneath, exertion above.

6. But who knows and who can tell from where was born, from where came forth creation? — The gods came afterwards into existence. Who then can say from whence creation came?

7. He from whom this creation proceeded, whether he created it or not, He whose eye watches it in the highest heaven, He perhaps knows it — or perhaps he knows it not.

I add a metrical translation[1]:

1. Non-Being was not; Being was not yet;
   There was no vault of heaven, no realm of air,
 Where was the ocean, where the deep abyss?
   What mantled all? Where was it, in whose care?

2. Death was not known nor yet immortal life;
   Night was not born and day was not yet seen.
 Airless he breathed in primevality
   The One beyond whom nought hath ever been.

[1] I am indebted for this translation to Mr. N. W. Thomas, M. A.

3. Darkness prevailed at first, a chaos dread;
'Twas this great world, clad in its cloak of night.
And then was brought to being the germ of all,
The One pent in this husk, by *Tapas'* might.

4. And first of all from him proceeded love,
Kâma, the primal seed and germ of thought.
In Non-existence was by sages found
Existence' root, when in the heart they sought.

5. When through the realm of Being their arc they spanned,
What was beneath it, what was in their ken?
Germ-carriers beneath! Strivings above!
The seeds of things were hid, the things were seen.

6. Whence sprang the universe? Who gave it form?
What eye hath seen its birth? Its source who knows?
Before the world was made the gods were not;
Who then shall tell us whence these things arose?

7. He who hath moulded and called forth the world,
Whether he hath created it or not,
Who gazeth down on it from heaven's heights,
He knoweth it; or doth he know it not?

6. Attempts to determine that Unity.

The great thought of the unity of all things having been conceived, the next task was to find out what this unity was. For the attempt to determine it is especially typical the hymn x. 121, which, starting apparently from the hymn x. 129, or a similar piece of work, seeks a name for that unknown god who was the last unity of the universe. In the first eight verses the poet points out the wonders of creation and concludes each verse by asking "Who is that god, that we may worship him?" In the ninth verse he finds a name for that new and unknown deity, calling it **Prajâpati** (lord of the creatures). This name in striking contrast to the names of the old Vedic gods, is evidently not of popular origin but the creation of a philosophical thinker. Henceforth Prajâpati occupies the highest position in the pantheon, until he is displaced by two other, more philosophical conceptions — **Brahman and Âtman.** These three names, **Prajâpati, Brahman, and Âtman** dominate the whole philosophical development from the Ṛigveda to the Upanishads. The oldest term Prajâpati is merely mythological and the transition from it to the term Âtman (which, as we shall see, is highly philosophical) is very natural. But it is very characteristic of the Hindu mind that this transition is accomplished by means of an intermediate term Brahman, which was originally merely ritual in its meaning and application, signifying "prayer." At the time of the Upanishads the name Prajâpati is nearly forgotten and appears only here and there as a mythological figure, while the terms Brahman and Âtman have become identical and serve in turn to express that being which, as we shall see, is the only object of which the Upanishads treat. We have now to trace the history of these three terms in detail.

7. History of Prajâpati.

It is characteristic of the way in which Indian religion developed that a mere philosophical abstraction such as **Prajâpati** puts in the background all the other gods and occupies in the time of the **Brâhmaṇas** the highest place in the Hindu pantheon. Prajâpati in this period is considered as the father of gods, men and demons, as the creator and ruler of the world. Numerous passages of the ***Brâhmaṇas***, intended to recommend some ritual usage, describe the

rite or formula as produced by Prajâpati and employed by him in the creation of the world. Such passages regularly begin with the phrase that in the beginning Prajâpati alone was, that he performed penance and thereby worthily prepared himself for creating the different gods, the worlds and the various implements and materials of sacrifice. All the gods depend on him; in him they take refuge when harassed by the demons; and to him as arbitrator they come if some quarrel about their relative dignity arises. Into these details we will not enter; we will here only point out that the Indian idea of creation is essentially different from that current in the Christian world. Prajâpati does not create a world; he transforms himself, his body and his limbs into the different parts of the universe. Therefore in creating he is swallowed up, he falls to pieces, and is restored by the performance of some rite which is in this way recommended. In later texts we observe a tendency to get rid of Prajâpati whether by deriving him from a still higher principle, such as the primordial waters, the Non-ent preceding his existence, or by explaining him away and identifying him with the creating mind, the creating word, the sacrifice or the year as principles of the world. In older passages Prajâpati creates, among other ritual objects, the **Brahman**; later passages on the other hand make him dependent on the Brahman.

8. History of the Brahman.

Every attempt to explain this central idea of Indian philosophy must proceed from the fact that the word Brahman throughout the Ṛigveda in which it occurs more than 200 times, signifies without exception nothing more than "prayer." Like **Soma** and other gifts, the prayer of the poet is offered to the gods; they enjoy it; they are fortified by it for their heroic deeds; and as man stands in need of the various benefits of the gods, the gods need for their welfare the offerings and especially the prayers of mankind; "prayer is a 'tonic' of the gods;" "**Indra** for his battles is fortified by prayer" (offered to him); phrases like these occur frequently in the Ṛigveda; thus the idea became more and more prominent that human prayer is a power which surpasses in potency even the might of the gods. In the moments of religious devotion man felt himself raised above his own individuality, felt awakening in himself that metaphysical power on which all worlds with their gods and creatures are dependent. By this curious development (comparable to the history of the Biblical Λόγος) Brahman, the old name for prayer, became the most usual name for the creative principle of the world. An old Ṛigvedic question "which was the tree, which was the wood, of which they hewed the earth and heaven"? is repeated in a *Brâhmaṇa* text, and followed by the answer: "The Brahman was the tree, the wood from which they hewed the earth and heaven." Here the term Brahman has become already what it has been through all the following centuries — the most common name for the eternal and changeless principle of the world.

9. History of the Âtman.

A better name even than **Brahman**, and perhaps the best name which philosophy has found in any language to designate the principle of the world, is the word **Âtman**, which properly is the exact equivalent of the English "Self." Thus Âtman means that which remains if we take away from our person all that is Non-self, foreign, all that comes and passes away; it means "the changeless, inseparable essence of our own Self," and on the other hand of the Self of the whole world. It is not possible, as in the case of **Prajâpati and Brahman**, to frame a history of the word Âtman. It has no regular development but we see it emerge here and there in proportion as the thinker seeks and finds a more clear-cut expression for the word Brahman to name that being which can never by any means be taken away from us, and therefore forms the only true essence of our nature, our *âtman*, our Self. With this word we have reached the sphere of the Upanishads; we must now say a few words on these most remarkable monuments of ancient Indian literature.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE BENGAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY RELATING TO THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 327.)

1792. — No. V.

Fort William, **24th September 1792.** Read a Letter from Lieut. Blair.

Lt. Blair. 23d. Septr.

To The Right Honble Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., etca.

My Lord, — In consequence of your Lordships desire I have the honor to lay before you. such an Establishment for **the New Settlement at the Andamans,** as Appears to me the Most proper, with the Monthly pay, and I have Studiously advised introducing any unnecessary or Useless People: also an Inventory of the necessary Store, and Provisions for Six Months, with the Estimated prices of Such as cannot be had from the Honble. Company's Stores together with the Tonage necessary for transporting the whole to the Andamans on further reflection, perhaps Some More Stores may Appear requisite.

I beg leave to Offer **My New Vessel the Union which was built at the Andamans,** to Assist in transporting the Men and Stores, at a reasonable Monthly rate agreeable to the tonage, This Vessel With three of the Pilot Vessels (if they can be Spared) together with **the Viper,** will be Sufficient to embark the Whole, and Appears to [be] the Most æconomical as well as the most Convenient Mode of effecting this Service. The Pilot Vessels might be returned immediately if necessary, But as the exigences of the new Settlement, will probably require the Constant Service of at least four Such Vessels as the above; and as Several of the Pilot Vessels are too large for that Service thought *(sic)* well addopted *(sic)* for the transportation of Men and Stores, I beg leave to recommend that three or four of the largest, be transferred to the use of the New Settlement, which might Soon be replaced by New Ones of a more eligible Size and Construction.

Having reason to be highly pleased with the Conduct of the Gentlemen who have served with me, I must beg permission to recommend them to your Lordships Attention. **Lieut. Roper and Wales** who have Commended *(sic)* the Viper and **Ranger,** have a particular Claim to my Approbation, and I must also include the young Gentlemen Serving in those Vessels, as Officers, who I judge to be both Capable and deserving of preferment. The Apparent profess[ion]al Abilities, and the Close Attention of **Mr. Wood the Surgeon,** to the Duties of his Station deserve my warmest Acknowledgements; and I earnestly hope that their Services will be Considered by your Lordship, and be rewarded by Some permanent Provision; which I make no doubt their future Conduct will merit.

I remain with great Respect, My Lord, Your Lordship most Obedient humble Servt.,

Calcutta, (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Septr. 23, 1792.

Fort William, 24th September 1792. **Enclosure in Lieut. Blairs Letter, 23rd Septr.**

A Proposed Establishment for the New Settlement at the Andamans.

	Number.	Pay per Month. Siccas.	A.	P.
Assistant	1	250	...	...
Surgeon	1	316	...	...
Deputy Storekeeper	1	100	...	...

	Number.	Pay per Month. Siccas.	A.	P.
European Overseers	1	140	...	...
Do. Master Carpenter	4	60	...	...
Do. Foremen Ditto	1	80	...	...
Sergeant Major	2	...	...	...
Sergeant	1	34	...	...
European Artilery	1	220	...	...
Haveldars...	10	30	...	...
Naicks	2	24	...	...
Private Sepoys	20	140	...	...
European Cooper	1	40	...	...
Do. Sail and Tent maker	1	40	...	...
Bengal Carpenters	10	140	...	...
Do. Smiths	6	60	...	...
Do. Sawers	12	120	...	...
Do. Bakers	4	50	...	...
Do. Taylors	4	50	...	...
Do. Washermen	4	48	...	...
Do. Potters	2	30	...	...
Do. Brickmakers	2	20	...	...
Do. Bricklayers	2	20	...	...
Do. Gardeners...	10	70	...	...
Do. Fishermen	12	114	...	...
Serangs	2	30	...	...
Tindals	2	24	...	...
Lascars	40	240	...	...
Native Overseers	10	120	...	...
Laborers	150	900	...	...
Stonecutters	4	40	...	...

	Number.	Pay per Month. Siccas.	A.	P.
Barbers	2	14	...	...
Servants	20	......	...	...
Women	50	......	...	...
		2744	...	...

September **23d, 1792.** (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Fort William, **24th September 1792. Enclosure in Lieut. Blairs Letter the 23rd September.**

Inventory of Stores, and Provisions for Six Months for the new Settlement, at the Andamans.

	Quantity.	Estimated Prices. Siccas.	A.	P.
Rice	3000 Mds.	60,000	...	...
Doll	1500 do.	3,000	...	...
Ghee	112 do.	1500	...	...
Salt	30	336	..	...
Copper **Kidgeree** Pots	100	600	...	...
Copper Dishes	200 Mds.	100	...	...
Wheat	5000 lbs.	350	...	...
Salt Meat	25 do.	1200	...	...
Biscuit	500 Gallons	140	...	...
Spirits	50 Mds.	500	...	...
Sugar	......	600	...	...
Iron flat Bars	200 Mds.	1,400	...	...
Iron Square Bars	200 do.	1,400	...	...
Bolt Iron	100 do.	1,400	...	...
Rodi [or e, i. e., rod] Do....	100 do.	1,000	...	...
Nails of various Sizes	100 do.	2,000	...	...
Carpinters Tools	12 Sets	600	...	...

	Quantity.	Estimated Prices.		
		Siccas.	A.	P.
Whip Saws	3	75	...	...
Jack Screws	10	200	...	...
Sling Cart	4	200	...	...
Ditto Wheels	1	To be drawn from the Military Stores.		
Iron Guns pounders	2 pairs			
Round Shot	10			
Grape Do.	2,000			
Double Headed Do.	500			
Cannon Powder	20 Barrels			
Priming Ditto	4 do.			
Powder Horns	10			
Match	4 Maund			
Flannel for Cartridges	5 Pieces			
Port Fires	100			
Signal Rockets	800			
Musquet Cartridge Paper	1 Ream			
Coconut Oil	10 Maunds	140	...	...
Lamp Oil	40 do.	280	...	...
Candles	10 do.	520	...	...
Sheet Lead	4 do.	140	...	...
Paint of Sorts and Oil	20 Kegs	500	...	...
Europe Rope of Sorts	20 Coils	1000	...	...
Tar	5 Barrels	80	...	...
Coal Tar	2 do.	60	...	...
Pitch	5 do.	100	...	...
Canvass	40 Bolts	1200	...	...
Twine	60 lbs.	60	...	...
Gunnie Twine	10 Mds.	50	...	...
Chiligon [? Chitigon] Do.	10 do.	140	...	...

	Quantity.	Estimated Prices.		
		Siccas.	A.	P.
Fishing Nets	20	600	...	...
Door Hinges	100 Pairs	200	...	...
Window Do.	500 do.	500	...	...
Locks of Sorts	100	200	...	...
Maiques[? *g*]? [tent-pegs]	2	.....	...	...
Large private Tents	6	......	...	...
Lamps	10	200	...	...
Lanterns	10	50	...	...
Flags of 20 feet hoist	2	......	...	...
Bunling *(sic)*	6 pieces	96	...	...
Europe Blocks of Sorts	100	500	...	...
Bengal Hoes	200	200	...	...
Grinding Stores [Stones]	10	60	...	...
Pick Axes	100	200	...	...
Felling-Axes	50	150	...	...
Bill Hooks...	100	200	...	...
Bengal Axes	50	50	...	...
Iron Crows	50	300	...	...
Smiths Tools	2 sets	400	...	...
Probable expence of Package, etca.	......	2000	...	...
		10176	...	...
Expence of Stores brought over	......	22601	...	...
Four Months pay in advance to the European Overseers, Artificers, Sepoys and Laborers, as pr. Paper N. 1	......	9976	...	...
	......	42753	...	...

Estimate of Tonage, for transporting 400 Men with Six Months provision and Stores.

	Tons.
To 400 Men with Baggage water and Provisions	300
Provision for ditto for 6 Months, and Stores as above	200
Artilery Stores	20
Stock Grain, etca.	100
	620

Vessels proposed for the transportation.

Viper exclusive of Stores and Provisions	... ...	20
Union ditto	... ...	160
Three Pilot Vessels do.	... ...	450
		630

The Board Approve the Establishment for the new Settlement at the Andamans and Lieut. Blair is to be Authorized to complete it as far as respects the Natives mentioned in the above List.

Ordered that the Stores and Provisions required in the Inventory, for Six Months, shall be furnished from the Stores of the Company as far as they can be supplied therefrom, and that the Remainder be purchased by Lt. Blair.

Agreed that the Offer made by **Lieut. Blair of his New Vessel, the Union,** be accepted to Assist in transporting the Men and Stores, and to be Employed on any Other necessary Service for the Space of four Months or until the Service will admit of her return to Calcutta from the 1st of October at the Monthly Charge to the Company of 2500 Sa. Rs. including every expence.

Agreed that three of the Companys Pilot Schooners be lent for the Transportation of the Stores, etca., to the New Settlement. They are to be returned as Soon as the Service is over under Charge of the Commander who will be appointed to them for the Trip.

Agreed that Lieut. Blair be informed that the Governor General in Council has received much Satisfaction in Observing the Testimony he has Afforded to the good Conduct of Gentlemen who have Served with him at the Andamans and desires that he will Signify to them the Sense he entertains of it.

1792. — No. VI.

Fort William, **8th October 1792.** Read a Letter and its Enclosure from Lieutenant Blair — On the Service.

Lt. Blair. 7 Oct.

To Edward Hay, Esqr., Secretary to the Govt.

Sir, — I take the Liberty of enclosing Lists of such Stores as may be furnished from the Honourable Company's Military and Marine Stores, for the new Settlement at the Andamans, that the necessary orders may be issued for their delivery.

I am, Sir, Your Obedt. Servt.,

October 7th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Marine Stores for the Settlement at the Andamans.

Salt Meat	... ...	5,000 lbs.
Bolt Iron	... ...	11 Maunds
Rode Iron	... ...	50 Do.
Nails of Various sizes	... ...	100 Do.
Sheet Lead	... ...	4 Do.
Europe Rope of Sorts	... ...	20 Coils
Tar	... ...	5 Barrels
Canvass	... ...	40 Bolt
Flags 16 feet hoist	... ...	2
Europe Bunting Red White Blue	... ...	6 pieces

October 7th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Military Stores for the Settlement at the Andamans.

Iron Guns 9 or 12 Pounders with Carriages, etca. ...	4	
Brass do. 3 Pounders with Do. etca.	6	
Round twelve Pound Short *(sic)*	1000	
Grape Do.	200	
Round three Pound Do.	2,000	
Grape Do. Do.	500	
Cannon Powder	20	Barrels
Priming Do.	2	Do.
Powder Horns	10	
Match	2	Mds.
Port Fires	200	
Musquets with Accoutrements	100	
Fuzees Do.	10	
Musquet and Fuzee Balls	4	Mds.
Musquet Cartridge Paper	1	Ream
Flannel for Cartridges	5	pieces
Signal Rockets	200	
Sling Cart	1	
Do. Do. Wheels	2	pieces
Marquees	2	
Private Tents	6	
Bell Tents	6	
Necessary Tents	2	

October 7th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

Agreed that the Orders, requested in Lieutenant Blairs Letter of the 7th Instant, for the Issue of Stores therein mentioned be given.

1792. — No. VII.

Fort William, 17th October 1792. Ordered that the following directions be sent to Lieutenant Blair, and **Lieutenant Roper.**

To Lieut. **Archibald Blair** in Charge of the Settlement at the Andaman.

Sir, — **The Honble Company's Snow Viper** being in Readiness to proceed to the Andamans, you will herewith receive a Letter for the Commander **Lieutenant Roper** directing him to make the best of his Way to that Settlement, and to attend to such Instructions and Orders as you may give him for his Guidance.

You are apprized of the Intention to change the Place of the Establishment to the North East Harbour [now Port Cornwallis] — of the Readiness of the Commodore to render every Assistance that can be given by his Majesty's Ships for this Purpose and that Three Vessels are to be sent from hence with Stores and Supplies of different kinds for the new Settlement and with such Information before you, you will be enabled to judge what further Service will be wanted from the Viper, the Board leave it, accordingly to your Discretion to detain the Viper on this Side of India as long as You think it necessary, and they are pleased to desire that she may then be returned to Bombay as belonging to that Marine at that Presidency.

Council Chamber, I am, etca. (Signed) E. Hay, Secry. to the Government.

16th October 1792.

To **Lieutenant Roper, Commanding the Honble. Company's Ship Viper.**

Sir, — I am directed to acquaint you what [? that] Winds and Weather permitting you are to proceed to the Andamans upon receiving such Instructions as may be given to you by Lieutenant Blair, who has Charge of the Affairs at that Settlement. You will follow those Instructions for your

future Guidance deeming them of the same Force as if they had proceeded immediately from the Governor General in Council.

I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servt. (Signed) Edward Hay, Secry. to the Government.

Fort William,

the 17th October 1792.

1792. — No. VIII.

Fort William, **22d. October 1792.** The following letter was received on the 20th Instant from Lieutenant Blair, and an Order on the Treasury was issued, According to his request, in favor of the Acting Marine Paymaster.

Lt. Blair. 20th Octr.

To The Right Honorable Charles Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor General in Council.

My Lord, — On estimation I find, that the Sum of Sicca Rupees ten thousand eight hundred will be necessary, for the purpose of advancing four months pay to the Artificers Sepoys and Laborers, for the intended new Settlement at the Andamans ; and for the purchase of six months Provisions and a Variety of Stores, Tools and Implements of Husbandry that a further sum of Sicca Rupees Twenty seven thousand, will be necessary.

I have therefore to request that the sum of Sicca Rupees thirty Eight thousand (rs. 38,000) may be issued to me, which I hope will be sufficient for the above purposes.

I am, My Lord, Your Lordship's most Obedient humble Servt.

October 20th, 1792. (Signed) **Archibald Blair.**

(To be continued.)

SOME ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TAKING OF MADRAS IN 1746 BY LA BOURDONNAIS.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 350.)

No. VI.

Fort William, 29th December 1746.

Vizagapatam Letter.

ON the 27th We received **a Letter from Mr. Richd. Prince Chief, etca., Council at Vizagapatam** Enclosing Extract[s] of what News they have received from the Southward.

No. 1.

Extract of news from the Southward.

The Garrison of Fort St. George surrendered to the French Prisoners of War the 10th September it is needless to relate the Circumstances of the Siege **We were sold to the French by the Nabobs Eldest Son Mahaumed Caun** Monsr. La Bourdonnie who was Commander in Chief by sea and Land after hoisting the French Flag proposed Terms of Ransom which was Accepted Terms drawn out and Stipulated were all houses Effects, etca., belonging to the Inhabitants should be their own Property — All valuables of All kinds whatsoever belonging to the Company and the Kings Ships (Excepting the Artillery and Warlike Stores belonging to the Company mounted and dismounted) should belong to the French All Artillery mounted and dismounted and Warlike Stores should be devided Equally by Commissarys half to remain in the Garrison for the Company and half to [be] Carryed Away by the French Two Neutrall Ships to be Allowed Off till their Property was Carryed Away there was about 4 Laack of Pagodas in Silver Broad Cloth, etca. Merchandize in Madrass belonging to the Company besides which they were to pay for the Ransom of the Town Eleven Laack of Pagodas as 5 Laack in India and 6 in Europe and it is generally believed that Monsr. LBourdonnie in Diamonds Jewells, etca., Screwed Up a Purse of about 150000 Pagodas so Altogether makes Up the Sum of 1650000, One Million Six hundred and fifty thousand Pagodas[1]

[1] "400000, 1100000, 150000 : 1650000 : besides the Artillery and Warlike stores.'

for Security of which **hostages** were to be delivered to Monsr. LBourdonnie **the Governours 2 Children Mr. Stratton and family Mr. Harris and Wife and Messrs. Strake and Walsh** The first Capitulation Were According to the above Terms and the Town was to be delivered the English, **on the 1st October Dissents Arose Extream high between Duplex and LBourdonnie** and the former insisted Upon the Garrisons being kept by the French till the last of January his was likewise Agreed to by our Governour and Council and Added to the Terms of Capitulations so the Hostages Staid behind which were already to embark.

Nizam hearing what the French had done and judging truly that Ours was only a Tributary Town to the Mogulls Empire that it would Occasion Distress and Confusion in the Province and the Effect his Surcar **was full of wrath** and resentment at the News and immediately **wrote to the Nabob that if Madrass which was Lost by his folly was not retaken** or delivered to the English that his whole Family should be Cut off from Arcott The Nabobs Great Age Occasioned **his Eldest Son** to come down with all the forces he could Muster which was about 1000 horse and 4000 foot Encamped within a League of Madrass took 3 or 4 French Gentlemen Prisoners and four days running stopt all Water and Provision Entering the Town **The French** after this **received orders from Duplex to make War Upon the Moors** upon which at Day Break they surprized the Camp with about 200 Europeans and as many seapies and 2 field Pieces and killed about 30 of the Moors possessed themselves of the Camp and plunder to a Considerable Amount **the Nabob** upon this **Possessed himself with his Army of St. Thomê** but the Second Day about 1200 Europeans with as many Coffrees and Seapies as a reinforcement Over Land from Pondicherry made him glad to jump upon his Horse and get away as fast as they could They killed them more *(sic)* about 50 or 60 Men and Some of their head Officers **Monsr. Farradise** who commanded this reinforcement then Loaded the Camells, Horse's, and Oxen with the Plunder of St. Thomé which was very considerable and beat the Tom Tom that **the Town of St. Thomé belonged to the French (Novr. 1st).** This happened about 5 Days Since and ever Since the Nabobs Forces have kept about 30 Miles in Land and wrote to all the Pollygarrs in this Part of the Country to Come to his Assistance Yesterday at 4 o Clock was **a proclamation in Madrass by order of Duplex and Paradize (the Latter of which is the 4th Governour of Madrass) that the whole treaty of Ransom Made by L'Bourdonnie was Null and Void** That the Inhabitants should have their Linnen and Apparell with some furniture And that the Inhabitants Govr., etca., should Leave the Town in Two Days Upon Pain of being sent Prisoners to Pondicherry this Upon their Parole and that they should not Stay at the Mount nor near it or Limits of Madrass **That the Town of Madrass with all its Dependancys belonged to the Company of France.** I know nothing left to do but to leave off Investments for the present and Endeavour to unite the Forces of the other two Presidencys to the British Squadron — send Embassadors to the Mogull and Nizam with handsome presents and Endeavour if Possible with the Permission of the Head Powers to Exterpate the French out of all India which Considering [what] they have must depend upon lucky Circumstances to Accomplish without their first doing a great deal of Mischief And without it is impossible for the English Company to Support a Trade As it is quite Uncertain where L'Bourdonnie's Squadron is gone (which Sailed about the 22d. Ultimo from Pondicherry) whether to their Islands Acheen or Goa, I am in some pain about Your Presidency so soon as our Squadron leaves you I have here under Wrote I believe a pretty perfect Account of their force which had it Not been for the disagreements between L'Bourdonnie and Duplex and the storm together would have soon taken a Round all over India I hope to hear Our Affairs at sea taken a more fortunate turn than what they have done.

November 5th. — The Inhabitants Are Now left and Leaving Madrass with their New Passports Upon Parole of Honour whether the Governour and Council Come out or go to Pondicherry We are Not yet Certain. The Nabob still Continues 30 miles in land and is Summonsing all the Pollygurs etca., but with all the forces he can Muster will I am afraid be afraid to Encamp near Madrass Again We have heard of the Arrival of no Ships in India Except our Mocha Ship as yet they have made **no**

Attempts Upon Fort St. David. The above is what has passed and is all I can recollect We are about 30 of us **at Pullicat** that was out Upon L'Bourdonnies first Passport and that Stole out afterwards, **the Dutch refuse Us the protection of their Fort.**

November 6th. — Yesterday Came to an Anchor **in Madrass Road a large Ship** with a pendant which saluted the Fort with 9 Guns. The Fort hauled down the English Colours and fired 200 Shott she immediately sett Sail and Stood to the Eastward she sent a Letter on shore by the Cattamaran which Paradise got but Nobody Else knows from whence she Came or what News.

November 8. — **Governour Morse and Mr. Monson** sett out Yesterday with a party of 200 french for Pondicherry and they say they will take Fort St. David in 15 Days. — Its said **the Burbon and Neptune** are so leaky in Pondicherry Road that they'll break them Up — **The Princess Mary** is sailed for Pondicherry.

		Guns.	Men.		Weight of Metal. below.		Weight of Metal. above.
These Ships Arrived at Pondicherry after the taking Madrass.	Cœntaur ..	70	600	Sailed	18	pound	18
	Mars	54	450	do.	18	...	12
	Brilliant ...	40	350	do.	12	...	9
Lost all her Masts ..	Achilles ...	70	600	do. Jury Mast	18	...	12
Do. Do. Leaky ...	Burbon ...	54	450	at Pondicherry .	18	...	12
These 2 Sunk and 1 man only saved.	Phœnix ...	54	450	......	18	...	12
	Duke of Orleans	40	350	......	12	..	9
	Lys	40	350	Sail'd	12	...	9
	St. Lewis ...	40	350	Do.	12	...	9
Lost all her Masts ...	Neptune ...	40	350	Pondicherry ...	12	...	9
Sunk with all the people ..	Insulaire ...	30	300	......	...	12	...
	Renamaii ...	cant tell her force.					
English Prize	Princess Mary ..	30	60	Madrass ...	...	6	...
Garrison at Pondicherry when all the Ships are Manned as above.			700	Men.			
	Europeans ..		5360				
	Gentou Peons above ...		600				
	Coffrees ...		500				
	Men altogether ...		6460				
	Seapies ..		600				
	Men altogether ...		7060				

Lost in the Madrass Storm of the 3d. October **the Yannam Ship and Brilliant Snow** Prize and its said with 15 mortar and 1000 Bomb Shell.

Lost in the Storm of Madagascar 2 large Ships of their Fleet.

They Affirm **the Anglsea Man of War** they have made a 40 Gun privateer off and with 2 Large Ships in Company are in India.

The Cœtaur and Achilles have 13 Guns in their Lower tier and 14 above I contented [? counted] My self the Latter Ships and our Officers that were on board Allow they have Actually the same weight of Metall above and below 18 pounders.

The 54 Gun Ships have 6 and 7 Port holes of a side in their Lower tier and Are not Equal to the Weight of Metall they Carry some of them have only 6 Guns on their Lower Deck and so traverse them on the Tack they fight.

The 40 Gun Ships have 5 or 6 Ports in their Lower Tier. The land forces upon the Island they pretend to say is Still pretty Considerable which with the Garrisons of **Mahey and Chandernagore** Are not reckoned.

They say the 3 Ships to China They have taken recruits of about 600 Europeans from the Shipping which is about the Number they have at Madrass besides Seapies, etca.

We Can't pretend to judge where the Ships that are Sailed are gone to whether to Acheen Mucha the Islands of Maurattaes [Mauritius] or Goa they sailed from Pondicherry about the 22d. Instant **the Achilles** had her fore mast and Bow spritt, the rest of her Masts but very bad jury Masts.

No. 2.

Extract of News from the Southward.

October 12th. — The Storm that happened 9 Days before having destroyed 2 French Ships of 50 Guns and **the Yannam** one and Carried Away the Masts of the others Mr. LBourdonnie who has fitted **the Achilles** with Jury Masts went on her and Arriving with Jury Masts went on her [?] Arriving at Pondicherry found **Mr. Duplex** was just **dispatching the Sumatra for Europe** she was followed by one of those he found ready on the road who brought her and Mr. Duplex's Packet into L'Bourdonnies who procured [it] without Landing fearing the Governour would Seize him and had 5 Rigged Ships besides **the Cœntaur and Achilles** 2 or 3 disabled one's went Away after **the Prize Princess Mary** remained at Madrass unmasted.

A French Governour and Council was Erected at Madrass Monsr. Depruminul Governour and Major Bury Commandant 500 Europeans in Garrison with some Seapies and Coffrees.

October 23rd. — Nizam having heard that Madrass was taken and by the Connivance of Annawardy Chaws Family whom the French had before brought Over for 3 Laack of Rupees in hand and a promise of 5 after the capture sent him Word to remit him the Money and to go and take Madrass from the French and deliver it to Us Again or he would Cut them all off whereupon **Mawphus Cawn** who made that Contract Came and Surrounded Madrass with about 700 Horse and 4,000 Foot he had block't it Up 3 Days when the French with 200 Men and Some field Pieces (finding he lodged himself at the Governours Garden) took a round turn and Early in the Morning Surprized him they retired behind **Egmore** the French burnt some tents and drove in some Cattle and got in Water both which they wanted Much our Governour and Council and Most of the English having been detained in the Town Though some of the Latter after having been denyed made their Escape in Disguize to the Mount about Thirty in all including those who Came out with leave before [the] Blockade of which I was one.

October 25th. — Monsr. Parradize with 300 Men and 3 or 4 hundred Peons after a hasty March from Pondicherry **saw the Moors** drawn Up to receive him at Break of Day he Attaked and

Rented [? routed] them just to the south of St. Thomé they all with Mauphus Caun retired to **Conjewaram** and a party of 200 French who Came from Town an hour or two late for the fight Joining the other they Plundered St. Thome Except Portugueze and other Christeans who retired there much of the Madrass Goods had been Carried there they took also 30 Cammells 60 Horses killed an Elephant were Masters of all the Tents and most of the Baggage all this while we were suspected of joining with the Moors and the two Councils at Madrass Made sharpe remonstrances to each other but they have found their suspicions of Us unjust Nevertheless they prohibit the English now in Town from going out and have all along shewn much Distrust of our faith at the same time breaking theirs in several Particulars the Moors are also round Pondicherry and the Nabob is gathering forces to Come down Again but tis believed with Equal Success as before **The Moors have Seized Mr. De Choisys Brother Mr. Cirjen** with 2 private Men and have Carried them to Arcott Mousr. Parradize is declared Commandant of the Military and 2nd in Council at Madrass.

October 28th. — The Dutch at Negapatam have News that Holland declared War against France in April[2] . . . . . the Seas are Covered with our Men of War and privateers.

October 31st. — The News of the Moors being round Pondicherry is Contradicted.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 329.)

BESIDES the use of guardian influences several **minor devices are** practised to turn aside evil glances. Among these are : (*a*) abusing the evil influence ; (*b*) cheating the evil influence ; (*c*) returning the evil influence ; and (*d*) tempting the evil influence.

(a) Abuse. — In Russia, if an unthinking visitor says :—"O what a lovely child, what a fine healthy babe," the Russian nurse blurts out in anger : — "Do you wish to bewitch the child ?"[63] In North Scotland, if any one praised a child to excess, the nurse would say : — "Hold your tongue or you will forespeak the child."[64]

(b) Cheating. — The chief means of cheating the evil influence is to belittle the object admired or likely to be admired. In India, both Hindu and Muslim mothers mark their children's faces with smudges of lamp-black to cheat the Evil Eye : that is, to cheat envious spirits by dulling the temptation to envy and to cheat unhoused spirits by making the child seem an unpleasant lodging. Similarly, the Japanese and also the Egyptian Muslims clothe their children slovenly and smear them with dirt to guard them against admiration.[65] In Madagascar, if you say a child is pretty the mother protests, "No, it is ugly : it is nasty."[67] In Greece, a new-born babe has mud put on his brow to keep off the Evil Eye.[68] If Hindu parents lose children in childhood and if a new child is born the new-comer is not uncommonly called Stone or Rubbish. The belief is that the deaths of the former children are due either to the longing of the first dead for playmates : or more commonly to some one of the family dead who envies or has a grudge against the mother : and that the spirit is cheated into supposing either that the last born is not a child or that the mother does not care for it and would not mourn its loss.[69] With the Hindu practice of calling a child Stone or Rubbish may be compared the English practice in caressing a child of calling it Scamp, Rascal, Witch, or Devil

[63] *St. James' Budget*, June 22nd, 1883 ; Mrs. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Græco-Russian Church*, p. 59.

[64] Walter Gregor, p. 91.

[65] *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 193 ; *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, p. 177.

[67] Schweinfurth's *Heart of Africa*, Vol. II. p. 168.

[68] Reference mislaid.

[69] This is the accepted explanation among Indian nurses and other intelligent women. At the same time the names Stone and Rubbish being both favourite spirit-houses suggests that the spirits may spare the child by being tempted into the name.

in the kindest tones. Mr. Story suggests that this English form of abuse or belittling is a trace of an early fairy dread. He notes that the practice in caressing a child of calling him Rascal or Outcast prevails in Corsica. The Corsicans admit that the object of the abuse is to save the child from the fascination which praise and admiration bring. The Corsicans say :— "The powers who preside over the Evil Eye carry out our wishes by opposites." In Scotland, the risk of an evil glance is avoided by turning a coat or dress outside in. This turning of the coat may be a belittling, showing the seamy side and making the wearer look badly dressed and so dulling the desire either of the mischief-seeking or of the lodging-seeking spirit.[70] A third means of belittling oneself is to do unpleasant work. This the Romans held and the Italians hold to be one of the best correctives.[71]

(c) **Returning.** — Of the device of returning the evil influence to its author two examples may be quoted. In the Scottish Highlands (1690), if a stranger admired a cow, some of her milk was given him to drink to break the spell.[72] The sense is : By drinking the milk the cow-spirit passes into the stranger. After drinking the milk the stranger would suffer any harm which his Evil Eye might cause to the cow. Similarly, in Western India, if a Hindu, when taking food, believes that the glance of some one present has struck him, the eater offers some of the food to the suspected person.[73] In Italy, if a child has been blighted by an evil glance, and the person who did the mischief is known, the child is brought before the evil-glancer and spits thrice into his mouth.[74] The sense is: The spirit sent into the child through the Evil Eye is in the child's spittle. The child's spittle in the mouth of the owner of the Evil Eye causes a communion between the child and the Evil-Eye owner, So that any damage done to the child equally damages the owner of the Evil Eye.

(d) **Tempting.** — Among Gujarât Hindus, if a stranger looks with admiration on a child, the mother says : — " Look, there is dirt on your shoe."[75] The sense seems to be that the dirt or ordure is dear to the evil spirit and that he prefers even the name of dirt as a lodging to the child. Another class of articles that tempt evil spirits into them are the indecent. The received explanation is that the indecent provokes laughter and therefore scares evil influences. That there is ground for Plutarch's saying (A. D. 150, *Symposium*, V. 7) that strange and laughable objects keep off the Evil Eye is shewn by the *gryllos* or fancies so common among Italians.[76]

The following are among **the leading guardian articles** the sight of which in virtue of their inherent guardian power diverts the evil glance from the person gazed at either by scaring the unwholesome influence or by prisoning or housing the influence in the article instead of in the person gazed at :—

Ass. — The Moursaks of Central Africa set the head of an ass in their gardens to keep off the Evil Eye.[77] Among the Greeks and Romans the skull of an ass set upon a pole in the midst of a corn field was a potent amulet against blight. The practice was continued in Tuscany till the fourteenth century.[78]

Bells. — Of the scaring virtue of church bells Aubrey (England, 1660) says[79] : — "The curious do say that the ringing of bells exceedingly disturbs spirits." At Paris the ringing of the

[70] This explanation finds support in the German saying :—" The coat is so handsome, the apple so red, no Evil Eye must look on it." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Vol. III. p. 1099.

[71] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo* (page wanting).

[72] *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VI. p. 409, in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 9.

[73] MS. Note.

[74] Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 208.

[75] MS. Note.

[76] See also the groups figured in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 144. In the groups figured the combination of guardian elements seems more noticeable than their comicality. Still in Fig. 28 the comic element is undoubted and the combination may fairly be taken to be a device to increase the comic and therefore the scaring influence. Reasons are given below under " Phallus " for not accepting the view that indecency or comicality is the basis of the guardian power of the phallus or *lingam*. Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 148, n. 247.

[77] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 121.

[78] King, *The Gnostics*, p. 116.

[79] *Miscellanies*, p. 241.

great bell of St. Germain and in Wiltshire the ringing of St. Aldhelm's bell at Malmesbury abbey made thunder and lightning cease. Aubrey also quotes from the *Golden Legend* of W. de Norde that the evil spirits of the air doubt much when they hear bells ring. Besides stopping thunder bell-ringing stops great tempests and outrages of weather by abashing the fiends and making them flee and cease moving of tempests. The infant's coral and bells is an example of the use of bells to scare the Evil Eye.[80] In India, eye or phallic-shaped bells are hung round the necks of draught oxen.

Bird. — The bird is a leading spirit-home. The soul leaves the dead in bird form: the dead return as birds: the belief that a Divine Spirit takes the form of a dove has passed into Christianity. It is in agreement with their popularity as spirit-homes that birds were supposed to guard themselves and their young from fascination by keeping certain stones and plants in their nests.[81] A brass cock is a common ornament on Neapolitan harness: a bird with spread wings is a popular watch or girdle charm. A bird is one of the elements out of which the favourite compound child's-guard against the Evil Eye the Neapolitan *cima ruta* or rue spray is composed.[82]

Camel. — The camel is worn as a charm in Naples.[83] The apparent reason why the camel is valued as a charm is that the sudden and unexplained sicknesses of camels make them seem to be specially liable to attacks of the Evil Eye. It follows that the image of a camel is a favourite Evil Eye home and will draw to itself evil glances and so make them harmless.

Cameo. — The ancient Greeks and Romans hung cameos round the necks of children to guard them against the Evil Eye.[84]

Cima ruta or Rue Spray is a popular and complex child's ornament and amulet against the Evil Eye in Naples.[85] The foundation of the trust placed in the rue spray is the medical virtue of the rue or herb of grace whose healing properties Pliny (A. D. 50) details.[86] The rue sprig was a favourite Etruscan (B.C. 1000) and Carthaginian (B. C. 800) guardian.

Crocodile. — The crocodile is an amulet against the Evil Eye among the Moors of Egypt and Tunis, among the Romans, the Venetians, and the Portuguese.[87] The crocodile is believed to be one of the animals gifted with the power of fascination. Deer and other animals on which a crocodile fixes his gaze are believed to stand paralyzed until he seizes them. In the Sennar districts of the Soudan some of the crocodiles of the Blue Nile are believed to be men who have taken the crocodile form to feed upon men.[88]

Cross. — In different forms the cross has been used by almost all nations and at almost all times to keep off the Evil Eye.[89]

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80 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 429.

81 Story's *Castle of St. Angelo*, p. 190.

82 Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 55. The Greeks (Bishop Heliodorus, A. D. 380, in King, *The Gnostics*, p. 114) believed that a sight of the yellow hammer cured jaundice. The yellow hammer avoided the glance of the jaundiced eye as if it was a blow shutting its eyes and flying away. If a yellow hammer looked on a jaundiced eye its nature forced it to attract the disease like an exhalation. The sense is: The yellow spirit of the jaundiced eye was tempted into the yellow head of the yellow hammer. Thus the yellow hammer was the scape-bird which like the Jewish scape-goat and the human guardian or scape-man takes evil to himself.

83 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 341.

84 Grant's *Superstitions*, p. 201.

85 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 21, 343, 345; W. Neville Rolfe (*Naples in the Nineties*, p. 50) names nine elements: rue sprig, serpent, halfmoon, key, heart, hand or horn, bird, shamrock, and silver. A tenth should not be overlooked, the division of the rue sprig into three branches which form at the stem the meeting of three ways, one of the greatest of Evil Eye and other spirit-homes.

86 Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 341.

87 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 320-321.

88 Berghoff in *Pall Mall Gazette*, May 1st, 1899, p. 2.

89 A convenient summary of the belief in the virtue of the cross shape is given by Mr. Elworthy (*The Evil Eye*, pp. 272-292). In a former article the basis of the spirit-housing or prisoning power of the cross has been traced to its representing the meeting of roads, a spot where swarms of evil spirits are always confined. And it has been suggested that the association of the cross shape with different religions, the Phallic cross, the Sun or Fire cross, the Skandinavian cross, and the Christian cross are adaptations and overlayers of the original meaning. The belief in the healing, that is, in the spirit-prisoning power of the wood of the gibbet and of the chains by which a

Eye. — In agreement with the law that the guardian is the housed or squared fiend an eye (cast, sculptured, painted or otherwise represented) ought to be a chief charm against the Evil Eye. A spirit whose home has been an eye will be drawn to the likeness of an eye and feeling at home in the likeness will rest content in it and be harmless. The Egyptians (B. C. 4000-300), Etruscans (B. C. 2000-1000), and Greeks (B. C. 1500-100) painted eyes on many of their vases, tools and house ornaments.[90] Eyes brighten and guard the prows of Maltese, Sicilian, Italian, Greek, Egyptian, and Chinese boats.[91] In many compound amulets, apparently to add power to the collection, a central eye is painted or embossed.[92] The Hindus shew their god Indra covered with eyes apparently to protect him in spite of the story that his eye-armour is a punishment. The peacock's eyed-tail-feather was lucky among classic Greeks and Romans and is lucky among Hindus because evil influences were drawn into the feather's eye. Among the ancient Egyptians the wearing of eyes as a guard against the Evil Eye was common. The favourite eye was the eye of Osiris which was the hieroglyphic translated *atâ* and was worn both by the living and the dead and was painted on walls.[93] The Phœnikians (B. C. 1500-1000) used the eye as an amulet, and their colony the Carthaginians (B. C. 1000-100) were fond of pottery shaped like animals' heads and embellished with eyes.[94] The small cross-cut bells hung round the necks of Indian draught oxen may have a phallic meaning but the shape is commonly believed to be an eye shape. In a written Abyssinian charm against the Evil Eye across the top and middle run lines of small eyes.[95] In South Russia, many amulets have been found with markings meaning eyes.[96] Arab amulets against the Evil Eye have an eye marked on them.[97] The eye of the cuttle fish is a favourite ornament in Peru.[98]

Fascinum. — See "Phallus."

Feather. — That feathers are important spirit-homes is shewn by the plumes worn by warriors and by hearses and by the pheasants' tails on Naples harness. Mr. Elworthy says (*The Evil Eye*, p. 202):—"We may conclude that the plumes on an ancient Belgian helmet like the pheasants' tails stuck on horses' heads were intended to attract the eye of the malevolent." Its eye gives the peacock's feather a special virtue against the Eyil Eye.[99] Among the Romans the peacock's feather was sacred to Juno. In England, the peacock feather is unlucky and a witch ornament. The explanation of the change seems to be that the peacock feather is one of the pre-Christian ornaments or symbols to which wit failed to attach a Christian meaning. Like other properties of its patron Juno, which were not worked into the decoration of the new Queen of Heaven, the guardian peacock eye was degraded to be a witch symbol and therefore unlucky.

Fire. — In Scotland (1690), to turn a live coal in a fire stopped the action of the Evil Eye.[100] In Scotland, during the present century (1825), when the evil spirit that had been

criminal was bound to a gibbet suggests that the Romans chose crucifixion as the malefactor's death because in the slow process of dying the dwindling spirit of the criminal passed into and remained in the cross.

90 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 136, 141, 142. Dennis (*Cities of Etruria*, Vol. I. pp. 469, 471; Vol. II. p. 77) holds that the eyes on Etruscan vases were to keep off the Evil Eye. An eye fills the centre of the wing of certain large-winged human-headed birds (*Op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 467). Etruscan footstools were marked with a pair of eyes (*Op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 331).

91 *Op. cit.* p. 134, and MS. Notes.

92 King (*The Gnostics*, p. 115, cut 22) figures a sard with a central eye and round the eye a thunderbolt, lion, hare, dog, scorpion, stag, serpent and owl. King says (*Op. cit.* p. 115, n. 1): —"This represents the dreaded Eye itself as the centre of a circle of symbols radiating from it and all tending to baffle its effect." It seems more correct to see in the central eye the chief baffler (because the chief houser) of the evil glance and to consider the surrounding objects as a combine, each bringing its own housing or baffling virtue to add to the housing influence of the central eye.

93 Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 126-136.

94 *Op. cit.* p. 127.

95 *Op. cit.* pp. 391, 394.

96 *Op. cit.* p. 136.

97 *Op. cit.* p. 233.

98 Bassett's *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea*, p. 459.

99 The Etruscans were fond of figures with eye-embellished wings Compare Dennis, *The Cities of Etruria*, p. 364.

100 Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 45.

carried on an evil glance was lured back from the victim into salt, the salt was thrown into the back of the fire with the words "Lord guard us from scaith."[1]

Flag. — A flag, or ensign, always an oddly bright and living companion, is one of the earliest and most prized centres of luck. The plain but bright loose metal tongue which along South Italian roads swings and gleams from the peak of the shaft horse's saddle bow is perhaps a trace of the root-value of the ensign, ever swaying, never resting, always drawing to itself the evil influences which assail the object over which it flutters.

Frog. — Among the ancient Egyptians, Etruscans and Persians, among classic Greeks and Romans, and in modern Burmah and Peru the frog is an amulet. The frog is a favourite Neapolitan charm against the Evil Eye, and is known as Sirena.[2]

Glass. — Perhaps from their flashing in the dark and gleaming in the sun beads and other glass ornaments are among the most widespread of early amulets. In India, light blue glass beads are perhaps the most trusted means for keeping the evil glance from camels, horses and bullocks. About 1888 two of the noble draught oxen of Râdhanpur were brought to a cattle show in Ahmadâbâd, the capital of the province of Gujarât. They gained the first prize. Every one passing their stall praised them. The animals went off their feed and lost condition till a circle of blue glass beads was tied round a leg of each of them.[3]

Goat. — The brass model of a goat fastened on Italian houses or harness is not an emblem of Pan or Fawn. It is to keep off the Evil Eye as in England, in Scotland, and in India a he-goat is kept at the entrance of a stable or struts in front of a regiment to stop and house evil influences as the Jewish scape-goat carried with it ill-luck into the wilderness.[3a]

Grillo or Mantis, the Grasshopper or Locust. — A grillo or mantis was set up by Pisistratus (B. C. 550) near the Parthenon as the badge or guardian of the Athenians. It perpetually appears on gems with the same meaning.[4] Its likeness to a skeleton is said to be one of the reasons why the Athenians chose the grasshopper or *tetix* as an ancestral badge.[5] The Neapolitans look at the *grillo* as a grotesque and consider the mantis an example of the class of charms which entice the Evil Eye into them because of their strange and comic look. In Italian *grillo* means a caprice or fancy as well as a grasshopper. And the amulets known as grylli, though their strength seems mainly to lie in their being compound amulets have, in certain cases, a comic element.[6] It is true that laughter dissipates bad spirits and that the ludicrous is the lucky. At the same time, as is the case with the *phallus*, most of the articles whose luckiness is explained by their laughter-causing influence are early guardians, the reason for whose place among the guardians has been forgotten or is inconvenient to state. No comic element seems to enter into the Athenian faith in the grasshopper as an ornament or guardian Nor is there anything festive in the Roman saying applied to a man who sickened without

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[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. III. p. 47.

[2] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 309, 311; Hare's *Cities of Southern Italy*, p. 16; Neville Rolfe, *Naples in the Nineties*, p. 56.

[3] MS. Note, 1888.

[3a] Compare : Before the army of the first crusaders (A. D. 1095) was led sometimes a goat sometimes a goose. These leaders the army believed to be filled with the Holy Ghost (Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 617), that is, filled with the Holy Ghost and so a scare or a prison of evil or unlucky influences. Unlike the Hebrew Scape-Goat these leaders did not take the crusaders' sins into the wilderness. The goat and the goose, guardian-like, took into themselves the evil glances of hate, the witcheries and magic spells, and the ancestral spirits which the enemy had summoned to their aid.

[4] Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 42, 43, 121; King, *The Gnostics*, p. 116. Compare Thucydides, Book I. Sect. VI., Dale's Translation, p. 4 : — "The rich elders of the Athenians (written about B. C. 430) ceased to bind a knot of their hair with a tie of golden grasshoppers." King (*The Gnostics*, Fig. 21 opposite p. 115) figures a gem with a grasshopper on the back of a goat showing that like the goat the value of the grasshopper is as a scape. According to King (*Op. cit.* p. 212, n. 1) the locust had also a phallic meaning.

[5] Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 122.

[6] Compare Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 144, and the Grylli there figured.

cause, "*Mantis te vidit*, a locust has seen thee";[7] nor in the Florentine importance attached to grasshoppers on Assumption or Grashopper's Day (*Gorno dei Grilli*), when grasshoppers are caught in the fields, sold in tiny cages, and set on window sills that their chirping may keep away bad luck.[8] The Romans considered the mantis a kind of locust.[9] The worship of the locust or grasshopper in Greece or in other parts of the Levant is natural. Than locust swarms no animal plague is more destructive: than locust hosts no armies seem more spirited.[10] In England, a certain worship attaches to the house-cricket or gryllus. People hold that their presence brings luck to a house and think it would be hazardous to destroy them.[11]

(To be continued.)

THE THIRTY-SEVEN NATS (SPIRITS) OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 352.)

Group V.

Bayin Naung Cycle.

(Nats Nos. 15, 18, 22, and 23.)

Group V. consists of 4 Nats, whose direct reference is not clear, but who are I think of a very late date connected with the great conqueror Bayin Naung of Pegu and his dynasty in the XVIIth Century. Hence my designation of the group. The outline of this set of stories is as follows: — A son of the King of Ava died whilst in a monastery. A son of Anaukthalôn Mintarâgyî of Ava died of drink. A son of Min Bayin of Ava died from an overdose of opium. Yun Bayin, Chief of Zimmè, a Siamese Shan State, was conquered by Sinbyûmyâshin of Pegu and died at Rangoon in captivity in 1558. All these personages became Nats, under the titles respectively of Shindaw Nat, Minyè Aungdin Nat, Maung Minbyû Nat, Yun Bayin Nat.

The Nats arising out of these legends are:— No. 15. Shindaw Nat, who is the son of King Nyaung-yàn Min of Ava. No. 18. Minyè Aungdin Nat, who is the son of King Anaukpyetlôn Mintarâ of Ava. No. 23. Maung Minbyû Nat, who is a son of King Bayin Naung of Pegu and Ava. No. 22. Yun Bayin Nat, who is a Yun Shan chief of Zimmè.

For the historical facts of this legend or set of legends there is very little to go upon, but still I think we are now amongst tales of later date than any of the other legends, and are taken amongst the descendants of Bayin Naung, the great Peguan monarch of Burmese descent and the real successor of Tabin Shwêdî. He was the king known to the Portuguese as Branginoco, through the Talaing pronunciation of his full title, Bayingyî Naungzaw, and reigned from 1551 to 1581. He held all Burma, *i. e.*, both the Ava and Pegu kingdoms, from 1555, as Emperor, with subordinate kings at Ava, Prome and Tonghoo. Bayin Naung was succeeded by Nanda Bayin (1581-1599), who came to an untimely end, but was succeeded by a brother, Nyaungyàn Min, the tributary king of Ava who made himself king of the whole of his father's territory and was succeeded by his son, Anaukpyetlôn Mintarâ (1605-1628). On his death, his son, Minyè Dêkpâ, made an unsuccessful attempt to succeed him, but was nevertheless *de jure* king for about a year (1628-1629), and the regular successor was his uncle, Thalôn Mintarâ (1629-1648).

The history of the time is one of continuous murder and cruelty of every kind, and so far as the evidence can guide us, I think we must look on these Nats as belonging to this period. It is indeed

[7] Quoted in Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 15, n. 32. [8] Baedeker's *Northern Italy*, p. 369; and MS. Note.

[9] Though when full grown the locust and the grasshopper are little alike the young locust can hardly be distinguished from a grasshopper. Compare *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. p. 302; Vol. XVII. p. 282. The Hebrew for grasshopper and locust is the same Cruden's Concordance, Locust.

[10] Compare *Proverbs*, Chap. XXX. v. 27 :—"The locusts have no king yet go they forth all of them by bands." It was because like locusts they marred the land and went in bands as if led by a king that the Philistines (1 Samuel, Chap. VI.) made golden mice or rats and placed them in the ark of the Lord of Israel.

[11] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 3rd Edition, Article "Gryllus."

pretty clear than Minyè Aungdin Nat was a son of Anaukpyetlôn Mintarâ, and Maung Minbyû Nat a son of Bayin Naung himself: and as regards Shindaw Nat, I am inclined to put him down as a son of Nyaungyàn Min.

In all this uncertainty there is **one clear bit of history.** The legend says that Sinbyûmyâshin (Lord of Many White Elephants) of Pegu took as prisoner the Chief of Zimmè, who died at Rangoon in 1558, and that his name was Yun Bayin, *i. e.*, King of the Yuns. Now all this is real history. In 1547 or thereabouts Bayin Naung made his famous inroad into Siam in search of white elephants, taking the king and royal family of Siam into captivity, and especially punishing the Shan State of Zimmè, which fought him better than any of his other enemies, his chief opponents being the Yun Shans.

The following Genealogy will show the relationship of this Group to each other, so far as I understand it :—

Group V.

Genealogy.[4]

Burmese line of Pagan, ended 1298. = Shan lines of Pinya and Sagaing, ended 1352-1364.

- No. 17. Tabin Shwedi of Pegu, 1530-1550.
- Bayin Naung of Pegu and Ava, 1551-1581. —— No. 22. Yun Bayin Nat of Zimme, ob. 1558, prisoner of Bayin Naung.
  - No. 23. Maung Minbyû Nat.
  - Nanda Bayin of Ava and Pegu, 1558-1599.
  - Nyaungyan Min of Ava and Pegu, 1599-1605.
    - No. 15. Shindaw Nat.
    - Anaukpetlon Mintara of Ava and Pegu, 1605-1628.
      - Minye Dekpa of Pegu only, 1628-1629.
      - No. 18. Minye Aungdin Nat.
    - Thalon Mintara of Ava and Pegu, 1629-1641.

I will now describe the illustrations of Group V. or Bayin Naung Cycle in the language of the people, which of course is not at all that of history.

Illustrations of Group V.

Bayin Naung Cycle.

No. 15. Shindaw Nat.

He was a young prince placed by the king of Ava under the abbot of the Hnat-pyittaung Payâ to be educated at his monastery. While still a novice he died of snakebite.

This Nat is represented as a novice with rosary and fan, telling his beads.

No. 18. Minyè Aungdin Nat

(called also Minyè Aung Nat).

He was the son of Anauk Thalôn Mintarâgyî, and died of drink.

This Nat is represented as a young man seated in high class Court dress playing on the Burmese harp.

[4] See Gp. III.



1. THAGYÁ NAT.



2. MAHÁGIRÍ NAT.



3. HNAMÁDAWGYÍ NAT.



4. SHWE NABÉ NAT.



5. THÓNBAN HLA NAT.



6. TAUNG-NGU MINGAUNG NAT.



7. MINTARÁ NAT.



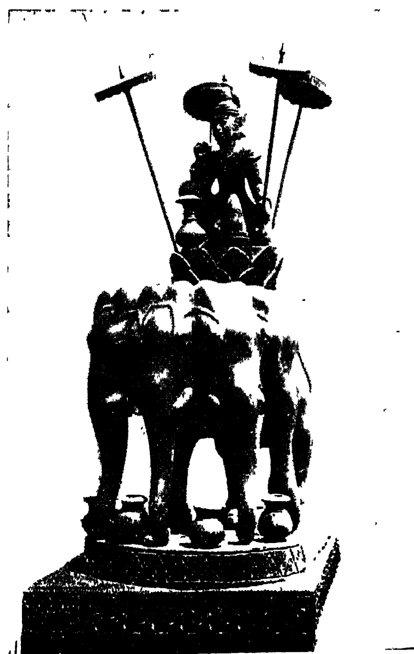
8. THANDAWGÁN NAT.



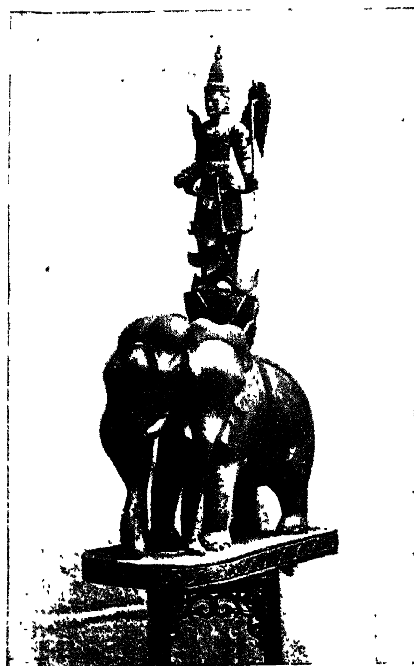
9. SHWE NAWRATHÁ NAT.



10. AUNGZWÁMAGYÍ NAT.



11. NGÁZÍSHIN NAT.



12. AUNGBINLÈ SINBYUSHIN NAT.



13. TAUNGMAGYÍ NAT.



14. MAUNG MINSHIN NAT.



15. SHINDAW NAT.



16. NYAUNG-GYIN NAT.



17. TABÌN SHWÉDÍ NAT.



18. MINYÈ AUNGDIN NAT.



19. SHWE SIPPIN NAT.



20. MÈDAW SHWÉSAGÁ NAT.



21. MAUNG PO TU NAT.



22. YUN BAYÌN NAT.



23. MAUNG MINBYÚ NAT.



24. MÁNDALÉ BÓDAW NAT.



25. SHWÉBYIN NAUNGDAW NAT.



26. SHWÉBYIN NYÍDAW NAT.



27. MINTHÁ MAUNG SHIN NAT.



28. TÍBYUSAUNG NAT.



29. TÍBYUSAUNG MÈDAW NAT.



30. BAYÌNMÁSHIN MINGAUNG NAT.



31. MIN SÍTHÚ NAT.



32. MIN KYAWZWÁ NAT.



33. MYAUKPET SHINMÁ NAT.



34. ANAUK MÍBAYÁ NAT.



35. SHINGÓN NAT.



36. SHINGWÁ NAT.



37. SHIN-NÈMÍ NAT.

No. 23. Maung Minbyu Nat.

He was a prince of Ava and married the daughter of a cavalry officer. He died of an overdose of opium.

This Nat is represented as a young man seated in high class Court dress, playing on a horn.

No. 22. Yun Bayin Nat.

He was the Chief of Zimmè and was made a prisoner of war by Sinbyûmyâshin of Hanthâwadî (Pegu). He died at Rangoon of dysentery in 920 B. E. (1558 A. D.), and became a Nat.

This Nat is represented seated in high class Court dress with a sheathed sword.

The Two Isolated Nats.

(Nats Nos. 1, 21.)

These are **Thagyâ Nat**, who as already explained, is not an historical personage, but belongs to the systematised series of supernatural beings, or Nats, taken from Indian Buddhism, of whom he is the chief. He is also the nominal chief of this and every other series of Nats that the Burmese recognise. He is therefore Nat No. 1.

Nat No. 21 is probably an historical personage, as he is said to have been a trader of Pinyâ, who was killed by a tiger on his way home. Pinyâ has never been of any importance except while it was the capital of the Shan dynasty of Pinyâ, which flourished between 1298 and 1364. This would fix his death somewhere between those dates. His name as a Nat is **Maung Pô Tû Nat.**

I have now come to my two last **illustrations** of which I will explain that of **Maung Pô Tû** first. He was a trader of Pinyâ and was killed by a tiger on the summit of Mt. Ongyaw on his way home.

He is, however, represented as seated on a tiger, or what may pass for a tiger, in high class Court costume, proper for a very high official, or for a prince of the royal connection. There is, perhaps, therefore some legend giving him a royal parentage or connection.

The other isolated Nat, whose picture I have had to keep to the last, owing to the plan of explanation, is the great **Thagyâ Nat** himself, the prince of all the Nats of whatever nature or degree by the common acceptation of every Burman: the No. 1 of all lists.

The antiquity of his cult is indicated by his name, Thagyâ, which represents the Sanskrit word **Çakra** and not Sakka, the Pali equivalent thereof, thus throwing the date of the cult back to the early times before the present Southern (Pali) form of Buddhism prevailed in Burma and the old debased Northern (Sanskrit) form was current. The Çakra of the Indian Buddhism was the great ancient god **Indra** of the Brahmans, the Lord of the Firmament, turned by the Buddhists into the lowest of the three great rulers of the heavens they set up on adapting the old Brahmanic cosmogony to their reformed ideas. The other two were Mahâbrahmâ and Mâra, the **Byammâ Nat** and **Mân Nat** of the Burmese. All three, both in Indian and in modern Burmese idea, descend when necessary to the earth to interfere in the affairs of men ; Mahâbrahmâ and Çakra beneficially and Mâra adversely. In the Burma of to-day Çakra, as Thagyâ, is the Nat who most frequently does so, and he is consequently their Lord of Life, their Recording Angel, the supernatural being most revered and most respected. At the commencement of every New Year, he visits the Earth for three days for the general good, and I well recollect that in the afternoon of the most important of these three days at the beginning of the year 1250 B. E. (April 1888) there was a sudden and vived flash of lightning, followed by crashing thunder, which gave great satisfaction to the people of the royal city of Mandalay, because it was positive evidence to them of the presence among them of Thagyâ himself in the days of their adversity : — A notion having its root in the very foundations of Indian belief.

Thagyâ is here represented in all his royalty, seated on the elephant **Eyâwun** (P. Erâvaṇa), on whose august back he makes his annual visit to the Earth. He bears a fan in his hand, and before him is his driver, and behind him a faithful guardian *balû.*

With this recollection I close this preliminary incursion into the realm of the Thirty-seven Nats.

FOLK-TALES FROM THE INDUS VALLEY.

(Collected by Thomas Lambert Barlow and Major Fred McNair, late Royal Artillery, C. M. G., F. R. G. S.: retold and edited by W. Crooke, late B. C. S.)

(Continued from p. 361.)

VII.

The horned Alexander.

ALEXANDER ZU-L-QARNAIN, "he with the horns of fire on his head," came to India many a long year ago. His plan was to conquer the land, but his main desire was the quest of the **Âb-i-hayât**, the water of life, which he was told flowed from one of the Indian hills.

Many long days he wandered and could find no trace of the well of life. But one day he subdued a distant tribe and they told him that it sprang from a hill far off, which could be reached through winding paths in the jungle. Many had gone in quest of it, but none ever returned.

"How then can I find it?" Sikandar asked. They said: — "One plan there is. Get a mare which has lately foaled. Mount her and picket the foal at the opening of the winding path and for love of her foal she will bring you back."

He did as they advised and reached the **Well of Life.** He took up some of the water in his joined palms and was about to drink, when he heard a caw from an overhanging tree, and looking up he saw a raven perched there, who said: — "Don't drink! Don't drink! See what a piteous state I have reached through drinking of this water. I am but a mass of skin and bone and can never die."

Hearing this Sikandar flung the water back into the spring, saying: — "O my fate! Am I never to drink this blessed draught? Fain would I drink it, but I must obey the bird of destiny."

So he mounted and rode back and the mare led him to the place where her foal was bound.

He returned to his camp and sad at heart used to wander about clad in the meanest garb. One day he was roaming in the jungle and met some villagers, who told him that there were two magic trees in their village, which answered any question they were asked and never answered wrong. He wished to see the trees, but they said: — "Old men must lead you, for young men do not understand their voice."

So he went with the old men, and as they neared the trees he heard a voice saying: — "Here comes the Great Sikandar." Hearing this the people knew who he was and fell at his feet.

He said: — "Fear not. Ask the trees the questions which I shall propose."

First he said: — "Ask how many years I have to live."

The answer came from the trees: — "Seven years."

"How long will it be before I return to my native land?"

"Seven years."

"Sorrow on sorrow!" moaned Sikandar.

"It was not my fate to drink the Water of Life, and now it is fated that I shall not see my mother dear, as I am sure to be delayed on the road."

When he returned to his army he ordered them to strike the tents at once and set out for home. He captured many cities, slew many freebooters and built great fortresses. So the time passed and at

last he called his wisest counsellors together and said: — "My home is far away. Who can tell whether I may live to see it? One command I give — write a letter in my name which shall be given to my mother when I am dead."

The letter he dictated was as follows: — "From thy son Sikandar. I am near death and send this letter signed with mine own hand. It is the custom of the land that when a man dies bread is given in charity to the poor. When you hear of my death give it only to those who have never lost a relation. If you come to my place and call out, '**Sikandar Zu-l-qarnain** !' I will answer from my grave."

By this he meant that death is the lot of all. Every house has its dead, that so the grief of his mother might be appeased.

At last Sikandar died and the letter was sent to his mother. As he was dying he sent for his ministers and said: — "When I am being carried to my burial, let my troops follow my corpse, and see that one of my hands be left palm upwards outside my shroud."

They swore to obey his orders. But when they left his presence they said one to another: — 'This is a strange order. Whoever heard of soldiers escorting a dead commander? Let us go again and enquire of the King."

But all feared to face him. At last one favourite minister was induced to appear before the King, who when he heard his words said: — "Summon again those foolish counsellors." When they appeared he said: — "Do ye not perceive that when I ordered that my soldiers should escort my corpse, I meant to show that though Sikandar conquered the world by the valour of his troops, still they could not save him from death? When I ordered that my open hand should lie outside my shroud, it meant that I came empty-handed into the world and must leave it empty-handed."

"O King!" they answered, "now we understand thy meaning."

And when he died all was done as he had ordered.

When the dead King's letter reached his mother, she started at once to visit the tomb of her son. Now in that burial ground were many tombs, and long she was roaming about doubting which might be that of which she was in search. And as she walked she cried out: — "Sikandar! My beloved Sikandar!" But there was none to answer.

Then she remembered the words of his letter, and that she should have said: — "Sikandar Zu-l-qarnain!"

She called thus and her son replied: — "Did I not enjoin thee to call me by the name of Sikandar Zu-l-qarnain? For here there are many Sikandars."

"Alas! It is so," she moaned and was comforted. For it was his design to teach her that she was not the only mother who had to bewail a beloved son snatched from her arms by ruthless fate.[6]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

A TELUGU SUPERSTITION ABOUT THE MOUTH.

There was once a king of the Talingas, who was much struck with the great variety of mouth exhibited by his subjects. The people he observed had every kind, from the small mouth with thin cut lips to the large thick-lipped variety. So one day he selected a man and a woman with exceptionally small mouths and married them together to see what would happen in the progeny. In due course a son was born to them, who had no mouth

[6] [The title of Zu-l-qarnain, "he of the two horns," possibly a reminiscence of the story of Moses on the Mount comes from the *Qurân* (*Sûrah* xviii. 82), on which see Sale's note.

The Well of Life or Youth forms a large chapter in classical folk-lore, for which see Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*, Vol. XXVI., and numerous references collected in *Notes and Queries*, IV. Ser., Vol. II. p. 305: VIII. Ser., Vol. X. p. 162.

The tale of the method in which the mother is consoled probably comes from the well known Buddhistic tale. — Ed.]

at all, upon which the king sent for his barber and had the child's face cut open with a razor, thus giving it a mouth, whereby it lived.

That is the folk-story; and the folk-belief is this If you take your food liquid or in very small portions and keep silence, your mouth will gradually grow so small that it will require the barber's razor to widen it. The belief has given rise to the story.

The two together, the belief and the story, are the origin of a very common form of chaff from young women towards their male friends. "If you don't talk more and open your mouth wider to eat, we shall have to send for the barber's razor." No man, however, dare say this to any young woman.

B. ROYDU.

Nagpore.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MUSALMAN TABUS AS TO THE HARE.

THE Shî'ahs of the Gujarât District will not eat hare for the reason that it chewed the cud. The Sunîs do eat it, saying there is nothing in the Qurân against it, nor is it forbidden.

R. RICHARDSON in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

INSTANCES OF SIKH RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE.

THE principal queen of Mahârâjâ Ranjît Singh lived at Shêkhupura (Gûjrânwâlâ District), where she built a *masjid* for her Muhammadan subjects. In a similar spirit of liberality a *masjid* was erected at the Bôtâlâ *śivâlâ* by a Sikh Sardâr.

R. W. TRAFFORD in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A HOUSE-WARMIMG CUSTOM IN BOMBAY.

IN Bombay dancing-girls are asked to dance in a newly-built house, as it is said that without the jingling of the bells on their feet a house does not become pure.

K. RAGHUNATHJI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

BIBI DHIANI AMONG THE LALBEGI MEHTARS.

BIBI DHIÂNI is worshipped by the Lâlbegî Mehtars of Thânesar and Karnâl along with Lâl Beg by offerings of *chûrîs* (bracelets), *mehndî* (henna), and *dorî kâ parândâ* (the string for tying up women's hair into a knot). She is said to be a relative of Lâl Beg. Is anything more known of her?

R. C. TEMPLE in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A NOTE ON THE SAKHI SARWAR SHRINE.

THE celebrated shrine of Sakhî Sarwar in the Derâ-Ghâzî-Khân District was burnt to the ground in 1882, but was rebuilt. No bed is allowed in the village. The inhabitants, chiefly *mujâwirs* (attendants) attached to the shrine, and pilgrims all sleep on the ground.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES in *P. N. and Q* 1883.

THE DIPAK RAG.

WHAT is the Dîpak Râg (lamp song)? They say in Rohtak that a Nawâb of Jhajjar kept a Brâhman who could sing it, and that when he did so, all the lamps used to light up of their own accord.

F. A. STEEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A FORM OF LEGITIMACY IN THE KANGRA VALLEY.

CHAUKHANDÛ is the name of the following notable custom prevalent among the Gaddîs (shepherds) of the northern hills in the Kângrâ *tahsîl.* If a widow gives birth to a child within four years of her husband's death, such child is legitimate, and inherits her deceased husband's property without reference to the real father.

SARDARU BALHARI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

A TABU AS TO FOOD AMONG HINDUS.

Is it universally considered among Hindus unlawful to eat food cooked by an unmarried person?

F. A. STEEL in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

THE CEREMONY OF MATRIMONIAL SEPARATION IN BOMBAY.

IF a married woman wishes to separate from her husband, she goes to one of the temples, and after taking a handful of oil or dipping her fingers in any one of the lamps burning there, places the same on her head and declares herself to have become the god's wife in presence of worshippers connected with the temple.

K. RAGHUNATHJI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

MARRIAGE TO A DAGGER IN BOMBAY.

EVERY dancing-girl must marry a dagger. A girl not thus married cannot dance or sing with other dancing-girls, nor can she perform at the temples, or the house of respectable Hindus.

K. RAGHUNATHJI in *P. N. and Q.* 1883.

OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

BY DR. PAUL DEUSSEN, PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL.

(Concluded from p. 370.)

Second Period: Philosophy of the Upanishads.

10. The Upanishads of the Veda.

IF we compare the Veda and the Bible we may say that the Old Testament is represented in the Veda by all the hymns and *Brâhmaṇa* text, which serve the purpose of ritual worship. But, as the Old Testament is superseded by the New, so in the Veda all ritual performances with their rewards are declared insufficient and replaced by a higher view of things in those wonderful texts which, forming as a rule the concluding chapters of each Veda, are called **Vedânta** (end of the Veda) or **Upanishads** (confidential sitting, secret doctrine). The four Vedas produced different branches or schools, each of which has handed down the common content of the Vedas in a slightly different form. Thus every Vedic school had, besides the **Saṁhitâ** or collection of verses and formulas, a special **Brâhmaṇam** as its ritual text-book, and a longer or shorter Upanishad, which forms its dogmatic text-book. Therefore all the Upanishads treat of the same subject, the doctrine of **Brahman or Âtman,** and vary only in length and manner of treatment. There are about a dozen Upanishads of the three older Vedas and a great number of later treatises of the same name which are incorporated in the **Atharvaveda.** Distinguished by its age, length, and intrinsic importance is, before all, the **Bṛihadâraṇyaka-Upanishad,** and next to it **Chândogya-Upanishad.** Remarkable more for their beauty than for their originality are **Kâṭhaka-Up., Muṇḍaka-Up.**, and others.

11. Fundamental idea of the Upanishads.

Two terms, **Brahman and Âtman,** form almost the only objects of which the Upanishads speak. Very often they are treated as synonyms, but when a difference is noticeable, Brahman is the philosophical principle, as realised in the universe, and *Âtman* the same, as realised in the soul. This presupposed, we might express the fundamental thought of all the Upanishads by the simple equation :—

Brahman = Âtman

that is, **Brahman,** the power from which all worlds proceed, in which they subsist, and into which they finally return, this eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent power is identical with our **âtman,** with that in each of us which we must consider as our true self, the unchangeable essence of our being, our soul. This idea alone secures to the Upanishads an importance reaching far beyond their land and time; for whatever means of unveiling the secrets of Nature a future time may discover, this will be true for all time, from this mankind will never depart — if the mystery of Nature is to be solved the key of it can be found only there where alone Nature allows us an interior view of the world, that is in ourselves.

12. Chronology of the Upanishads.

It can be proved that the Upanishads of the three first Vedas are older generally speaking than the Atharva Upanishads ; of the former those in verse form belong undoubtedly to a later period than those written in the old and simple prose style of the *Brâhmaṇas ;* among these again the two oldest are **Bṛihadâraṇyaka and Chândogya,** which contain the oldest Upanishad texts we possess. There are passages in *Chândogya* which may claim the priority over the parallel texts in *Bṛihadâraṇyaka,* but in most cases it can be clearly proved that passages in *Chândogya* are not only younger than but even dependent on the parallel texts in *Bṛihadâraṇyaka ;* this is evident from the fact that several passages of *Bṛihadâraṇyaka,* recur more or less literally in *Chândogya* but are no longer understood in their original meaning. In this way a careful comparison of the texts brings us to this result that in the whole Upanishad literature there

are scarcely any texts older than those contained in *Bṛih.-Up.* 1-4 which are connected with the person of **Yâjñavalkya**; these either speak of him as is the case in 1, 4, and 2, 4, or reproduce his discourses with adversaries and his friend, the king **Janaka**, and take up the whole of the third and fourth book. In these passages we have the oldest germ of the doctrine of the Upanishads and consequently of Indian philosophy.

13. Primitive idealism of the Upanishads.

In the **Yâjñavalkya chapters of Bṛihadâraṇyaka** and therefore in the oldest texts of the Upanishads we find as the point of departure of the Upanishad doctrine a very bold idealism comparable to that of Parmenides in Greece, and culminating in the assertion that the *âtman* is the only reality and that nothing exists beyond it. The whole doctrine may be summed up in three statements:—

(1) The only reality is the **âtman**;

(2) The *âtman* is the subject of knowledge in us;

(3) The *âtman* itself is unknowable.

(1) All things in heaven and earth, gods, men, and other beings exist only in so far as they form a part of our *âtman;* the *âtman* must be seen, heard, known; he who sees, hears, and knows the *âtman,* knows in it all that exists; as the sounds of a musical instrument cannot be grasped, but he who grasps the instrument, grasps also the sounds, so he who knows the *âtman* knows in it, all that exists; that man is lost and abandoned by gods and men, who believes in the existence of gods and men beyond the **âtman.**

(2) This *âtman* is neither more nor less than the seer of seeing, the hearer of hearing the knower of knowing, in a word the subject of knowledge in us, for this only is our real Self, which can never by any means be taken away from us.

(3) The *âtman,* as the subject of knowledge in us, is and remains unknowable in itself. "Thou canst not see the seer of seeing, thou canst not hear the hearer of hearing, thou canst not know the knower of knowing; how could a man know that by which he knows everything, how could he know the knower."

14. Pantheism.

The idealism of **Yâjñavalkya** denies, as we have seen, the existence of the world; but this denial could not be maintained in the long run. The reality of the world forced itself on the beholder, and the problem was to recognize it without abandoning the truth laid down by the sage Yâjñavalkya. This led to a second stage of development which for want of a better name we may denominate Pantheism. Its chief doctrine is that the world is real, and yet the *âtman* is the only reality, for the world is the *âtman.* This is the most current thesis in the Upanishads and leads to very beautiful conceptions like that in *Chând.* 3, 14; "The *âtman* is my soul in the inner heart, smaller than a barley corn, smaller than a mustard-seed, smaller than a grain of millet; and he again is my soul in the inner heart, larger than the earth, larger than the atmosphere, larger than the heavens and than all these worlds."

15. Cosmogony.

The equation world = âtman, notwithstanding its **constant repetition** in the Upanishads, is not a transparent one; for the *âtman* is an absolute unity, and the world a plurality. How can they be regarded as identical? This difficulty may have led later to the attempt to substitute for this incomprehensible identity another relation between *âtman* and world, that of causality. This theory opened the way to a new interpretation of the old myths of creation which consider the principle, **Prajâpati** or whatever it was, as the cause, and the world as the effect. Accordingly the cosmogonies of the Upanishads teach that in the beginning the *âtman*

alone existed; the *âtman* thought, "I will be manifold, I will send forth worlds," and created all these worlds. Having created them he entered into his creation as the soul, as the Upanishads never fail to emphasize. We have called this standpoint, finding no other name, Cosmogonism; some might propose to call it Theism, but from this it is essentially different. In the theistic view God creates the soul like everything else, but in the case before us the soul is not a creation of the *âtman* but the *âtman* himself who enters into his creation as the individual soul.

16. Theism.

The identity of the highest and the individual *âtman*, though perfectly true from the metaphysical standpoint, remains incomprehensible for the empirical view of things; this view distinguishes a plurality of souls different from each other and from the highest *âtman*, the creative power of the universe. This distinction between the highest soul (**paramâtman**) and the individual souls (**jîvâtman**) is the characteristic feature of what we may term the theism of certain later Upanishads. It emerges for the first time in *Kâṭhaka* 3, 1, where the two, God and the soul, are contrasted as light and shadow, which intimates that the latter has no reality of its own. But the constantly growing realistic tendencies made this contrast sharper and sharper, until in the **Çvetâçvatara-Up.** the highest soul, almighty and all-pervading as it is, is represented as essentially different from the individual soul which, limited and indigent, lives in the heart, smaller than the point of a needle, smaller than the ten-thousandth part of a hair; and this, says the text, "becomes infinity." Even here God, notwithstanding his isolation from the soul, lives together with it in the heart; as two birds living on the same tree, one of which feeds on the fruits of his works, while the other abstains from eating and only looks on; thus the individual soul, bewildered by his own impotence and grieving, looks for the help of the highest soul, or better of his own divine and almighty self.

17. Atheism.

Theism distinguishes three entities, a real world, a creative *âtman* and the individual *âtman* dependent on him. This duplication of the *âtman* necessarily had a pernicious influence on one of the two branches, *viz.*, for the highest *âtman*, who in fact had always drawn his vital force from the soul living in us. Separated from this he became altogether superfluous, since the creative powers attributed to him could be transferred without difficulty to the primordial matter. Thus God disappeared and there remained only a primeval creative matter (**prakṛiti**) and opposed to it a plurality of individual souls (**puṛusha**), entangled in it by an inexplicable fate and striving to emancipate themselves from it by means of knowledge. This is exactly the standpoint of the **Sâṅkhya system.** We see it shoot up more and more exuberantly in the later Upanishads, especially in **Maitrâyaṇîya**; but its full development is only attained in the post-Vedic period and will be treated later. Before leaving the Veda we have to speak of the moral and eschatological consequences of the Vedic philosophy.

18. Vedic Eschatology before the Upanishads.

In contrast with the Semitic view, the belief in the immortality of the soul has been from the oldest times a possession of the Indo-Germanic race. Even in the oldest hymns of the Ṛigveda the hope is frequently expressed that after death good men will go to the gods to share their happy life. As for the wicked it is their destiny, only darkly hinted at, to fall into a deep abyss and disappear. The first mortal who found the way to the luminous heights of the happy other-world for all the following generations was **Yama,** who, as king of the blessed dead, sits with them under a leafy tree and passes the time in carousing; the analogous ideas of

Jesus when He speaks of sitting at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Beyond are known to everybody. Different stages of happiness for pious worshippers seem not to have been a part of the oldest creed. In the course of time this was modified and the belief arose that good and evil deeds find their corresponding rewards and punishments in a future life. A very striking passage of a *Brâhmaṇa* says: "Whatever food a man eats in this world, by that food he is eaten in the next world." Among the evils which await the bad man in the Beyond we often find mentioned an indefinite fear of dying again and again even in the other world (**punarmṛityu**). This notion of a repeated death led on to the idea that it must be preceded by a repeated life, and in transferring this repeated living and dying from the world beyond to the earth, the Hindus came finally to that dogma which has been in all subsequent ages more characteristic of India than anything else — the great doctrine of metempsychosis. The first passage where this creed clearly appears is in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka-Up.*; and it discloses to us also the real motives of the remarkable dogma. **Yâjñavalkya**, when asked what remains of man after death, takes the interrogator by the hand, leads him from the assembly to a solitary place, and reveals to him there the great secret: "and what they spoke was work, and what they praised was work; verily a man becomes holy by holy works, wicked by wicked works." This passage together with several others proves that the chief motive of the dogma of transmigration was to explain the different destinies of men by the supposition that they are the fruits of merit and demerit in a preceding life.

19. Development of this Doctrine in the Upanishads.

A religion, after having come to a better view of things, cannot discard the preceding and less perfect steps of development which have led up to it. Thus the New Testament cannot emancipate itself from the Old Testament and its very different spirit. So too the Upanishads, after having come to the creed of metempsychosis, had to retain at the same time the old Vedic creed of rewards and punishments in the other world. The two views combined led to a complicated system, which taught a two-fold reward and punishment, the first in the world beyond, the second in a succeeding life on earth. This theory is fully explained in the so-called "doctrine of the Five Fires," an important text found both in *Chând.* 5 and in *Bṛih.* 6. This combined theory of compensation distinguishes three ways after death — (1) the way of the fathers, (2) the way of the gods, and (3) the "third place."

(1) The way of the fathers, destined for the performer of pious works, leads through the smoke of the funeral pyre and a series of "dark" stations to the placid realm of the moon, where the soul in commerce with the gods, enjoys the fruit of its good works, until they are consumed. As soon as the treasure of good works is exhausted, the soul, through the intermediate stations of ether, wind, fog, rain, plant, semen and womb passes to a new human existence, in which once more the good and evil works of the previous life find their reward.

(2) The way of the gods is destined for those who have spent their life in worshipping **Brahman**. They go through the flame of the funeral pyre and a series of "luminous" stations first to the sun, thence "to the moon, from the moon to the lightning; there is a spirit, he is not like a human being; he leads them to Brahman. For them there is no return." This passage evidently teaches that by the way of the gods is attained the highest goal, the union with Brahman. The later system, however, teaching that the knower of Brahman stands higher than the worshipper of Brahman, considers this union with Brahman, obtained by worshipping it, only as a step leading to the highest perfection, which the souls united with Brahman obtain only after receiving in it perfect knowledge.

(3) For those who have neither worshipped Brahman nor performed good works is destined the "third place" leading to a new life as lower animals — worms, insects, snakes, etc., after a previous punishment in the different hells. This punishment in hell, which is a later addition, is not found in the Upanishads and appears first in the system of the Vedânta.

20. Liberation by knowledge.

Transmigration is believed to be just as real as the empirical world. But from a higher point of view empirical reality together with creation and transmigration is only a great illusion; for in truth there is no manifold, no world, but only one being — **the Brahman, the âtman.** The attainment of this knowledge is the highest aim of man and in its possession consists the final liberation. The knowledge is not the means of liberation, it is liberation itself. He who has attained the conviction **"I am Brahman"** has reached with it the knowledge that he in himself is the totality of all that is, and consequently he will not fear anything because there is nothing beyond him; he will not injure anybody, for nobody 'injures himself by himself.' There are, properly speaking, no means of attaining this knowledge; it comes of itself; it is, in the view of the theistic Upanishads, a grace of God. He who has obtained this knowledge continues to live, for he must consume the fruits of his preceding life; but life with its temptations can no longer delude him. By the fire of knowledge his former works are "burnt" and no new works can arise. He knows that his body is not his body, his works are not his works; for he is the totality of the *âtman*, the divine being, and when he dies, "his spirit does not wander any more, for Brahman is he, and into Brahman he is resolved."

"As rivers run and in the deep
Lose name and form and disappear
So goes, from name and form released,
The wise man to the deity."

Third Period: Post-Vedic Philosophy.

21. General Survey.

The thoughts of the Upanishads led in the post-Vedic period not only to the two great religions of Buddhism and Jainism but also to a whole series of philosophical systems. Six of these are considered as orthodox, because they are believed to be reconcileable with the Vedic creed, the other are rejected as heretical. **The six orthodox systems are: (1) the Sâṅkhyam of Kapila, (2) the Yoga of Patañjali, (3) the Nyâya of Gotama, (4) the Vaiçeshikam of Kaṇâda, (5) the Mimâṅsâ of Jaimini, (6) the Vedânta of Bâdarâyaṇa.** As for the heterodox systems, the most important are Buddhism, Jainism, and the materialistic system of the **Cârvâkas**; several others are nothing more than the Vedântic views combined with the popular creeds of Vishnuism or Çivaism. But the six orthodox schools are not philosophical systems either in the strict sense of the term. The **Mîmâṅsâ** is only a methodical handbook treating of the various questions arising out of the complicated Vedic ritual. The **Yoga** is a systematic exposition of the method of attaining union with the *âtman* by means of concentration in oneself. The **Nyâya**, though it treats incidentally of all kinds of philosophical topics, is properly nothing more than a handbook of logic or better of disputation, furnishing a canon for use in controversies. The **Vaiçeshikam**, giving a classification of existing things under six categories, is interesting enough, but more from a physical than a philosophical point of view. The only systems of metaphysical importance are the **Sâṅkhyam** and the **Vedânta**; but even these are not to be considered as original creations of the philosophical mind, for the common basis of both and with them of Buddhism and Jainism is to be found in the Upanishads; and it is the ideas of the Upanishads which by a kind of degeneration have developed into Buddhism on one side and the Sâṅkhya system on the other. Contrary to both, **the later Vedânta of Bâdarâyaṇa and Çaṅkara** goes back to the Upanishads and founds on them that great system of the Vedânta which we have to consider as the ripest fruit of Indian wisdom.

22. The Philosophy of the Epic Period.

Between the Veda and the later systems lies a philosophical development the history of which, for want of special documents, must be supplied from the vast bulk of the **Mahâbhâra-**

tam. Here we find, in the **Bhagavadgîtâ** (Book vi.), the **Sanatsujâtaparvan** (Book v. 1565 ff.), the **Mokshadharma** (Book xii.) and other texts, the materials which, though in an earlier form than that of the *Mahâbhâratam*, have formed the common base of Buddhism, and **Sâṅkhyam.** The philosophical system of the *Mahâbhâratam*, whether we call it epic Sâṅkhyam or realistic *Vedânta*, is the common mother of both. Some scholars maintain that the religion of Buddha is an off-shoot of the Sâṅkhya system, others that Buddhism is anterior to the *Sâṅkhyam*. Both are right. Buddhism certainly precedes what we call now the Sâṅkhya system, but it depends on what is called Sâṅkhyam in the *Mahâbhâratam*. Originally **Sâṅkhyam** (calculation, reflection) does not mean a certain philosophical system but philosophical enquiry in general; it is the opposite of **Yoga**, which means the attainment of the *âtman* by means of concentration in oneself. The words are thus used where they occur for the first time (*Çvet.* 6, 13), and it is an open question, deserving further research, whether not only in the *Bhagavadgîtâ* but also throughout the *Mahâbhâratam* the words *Sâṅkhyam* and *Yoga* are not so much names of philosophical systems as general terms for the two methods of reflection and concentration. Without entering into details we may say that even in the *Mahâbhâratam* the primordial matter *(prakṛiti)* is opposed to a plurality of souls **(purusha)**; but both are more or less loosely dependent on **Brahman** as the highest principle. This is the starting point both of the later Sâṅkhyam which rejects Brahman as the connecting link, and of Buddhism which denies not only God but also the soul.

23. Buddhism.

The success of Buddhism in India was due in part to the overwhelming personality of its founder, in part to the breaking down of caste prejudices by which he opened the way of salvation to the great masses of the population. Only in small measure did it owe this success to the originality of its ideas, for almost all its essential theories had their predecessors in the Vedic and epic periods. The fundamental idea of Buddhism, laid down in the four holy truths, is this — that we can extinguish the pains of existence only by extinguishing our thirst for existence. The same idea is put forth in the 12 **Nidânas**, which by a series of steps go back from the pains of life to the thirst for life and from this to ignorance as the ultimate cause of thirst and pain altogether. We see in these and many other Buddhistic ideas only a new form of what Yâjñavalkya teaches in the *Bṛih.-Up.* and if Buddhism in its opposition to the Brahmanical creed goes so far as to deny soul, this denial is only apparent, since Buddhism maintains the theory of transmigration effected by **karman**, the work of the preceding existence. This *karman* must have in every case an individual bearer and that is what the Upanishads call the *âtman* and what the Buddhists inconsequently deny. A common feature of Buddhism and Sâṅkhyam is that they both regard pain as the starting point of philosophical enquiry, thus clearly showing the secondary character of both. For philosophy has its root in the thirst for knowledge and it is a symptom of decadence in India as in Greece when it begins to be considered as a remedy for the pains of life.

24. The Later Sâṅkhya System.

There are many other features in the **Sâṅkhya system** which show clearly that it is not, as has been generally held up to the present, the original creation of an individual philosophical genius, but only the final result of a long process of degeneration, as has already been shown. The theism of the Upanishads had separated the highest soul from the individual soul, opposing to them a primordial matter. After the elimination of the highest soul there remained two principles — (1) **prakṛiti**, primeval matter, and (2) a plurality of **purushas** or subjects of knowledge. This dualism, as the starting-point of the Sâṅkhya system, is in itself quite incomprehensible; it becomes understandable only by its development as shown before. The aim of man is the emancipation of the *purusha* from the *prakṛiti;* and this is attained by the knowledge that *purusha* and *prakṛiti* are totally different, and that all the pains of life, being only modifications of *prakṛiti*, do not affect the *purusha* in the least. To awaken this consciousness in the

purusha prakṛiti unfolds its essence to it anew in every life, producing by gradual evolution the cosmic intellect **(Mahân or Buddhi)**, from this the principle of individuation **(Ahankâra)**, from this mind, organs of sense, and the rudiments, and from the latter, material objects. The *purusha* beholds this evolution of *prakṛiti;* if he understands that *prakṛiti* is different from himself he is emancipated, if not he remains in the circle of transmigration and suffering. The whole system seems to be based on an original assumption that there is only one *purusha* and one *prakṛiti* by the separation of which the final aim is attained for both. The pretended plurality of *purushas* looks like a later addition; and we do not understand how the one and indivisible *prakṛiti* develops its being before every single *purusha* again and again to aid in his emancipation, if there always remains an innumerable quantity of unemancipated *purushas.* If we add to this the fact that all the other elements of the system including the three **guṇas** can be derived from the Upanishad doctrine, we can no longer hesitate to admit that the whole Sâṅkhya system is nothing but a result of the degeneration of the Vedânta through the growth of realistic tendencies. There seems to have been a time when Vedântic thought lived only in this realistic form of the Sâṅkhya; for when the Yoga took the form of a philosophical system it was built up on the very inconvenient base of the Sâṅkhya system, probably because at that time no other base was available.

25. The System of the Vedânta.

The genesis of this system, represented by the names of **Bâdarâyaṇa and Çaṅkara**, has many analogies with the Reformation in the Christian Church. As Luther and others rejected the various traditions of the medieval Church and based the Protestant creed on the pure word of the Bible, so Çaṅkara (born 788 A. D.) rejected the changes in Vedic doctrine brought about by Buddhism and Sâṅkhya and founded the great system that bears his name on the holy word of the Upanishads alone; but in doing this a great difficulty confronted him; for the Upanishads, the words of which are in the view of Çaṅkara a divine revelation, contain not only the pure idealism of Yâjñavalkya but also its later modifications such as pantheism, cosmogonism and theism. In meeting this difficulty Çaṅkara exhibits great philosophical astuteness, which may serve as a model for Christian theology in future times; he distinguishes throughout an esoteric system **(paravidyâ)** containing a sublime philosophy, and an exoteric system **(aparavidyâ)** embracing under the wide mantle of a theological creed all the fanciful imaginings which spring in course of time from the original idealism. The exoteric system gives a description of the **Brahman** in the richest colours, treating it in part as the pantheistic soul of the world, and in part as a personal god; it gives a full account of the periodical creation and reabsorption of the world and of the never-ending circle of transmigration, etc. The esoteric system on the contrary maintains with Yâjñavalkya that Brahman, or the *âtman* is absolutely unknowable and attainable only by the concentration of *yoga*, that there is from the highest standpoint neither creation nor world, neither transmigration nor plurality of souls, and that complete liberation is reached by him and by him alone who has awakened to the beatific consciousness, expressed in the words of the Upanishads: **"Aham Brahma asmi"** (I am **Brahman**).

Thus the Indians in their Vedânta possess a theological and philosophical system satisfying not only the wants of the people, but also the demands of a mind accessible to true knowledge only in its purest form.

FOLK-TALES FROM THE INDUS VALLEY.

(Collected by Thomas Lambert Barlow and Major Fred McNair, late Royal Artillery, C. M. G., F. R. G. S.: retold and edited by W. Crooke, late B. C. S.)

(Concluded from p. 391.)

VIII.

The Farmer, the Crocodile and the Jackal.

THERE was once an old Crocodile that lived in a tank hard by a village. He used often to seize children and became the terror of the place.

One year there was a great drought and the tank became quite dried up. The Crocodile was left grilling in the sun and suffered great distress. He used to call out to the passers-by: — "Take pity upon me! I have no water and I am being roasted to death!" But all they said was: — "We are delighted to hear it! Serve you right!"

At last an old man passed by and the Crocodile implored his assistance. "Well," said the old man, "if you come with me I will show you a tank which never gets dry in the hottest summer."

The Crocodile followed the old man who showed him a tank full to the brim with fresh water. The old man went in up to his waist and called out to the Crocodile, "See, how deep it is!"

The Crocodile glided in, but no sooner had he got well into the water than he made a grab at the old man's leg. "What are you about?" he screamed. The Crocodile answered: — "It is a long time since I had a square meal, and now I am going to eat you."

"What an ungrateful rascal you are!" said the old man.

Just then a Jackal strolled up to the tank to drink and the old man said: — "Let us lay the case before Mr. Jackal, and if he decides that you may eat me it is all right."

The old man beckoned to Mr. Jackal and explained the case.

"How can I decide," said Mr. Jackal, "unless I see the place whence you brought Mr. Crocodile?

So they all went back to the village tank and the Jackal said: — "Show me the exact spot where you found Mr. Crocodile."

When he had examined the place carefully he said:— "This is a difficult case and I must take a little walk while I think it over." But under his breath he whispered to the old man:— "What a fool you are! You bolt one way and I will go the other."

So they both cleared off and left the crocodile in despair. But he said to himself: — "I know the way to the tank which has water and some day I will have my revenge."

Back he went to the tank and lay in ambush under a tree and one day when Mr. Jackal came to drink Mr. Crocodile snapped at his leg. "What a fool your are!" said Mr. Jackal. "You think you have got hold of me by the leg, but it is a root of the tree which is in your mouth." The Crocodile promptly dropped the Jackal's leg and he scampered off.

Then Mr. Crocodile made another plan. There was a tree close by from which a lot of ripe plums were dropping and he knew that Mr. Jackal was very fond of plums. So he made a great pile of the fallen fruit and hid under it. Mr. Jackal came prowling along and when he saw the heap of plums he went cautiously towards it. But he caught sight of the eye of Mr. Crocodile in the middle of the fruit and crying,— "Sold again!" made off.

Mr. Crocodile now saw that the Jackal was too clever for him. So he waited till the Farmer came to the tank and then he called out to him: — "If you will only catch a Jackal for me I will give you a lot of jewels which people have dropped in my tank."

"That is easily done," said the Farmer, and that night he went into the jungle and lay down pretending to be dead. By and by the Jackal came loafing along and when he came near the corpse he began to smell it. But he was in doubts about it and said to himself: — "I wonder if this is really a corpse." Then he said a little louder as if to himself: — "If he is really dead he will shake his leg, if he isn't he won't." The Farmer fell into the trap and shook his leg, on which the Jackal called out: — "Sold again!", and bolted off.

The Farmer was a covetous wretch and vowed that he would get the jewels somehow. So he made a wax doll, the size of a baby and putting it into a grave he covered it with leaves and lay in ambush close by. After sunset the Jackal came along that way and seeing the earth disturbed said to himself:— "They have been burying some one here." Then he began to scratch up the earth. By and by one of his paws got stuck in the wax and he could not get it free.

Then the Farmer came up and said :— "Ha ! I have you at last." Poor Mr. Jackal howled for mercy, but it was no use.

At last he said to the Farmer : —"If you won't let me go I will call all my brother Jackals. For I am their King and they will tear you to pieces in a trice."

"What shall I do ?" asked the Farmer.

Said Mr. Jackal :— "You must get some oil and rub it well over me. Then get a fowl and tie it close beside me. Then call two of your friends and let them stand over me with their axes to brain me if I try to run away."

So the fool of a Farmer brought the oil and the fowl and began to rub the oil all over the Jackal. But when he was well greased the Jackal slipped easily out of his hands and snatching up the fowl for his supper escaped with an exulting laugh.[7]

IX.

The Rival Faqîrs.

ON the Ganghar Hill in the Hazâra District there lived a famous Hindu Faqîr, who used occasionally to take his seat on the peak known as the Pîr Thân, and there great crowds used to assemble to witness the marvels which he wrought. He was particularly respected by the Musalmân Gûjars of the neighbourhood, because he was reputed to be able to cure all manner of disease and to double the milk of their cows. It was even said that at times he could soar up to the heavens.

The reports of his magical powers reached the ears of a Musalmân Faqîr, who lived some distance off, particularly as he found that the reputation of his rival was seriously reducing the number of his own disciples.

So he made a journey to a village near the hill on which his rival used to stay, and when he had called the Musalmâns of the place together he preached a long sermon to them, dwelling on the risk which they ran in countenancing such idolatries.

"As for you Hindus," said he, "you may do as you please."

In reply to his address the Gûjars dwelt on the mighty powers of this worker of miracles, and challenged him to do something better than the feats of his rival.

Next day all the people went up the hill to visit the Faqîr, and the Musalmân Saint slipped in among the audience to see what was about to happen. But the Hindu saw him and said :—

"Two swords cannot rest within one scabbard, nor two Faqîrs on the same hill. If this fellow wishes to take my place let him do some wonder to prove his claims."

The people applauded his word and said :—

"Master ! Ascend to heaven."

So he made a fire, and when a thick smoke rose from it lo and behold, he flew up to the sky in the smoke. When the Musalmân Saint saw this wonder he was confused for a time : but at last he drew out his Qurân and began to recite texts and charms. Then he flung up his shoe and it rose into the air, and all at once in the welkin there arose a noise of blows and cries for help, and in a moment they saw the Hindu Faqîr come tumbling down to earth and round his head flew the slipper of his rival, which beat and thumped him harder and harder till little life remained in him.

When he reached the ground he fell at the feet of the Musalmân Saint, implored his mercy and humbly admitted his own inferiority.[8]

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7 [The motif is here the same as that of the old story of the tiger induced to return to his cage. The jackal, as the wise animal, takes the place of the fox in Western folk-lore. Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, Vol. II. p. 28.— ED.]

8 [The power of flying in the air was possessed by many Saints. On the whole subject of such miracles, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 278 *seqq.* — ED.]

X.

The Faqîr and his shrewish Wife.

THERE was once a holy Faqîr who lived in an out-of-the-way village and was much respected for his piety. But his wife was a shrew.

One day a strange Faqîr came into the village and made acquaintance with the old man, who invited him to put up with him for the night.

When the host reached home with his guest his wife received him with a storm of abuse. The guest took his host aside and asked whether it would not be well for him to seek other quarters. But the host said: —

"No! The fact is I am well off here and the people are liberal in their offerings to me. Thus, I am led to violate my vows of poverty. But thanks be to Allah who has given me a wife of a shrewish temper to be a thorn in my flesh and warn me from neglecting the ways of righteousness."

XI.

The Peasant and the Bailiff.

IT is the habit of some Panjâbi peasants to shif t their hamlets periodically for the convenience of cultivation and the breeding of stock.

One day a peasant was ploughing near a graveyard, when up came a Bailiff, who was out collecting rents.

"I am come," said he, "to collect the land tax. Tell me where I shall find all the people collected in one place."

"I know no such place," said the other, "save the graveyard beside you."

XII.

Shams-i-Tabrîz, the Saint of Multân.

THERE was once a noted Saint, named Shams-i-Tabrîz, whose fame spread far and wide. One day he determined to visit Multân, and when the people there heard of his coming they consulted together how they might foil him, for the Faqîrs of that city dreaded lest when he came he might entice away their disciples. So they sent an envoy to meet him with a pot full of milk and when he saw the Saint he said to him: —

"As this pot is full to the brim, so Multân is already full of Faqîrs."

Shams saw a jasmine plant growing close by, and plucking a flower he managed to lay it on the milk so that it floated on the surface, and not a drop was spilt.

"As this flower," said he, "does not disturb the milk, so there is room for me also in Multân.

The envoy returned and told them the words of the Saint. They were wroth, and calling a meeting they made proclamation that none should receive him in their houses or cook for him.

When Shams arrived he asked for food, but no one gave to him, and he was well nigh perishing of hunger.

At last a butcher gave him a piece of meat, but refused to cook it for him. Shams in despair looked towards the Sun.

"Shams we both are called," said he. "I pray thine aid."

The Sun heard his prayer and came by the length of a spear shaft nearer the city, and lo, the meat was cooked.

When they felt this sudden glow of heat the Faqîrs came to Shams and begged his mercy. But he would not pray the Sun to retire to its former place and this is why Multân is so hot even to this day.[9]

[9] [The same story is given in Temple, *Legends of the Panjâb*, Vol. III. p. 89. — ED.]

XIII.

The Devil and his Wife.

SHAITÂN or Satan has power to take what form he wills. One day he took it into his head to take the human form and visit earth. So he appeared as a young man and went wandering about, till he reached a village and sat down in a rest house. He was chatting to the men assembled there, when he heard a fight going on, and saw a woman beating her husband through the village. He asked what it all meant and they said: —

"This wretched woman is a shrew, worse than Shaitân himself. Take care friend when you marry that you do not get a worse lot than she is."

By and by Shaitân married and, as it happened, his wife was a terrible shrew and led him the life of a dog. He had a son too who took after his mother, and when Shaitân used to give him good advice he would say :—

"Who cares what Shaitân says?"

At last Shaitân said to him: —

"My son! You must do something for your living. Get yourself up as a Hakîm and go down to earth."

"But," said the youth, "I know nothing of medicine and how can I be a Hakîm?"

"I will tell you a plan," said his father. "When you are called in to see a patient, look at the head of the bed, and if you see my shadow there be sure that the case is hopeless and tell the friends of the patient so. If my shadow is at the foot of the bed, be certain that the sick man is in no danger, and you may give him any stupid thing you like, for he is sure to recover."

The youth thought this a good plan and did as his father advised. After this his diagnosis was so accurate and his candour became so popular that he gained great repute and popularity.

One day he was called in to see a Nawâb, and the friends of the patient said: —

"We will pay any fee you ask if you only save his life."

So the young Hakîm was very anxious for his own sake to cure him. But when he came to the bedside he saw the shadow of his father over the patient's head. The case seemed hopeless and he was at his wit's end. Suddenly he thought of a plan. He had the room cleared and suddenly called out :—

"Look out, father! Mother is coming!"

Whereupon Shaitân incontinently vanished and the patient made a recovery.[10]

XIV.

Sakhi, the pious Musalmân.

IN a Panjâb village there once lived an old Musalmân who from his deeds of charity was known as Sakhi, "the liberal one." Many Faqîrs used to visit him and live on the alms he distributed to them. One day two begging Qalandars came to him and said that they were on their way as pilgrims to the holy place and claimed his aid. So he invited them to his house, which was a poor place with very little furniture. His wife rose at their coming and he told her to lay food before them. But she whispered in his ear :—

"What is to be done? There is nothing in the house."

[10] [The name of Satan's wife according to the traditions is Awwa. He has nine sons — Zu-l-baysun, who rules in *bâzârs* : Wassin, who prevails in time of trouble : Awan, who counsels kings : Haffan, patron of wine-bibbers : Marrah, of musicians and dancers : Masbut, of news-spreaders : Dulhân, who frequents places of worship and interferes, with devotion : Dusim, lord of mansions and dinner-tables, who prevents the Faithful from saying Bismillah! and Inshallah, as commanded in the *Qurân* (xviii. 23): and Lakis, lord of Fire-worshippers — see Burton, *Arabian Nights* Vol. III. p. 17. Which of these was the worthy of our text does not appear. — ED.]

So he signed to her to borrow from the neighbours, and the guests seeing what had passed said to one another :—

"See how poor this good man is! We must eat sparingly and leave something in the dish for our host and his wife."

Meanwhile the wife had borrowed some flour and cooked cakes. They all ate and a portion was taken to the inner room for the daughter of the host.

As they finished the meal the Qalandars rose to go. But Sakhi offered to accompany them a short way and put them on the high road. He went some distance, and as he was returning he saw a dense cloud of smoke rising from the village. He was alarmed and hastened home, only to find that his hut had taken fire and that his wife and daughter had perished in the flames.

"It is the will of Allah!" he cried, and then and there he determined to leave the place and take service with the King.

He started on his journey, and as he passed through a thick jungle it was midday and he halted to rest and say the noon prayer.

As he was praying to his amazement he heard a cry for help and coming to a well close by he saw at the bottom *a man, a jackal and a snake.*

When he saw Sakhi the jackal cried out :—

"For the love of Allah, save me, but don't save this wicked man."

"If I save one I save all," said Sakhi. So he untied his waist-cloth and letting it down into the well succeeded in rescuing all of them.

When he reached the surface the snake to show his gratitude spat up a lump of gold, and asking Sakhi to take it, invited him to go with him a short way apart. There the snake pointed out to him some marvellous herbs which cure all manner of human ill.

When Sakhi returned to the well the jackal thanked him, and promised to come to his aid whenever he wanted help.

"But," said he, "beware of this wicked man, for he will work you ill."

The man said nothing, but as he was weak and ill, Sakhi took him with him , not knowing that he was, in truth, the Son of the King. When they reached the city, the Prince said to him :—

"Return me the piece of gold which I entrusted to you."

"You gave me no gold," he replied.

"We shall see about this," answered the Prince.

Just then they reached the city gate, and the Prince called out to one of the guards :—

"This rascal has robbed me of a piece of gold. Search him."

The gold was found on Sakhi and he was hauled before the Judge, who ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw calf skin and exposed in the sun, for this was the punishment of a thief by the law of the land.

For a time he suffered terrible torture. At last, he heard the guards whisperingto one another, and one said :—

"Our king is sick with a sore disease and none of the physicians can cure him."

"I can cure him," said Sakhi.

So they took him to the Wazîr, who heard his story. The Wazîr ordered that the skin should be taken off him, which was done with much difficulty. Sakhi then went into the jungle, found the herbs which the snake had pointed out to him, and by means of them he was able to cure the King.

The King in his gratitude said: —

"You shall marry my daughter and have half my kingdom."

A lucky day was fixed and the marriage was done with all the usual pomp and ceremony.

But in his prosperity Sakhi did not neglect to pray to Allah, the Almighty. One day he went to pray to a meadow outside the city walls, when up came the jackal with a beautiful flower in its mouth and said:—

"Take this. I found it where the Panj Pîr had been praying. Keep it and show it to no one."

When he brought home the flower its scent was so powerful that his wife smelt it and asked her husband to show it to her. Sakhi for a while obeyed the warning of the jackal and concealed the flower. At last perforce he showed it to her and charged her to keep the matter secret. But one day her mother, the old Queen, came to see her daughter, and the flower by accident fell upon the floor, when the old woman hid it away. But immediately it became dry and withered. When Sakhi's wife missed the flower she was in great distress and told her husband that she would die unless he got her another like it.

That evening Sakhi went outside the city to pray and he thought of the jackal, who immediately appeared. He told him of the loss of the flower. The jackal was wroth with him and said that he could not get another. Sakhi said:—

"Only show me which way the Panj Pîr went and I will follow them and ask for another flower."

"Where they are I know not," said the jackal, "but I saw them dive into a deep pool in yonder river and they did not rise again."

So Sakhi dived into the water and soon found himself in a wondrous underground palace full of all manner of precious stones. As he was wandering about in admiration, some one touched his shoulder, and looking round he saw his first wife and her daughter who had been burnt in the fire. For, in truth, this was the Paradise of the Blessed.

Sakhi determined to stay there and abandon his second wife who was under the spell of the magic flower.

And may we all go there some day.[11]

XV.

The Priest, the Washerman and the Ass.

ONCE upon a time in the city of Azamgarh in Northern India lived a Musalmân priest, who kept a school as well. By chance one day an old Dhobi and his wife, who were very rich, came to the city on a pilgrimage and tied up their ass to a tree near the priest's mosque. Just then they heard a man abusing the priest: —

11 [This is one of the tales of the Grateful Animal Cycle : for which see Köhler, *Orient und Occident*, p. 101 *seq.*: Gonzenbach, *Sizilianische Märchen*, p. 216: Grimm, *Household Tales*, trans. Mrs. Hunt, LXXIII.: Temple-Steel, *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 401, 412. Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, Vol. I. p. 28, Vol. II. pp. 104, 596. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 202 *seq.*

Animals that spit gold, etc. — Tawney, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 453: Crooke, *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 134.

The snake is closely connected with the healing art, as in the Asklepios tale. For the serpent finding the healing herbs, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. III. p. 66.

The promise of half the kingdom and the princess is a commonplace in the folk-tales.

For the Panj Pîr, see Crooke, *loc. cit.* Vol. I. p. 202.

Under-water palaces — *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 56. The under-water Musalmân Paradise is remarkable. — ED.]

"For many a long year," said he, "I have been paying you fees for teaching my son. But he has learned nothing and spends his days idling and doing mischief."

At this the priest was wroth and said:—

"When he came to school he was an ass and I have made a man of him."

When the Dhobi heard this he said to his wife:—

"What a learned teacher this must be who can turn an ass into a man! We have no son. Why should we not have our ass turned into a youth?"

The wife assented and they both went to the priest and said:—

"We want our ass turned into a man."

The priest was amazed at their request, but when he thought over the matter he knew that they must have misunderstood what he had been saying to the father of his pupil. So he answered:—

"What you desire is a hard thing. But tie your ass to the tree and come back for your son in a year. My fee is a thousand rupees."

They agreed, tied up the ass, paid the fee and departed.

A year passed and the old couple came back to the mosque to claim their son.

"You are just a week too late," said the priest. "Your son turned out to be such a learned man that he has been appointed Qâzi of Jaunpur and has left to join his appointment."

Now the priest said this because the Qâzi was his enemy.

"But," said the old people, "how will he recognise us? You must come with us to introduce us to him."

"There is no need of my going," he replied. "All you have to do is to take the rope and nose-bag of the ass with you to Jaunpur. Be sure that you arrive on a Friday when your son will preach to the congregation in the mosque. Place yourselves well in his view and shake the nose-bag. Then he will recognise you at once."

So they went to Jaunpur and did as the priest advised. The Qâzi soon noticed their extraordinary behaviour and sent one of his servants to find out what it all meant. But they said:—

"This is a secret which we can tell only to the Qâzi Sâhib himself."

The Qâzi when the prayers were over took them aside and they told him the whole story, how he was their son and how the priest had turned the ass into a Qâzi. He saw at once that this was a trick of his old enemy to bring him to shame and he knew that if the tale once got abroad he should never hear the end of it and the folk would mock him. So he thought it wise to dissemble and said:—

"All you say is doubtless true, but you must never reveal the secret. Come to my house and I will be a good son to you as long as you live."

They agreed and he took them home, where they lived till they died and then they left him all they possessed.[12]

XVI.

Akbar Bâdshâh and his Wazîr.

ONE day Bîrbal, the Wazîr of the Emperor Akbar, chanced to give dire offence to his master and fearing his anger, disguised himself as a Faqîr and went into hiding. Many months passed and Akbar more and more missed his trusty Wazîr. At last he summoned a Council and asked their advice how to get him back. No one could suggest anything to the purpose. At last, in his wrath Akbar said:—

12 [For transformation of men into animals and *vice versâ* see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 202.—ED.]

"If he be not found immediately you shall all lose your heads."

They considered the matter and one old man said: —

"The best plan is this. Let some exceedingly foolish order, with which compliance is impossible, be issued and perchance this may lead to the return of the Wazîr."

So an order was issued to every headman that on a certain day he should bring with him to the Emperor's palace the principal well of his village.

When this order reached the village in which Bîrbal was concealed, he said: —

"This do. Take the elders with you and stand outside the palace walls and announce that you have brought your well with you. Say also that it is the custom of the land that the elder brother should advance to meet the younger. Let, then, the Emperor's well advance, and our well will rise to do him honour."

Messengers came to the Emperor and reported these words. The Emperor was amazed and sent one of his ministers to enquire into the matter. He returned and said that this was a device of the absent Bîrbal. So the Emperor sent to the village and caused him to be arrested, and when the arrived the Emperor went to meet him and restored him to favour.[13]

XVII.

The Râja, Wazîr and the Shepherd.

THERE was once a Râja who was renowned for his wisdom. One day a traveller came to his Court and said: —

"There is a city which I have seen where every one is wise, from the Râja on his throne to the beggar in the Bâzâr."

"It is impossible," said the Râja.

But the traveller insisted that it was so, and finally the Râja decided to visit this wonderful city and see for himself. So the Râja and the Wazîr disguised themselves and started on their journey. By and by they reached the city and halted outside the walls. There they met a Shepherd, grazing his flock and the Râja said: —

"Let us begin by testing him with questions."

The first was: —

"Which light is the best light?"

"That of the Sun," he said.

The second was: —

"Of all waters which is the best?"

"That of the Ganges."

The third was: —

"Of all sleep which is the best?"

"That after fatigue," he said.

The fourth was: —

"Which of all flowers is the best?"

"That of the rose," he said.

The Râja liked his answers, but the Shepherd began to laugh.

When the Râja asked him why he laughed he said: —

[13] [There is a large cycle of folk-tales detailing the wit of Bîrbal, for whom see Blochmann, *Aîn-i-Akbarî*, Vol. I. p. 404 *seq.* — ED.]

"Because you agreed to the foolish answers I gave you. The best light is that of eyes: the best water, a little in a thirsty land: the best sleep, that of health: the best flower, that of the cotton, which when it fades leaves a valuable pod behind."

The Râja said: —

"Verily what I heard was true. If a foolish Shepherd has such wisdom, what must be that of the wise men of this city?"

So he went home satisfied.

XVIII.

The laying of the Bhût.

LONG ago in the city of Peshâwar lived a man famous for his power of laying evil spirits. Once he went to the village of Hâji Shâh, where lived an orderly, named Siva Dâs, who was sore troubled by a Bhût, which caused him now and again to fall into a fit. At last his brother sent for the wise man. When he arrived he was led to the bedside of the sick man and drawing his Qurân from under his arm he said: —

"Are you going to leave him or not?"

"I will never leave him," replied the Bhût.

The wise man sent for a piece of rag which he proceeded to burn at a lamp. Again he approached the bed and said; —

"If you will not leave him I will burn you as I burn this rag."

But the Bhût answered: —

"I will never leave him."

The wise man placed the mouldering rag on the nose of the patient and then a voice was heard: —

"If you cease tormenting me I will leave him."

And leave him he did and never troubled him again.[14]

MISCELLANEA.

SOME ANGLO-INDIANISMS.

1. **Manchua.** — 1737. — "No Grabs or Frigates to protect anything but the Fishery; except a small **Munchew**." — Downing's *History of the Indian Wars*, 1737, p. 10.

2. **Caravansarai.** — 1737. — "We went, as is customary, to the **Grand Surcass**, in order to take up our Lodging." — *Ibid.* p. 162.

3. **Gallevat.** — 1737. — "We had 10 or 12 **Galleywats**, which are large Boats, as big as a Gravesend Tilt-boat, and generally mount six Swivel Guns, and will carry in the way of Landing near 100 Men. These Galleywats we make great use of; they sail with a Peak Sail like the Mizen of any of our Ships of War, and row with 30 or 40 Oars; very few with less than 20 Oars. Their Complement is generally 20 fighting Men, besides the Rowers; but they are fit for no other Service." — *Ibid.* p. 12.

4. **Daroga.** — 1737. — "The former **Droger** or Captain of their Artillery." — *Ibid.* p. 166.

5. **Nairs.** — 1737. — "Anjango is inhabited by the **Neyors** and *Moccos*, the ancient People of the Coast of Malabar." — *Ibid.* p. 41.

6. **Cafila.** — 1737. — "They hearing that the Dutch **Scaffold** (or Caravan) was on the Road." — *Ibid.* p. 158.

7. **Pagar.** — 1615. — "The King [of Macassar] says that at her [a Dutch ship's] arrival here he will send them their house and **pagarr** upon rafts to them, but not a man to come on land." — *Letters Received by E. I. Co.* Vol. III. p. 151.

1616. — "A new **pager** to be made round about the ground, the old being rotten, not fitting for any defence." — *Consultation at Siam: Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 89.

8. **Pattamar.** — 1616. — "The **Patamar** (for so in this country they call poor footmen that are letter-bearers)." — *Letter from Agra: Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 227.

9. **Rupee.** — 1616. — "The two-shillings pieces of this country called **roopeas**." — *Letter from Agra: Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 229.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

[14] [For the scaring of a Bhût by evil smells see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore*, Vol. I. p. 237. — ED.]

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